

MAR 31 1920

# The One Big Union *Monthly*



THE CHAMPION OF DEMOCRACY

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# PREAMBLE

of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

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

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



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ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY  
 JULY, 1919

**THE GENERAL STRIKE**

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# THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

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## The Peace Treaty and the Working Class

**I**N this issue we are giving a brief résumé of the provisions of the Peace Treaty in regard to the working class. This résumé contains everything that is essential for us to know. The articles excluded do not affect the object aimed at by the creators of these provisions.

"Words are made to mask the thoughts" a world-renowned diplomat once said. This applies to the fullest extent to the peace treaty in general and to the "labor" provisions in particular. We all know the caliber of the men gathered at the peace table and we know who were their backers. We all know that what they most hate and fear is the advancing proletariat, and that all their efforts naturally would be directed towards retarding and checking that advance. Those who can "read between the lines" will readily see that sinister purposes are sticking out like the quills of a porcupine all thru the well turned "humanitarian," justice-oozing phrases.

He who is able to read between the lines will readily see that "The General Conference" and "The International Labor Office" are to be the iron heel by which the capitalist rulers of the world are going to try to stamp out workingclass-protest against the unbearable conditions which the rulers may see fit to impose. This Conference and this Labor Office are intended to fill the same function against the workers as the International Military Police is to fill against the nations. Their real functions will be to find the way and means of imposing and enforcing the will of the master class. It is going to be the club with which they hope to put an end to working class revolution and stop the further progress of the workers towards mastery of their own destiny and of the world in general. While we **workers are dabbling** in all sorts of international programs and organization, the **master class has acted** and formed an opposing force, iron-

bound to the all-powerful "League of Nations" and backed by all the resources of the League. Suppression of workers revolts on the political or economic field no longer will be the nefarious business of local and national governments; it will be the nefarious business of The League of Nations. This League proposes to rivet the iron collar of wage slavery for all times round the neck of the workers.

The first paramount and fundamental fact pervading these "labor" regulations is that they dovetail in and form an ideologically organic part of the whole peace treaty. The peace treaty is based on and aimed at the solidifying of world capitalism for a permanent existence, and in consonance herewith the "labor" regulations provide hard and terrible rules (between the lines) for stopping the flight from wage slavery and making it permanent, as a necessary foundation of capitalism.

No worker with experience and common sense will for a moment be deluded by the olive branch extended to us in the preamble. We know the master class are murderers and robbers, and that this preamble is nothing but misuse of the white flag of truce. If you hung a beautifully lettered copy of "Pater Noster" and "Ave Maria" round a tiger's neck and then let him loose among people, nobody would be fooled into believing that the tiger had turned religious and quit murdering. We know he cannot change his nature. The master class has the tiger's spirit. We know he cannot change and will not change its nature.

A glance at its program will bear out this statement.

At a time when large bodies of workers' have already secured the 44-hour week and some of them the six-hour day, at a time when nearly the whole working class of the world is centering itself upon a six-hour day, when nobody is any longer satisfied

with the 48-hour week, the League of Nations is going to try enforce a 48-hour week, "with due exceptions," of course.

The rest of the points would have looked well as a confession of capitalist crimes of 20-30-40 years ago, but nowadays the workers have already taken or are about to take, thru their organizations, the things enumerated and much more besides. The program of the International Labor Office therefore seems to merely call a halt to the further progress of the workers and locking it there permanently. It is another case of political institutions merely recording the gains of the workers organizations in the form of a law years behind, thereby trying to retard further progress.

The main business of the office in question seems to be to gather and tabulate information about the workers. The Capitalistic League of Nations needs such information, in order to be able to step in and take control in due time.

We have every occasion to fear the new

"General Conference" and "The International Labor Office." Epidemics of persecution against workers shall no doubt be traced to its activity in the near future. It is going to assume the right to govern the workers industrially, thereby depriving them of the right to govern themselves.

But this advantage it will have, in spite of everything that it may do, that it will develop international organization and make available much statistics that we will need when we set about taking over the industries on an international basis thru our industrial organization. Of the final outcome there can be no doubt. We bear within us the living life of the future, while the league of Nations and the International Labor Office are only the armed bandits holding us up. Banditry can only retard for a while. It cannot permanently stop progress.

Capitalism is bound to fall, and Industrial Communism is bound to become its successor.

## The I. W. W. Prisoners

**H**IGH summer is here. The sun shines as it always has done, the trees are green, the lawns are velvety, the flowers bloom, the birds sing and nest, and life is pulsating as it has ever done, but buried behind the prison walls of Leavenworth and a dozen other prisons several hundreds of I. W. W. prisoners and others who fought for truth and justice and for a square deal to the workers are pining away in living death.

About 90 of them would now be out on bail, if their fellow workers could procure the money with which to bail them out. But the bail runs into the million, and we have not got it. So there the majority of them are, shut up in prison when they could have been out. Talk about equality before the law! There is no such a thing. Had they been rich, or were we rich, none of them would now in jail. As long as the price of freedom is property or money there can be no equality before the law. Our friends are actually in prison for being poor and for having none but poor friends.

Nearly a dozen we have succeeded in getting released on bail. Fellow Workers and Friends, whether members or not! Keep up the good work of sending in your liberty bonds to The General Defense Committee or placing your cash and your real estate at their disposition. Let them not lose faith in their fellow men. Let us show them that mankind is not all bad, that human solidarity is not a mere phrase!

If you can do nothing yourself, speak to your friends.

We are still too weak in organization to make our will felt against the will of the ruling class. The good services of the mass of the workers is being diverted thru the efforts of our enemies. But in the final settlement of the world's affairs it will be organization that wields the power. Therefore, whether you can help with money or not, keep on building up our organization. Until that is done our Fellow Workers will continue to be sent to jail, and perhaps your turn is next.

Whatever you do, do it now.

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Political Socialism will soon have a test in Sweden. As a result of the "constitutional revolution" of some months ago suffrage is unrestricted for both men and women of voting age. As a result the socialdemocrats are now to become the largest party even in the upper house of the riksdag, though they will not have an absolute majority. In the city government of Stockholm they are in absolute majority. We know that they can do little beyond running society along the old lines. They can neither abolish private ownership nor wage slavery. To do that requires industrial organization.

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Since the parliamentarian syndicalists of Norway began to approach a more conservative position in various matters the Norwegian Syndicalist Federation, with a program similar to that of the I. W. W. has taken on new life. They are issuing a paper, called "Alarm," issued in Christiania.

## Bomb Plots

**S**INCE our last issue there have been two countrywide "bombplots." The first plot consisted in mailing some 30 bombs in packages to capitalists, officials and politicians. In the second case a different kind of bomb is said to have been exploded in at least 8 different cities of the East, with apparent intention of "getting" a number of politicians who have had something to do with restrictive legislation against foreigners.

The intended "victims" would, roughly estimated, have numbered from 40 to 50, but, wonderfully to speak, **not one of them** was injured. On the other hand a few outsiders are said to have been killed by the last plot, while in the mail plot a negro maid is said to have been injured.

Plenty of persons have been arrested, one of them by the name of Johnson, who is falsely said to be an I. W. W. leader in Pittsburgh.

This does not prevent the kept press from howling "Crucify the I. W. W."

Considering the heinousness of the crime, there is a remarkable lack of indignation in the press. It seems the "plots" are so thin that even the most trained liars of the kept press despair of being able to silence the popular conclusion, that both plots are capitalistic frame-ups, staged as a background for the repressive laws against modern labor organizations, devoutly desired by the master class. It is well to note that the papers in the very same breath announced that the most drastic anti-foreigner laws were to be enacted by congress.

In pondering over the possible source of these plots, we have come to the conclusion that they originally hail from the profiteering capitalist class, that the same "patriotic," 100 per cent American leagues who are adherents of tarring and feathering, and lynching, and arresting, and persecuting I. W. W. men, of murdering them as in Everett, Wash., of raiding their halls without police authority, as in Bedford and Springfield, Mass. and in Pittsburgh, Pa., of making nightly raids without warrants in the rooms of members of the I. W. W., have been the real executors of the plots.

There is nothing about either of them that indicates that they would be the job of any organization of workmen like the I. W. W. Of course some wretch in working clothes may have been a hypnotized or hired tool of the instigators, but the two jobs bear all the earmarks of coming, the first one from an engineer's or chemist's office, while the choice of victims in the

latter points to a lawyer's office. Of the victims enumerated in the second plot this editorial office had never heard of anybody but the new attorney general. I doubt that any of our readers had heard of more than one or two of them. To connect them upon a common principle would require a lawyer, specializing on a certain line.

We are confident that the tracks will lead to some of the "patriotic" leagues or to the "Knights of Columbus" who have come forward as the bitterest enemies of the I. W. W. and other radical organizations, acting in conjunction with law makers who want to rush through laws curtailing the liberties of the people without too much critical opposition.

Not many months ago members of the I. W. W. here in Chicago were approached by law makers from Washington who needed some bloodcurdling unemployed demonstrations to serve as a background for the so-called Kelly bill. This bill provided for an appropriation of 500,000,000 dollars to buy land for soldiers or something similar. If politicians are able to seek to arrange such ghastly affairs in one case, why not in the other case.

They may have found some half-witted "revolutionists" whom they ensnared for the purpose of making them scape-goats, like the "anarchist squad" of New York did some years ago, when a bomb was placed in a fashionable church; but that will no longer mislead thinking people as to who are the real criminals.

As far as the I. W. W. is concerned, our program is to organize the workers into industrial unions. We are distinctly non-political and take practically no interest in the doings of politicians. We could not build industrial unions by throwing bombs. We have everything to lose and nothing to gain by such tactics. The only kind of dynamite we use is of the intellectual kind, speeches, books and papers and that "dynamite" we are using only on the minds of bona-fide wage workers, as our daily activities so well prove.

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In Spain the **One Big Union idea** is forging ahead at an unprecedented rate. An industrial union is there called a "sindicato unico" and comprises all the members of a certain industry. Particularly in and around Barcelona the industrially organized workers have control.

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The syndicalist unions of Italy with over 125,000 members held 20 big massmeetings in the big industrial centers of Italy on May Day.

## Emigration

WHILE strenuous efforts are being made by the "patriotic leagues" to have congress adopt the most drastic laws in regard to immigration, so as exclude all undesirables, i. e. all that could possibly be suspected of sympathies with the I. W. W., the unprecedented emigration from the U. S. seems to have created consternation in certain quarters. In spite of the bad conditions existing in Europe every liner is literally swamped with returning foreigners. It seems that the treatment accorded non-citizens during the last couple of years has caused them to make up their mind to shake off the blessings of American democracy en masse. There are about 13½ million foreign born in this country, and it is estimated that from 5 to 10 millions of these will leave as soon as opportunity offers itself. In the meantime but few immigrants of the working class are coming in.

This state of affairs has caused one of the "patriotic" leagues, "The Inter-racial Council," of which ex-president Taft is a prominent member, to run a half-page advertisement in all the bourgeois foreign language newspapers, depicting truly the horrible state of affairs of Europe and painting in roseate hues the conditions in this country, pleading with the foreign workers to stay here and build homes and become "americanized."

These millions of foreigners are the ones that have done most of the "plain" work, with pick and shovel, with hammer and sledge and saw, and with tools generally. They are the ones that have created the biggest share of the wealth and done the hardest labor. They were bullied by profiteers and "patriots" during the war, until their hearts were filled with resentment that will last them for some years to come. The reader no doubt still remembers that mass meetings of foreigners were held in several of the Western cities, attended by thousands. They adopted resolutions demanding investigation of the persecution practised against them, they asked that they either be given work or be deported, or that the borders be opened to them so they could get away.

Is it possible that the capitalists are beginning to see that they were about to kill the goose that lays the golden egg? Where were profits to come from if labor ceased?

Of course there is a large body of white Americans to draw from, but they do not relish the work that foreigners generally do. And if they do take it up they demand conditions that the foreigner never dreamt

of. The white American, as a rule, wants to make money easy, and not as a laborer. Should the exodus continue, in spite of all the obstacles put in the way of emigration and in spite of the heavy toll on the pocket-book to which they are now subjected before getting their clearance papers, it would mean that the negro would en masse immigrate into the industrial districts. But the capitalists do not relish this idea. The negro is not what he used to be. He is getting knowledge and education and he demands the same wages as the white man. In a few short years he will be able to assert himself as well as the white man, having the additional advantage of American citizenship and a knowledge of the English language.

Then there is the alternative of importing orientals, to which there is widespread opposition. But even the Chinaman is not the same as in the good old days. He is waking up. He has shaken off autocracy and is becoming independent.

The insulting and unscrupulous hoggishness of the profiteer and professional patriot is getting him into trouble.

During the war he herded the foreigners together in the shipyards and ammunition plants, almost forced him on pain of arrest and discharge to listen to "patriotic" speeches, and intimidated him into abjuring the flag of his own country twice a week. The foreigners submitted to these international improprieties for fear of trouble, but to wipe out the insult, they are now taking advantage of the first chance to leave the country where they had to suffer these indignities, to which no American citizen would submit if in a foreign country.

The situation reminds us of the Chinese woman whose husband and son had been eaten by a tiger around their hut in the wilderness. She was asked why she did not come down to the plains to the other people. "No," she answered, "it is better to share the wilderness with a man-eating tiger than to live under a government that oppresses the people."

The invitation to stay has not been sent to the I. W. W. press for publication, so we surmise that the agricultural workers, construction workers, lumber workers, miners, marine transport workers, textile workers, machinists, rubber workers, domestic workers, etc. of which the I. W. W. mainly consists, are invited to leave.

If you were all to leave at once, there surely would be something doing out West or rather, there would be—nothing doing.

## Legal Persecution Starts In the West

**I**N the weekly papers of the I. W. W., in English as well as in foreign languages, we have already given the details of the legal persecution started against members of the I. W. W. in the states of Washington and California.

In Seattle, Wash., 31 members of the I. W. W. were held under the "criminal anarchy" law, for their participation in the general strike in Seattle last winter. The first case came to trial about the middle of May. James Bruce, an I. W. W. man, was the defendant. The trial lasted until June 5, when the jury brought in its verdict of "not guilty." The whole thing might be characterized as malicious abuse of the machinery of justice by the persecution. Everyone in Seattle, and in the Northwest generally, knows full well that the activities of the I. W. W. can not possibly be classed under the provisions of the "criminal anarchist" law. The persecution also knew it, for the prosecuting attorney blandly admitted that he had no case against James Bruce. This, however, did not prevent the prosecution from putting him to trial, trifling with the court, with the people in general, with the public funds, with law and justice and injuring the defendant.

Who pays the acquitted defendant for his suffering, his loss of time and all the unpleasantness a prisoner has to go thru while awaiting trial and during the trial? Who pays his expenses? How long shall the people allow the capitalist interests of the country to abuse its institutions and turn them into auxiliary agencies of their mad rush for profits and in their attempt to entrench capitalism.

Late information from Seattle tells us that the balance of the cases will be dropped by the prosecution, but even if such be the case, we do not feel that justice has been done.

First there should be due and sufficient reparation to each and everyone of the accused for this manifest frame-up against them. Then the moving factors behind this trifling with justice should themselves be brought before the bar of justice and duly punished for abuse of their official position in running the errands of one set of citizens against another set, merely to serve the selfish material interests of the former set.

We know this will not happen until the workers are organized so strongly that they can take over society in all its branches but then the punishment will have to come, in one form or another, to restore the spiritual equilibrium, without which life is burdensome. Unpunished crimes will continue

to press on the minds of men, until just retaliation is meted out.

It might be well for those concerned to consider this.

In San Francisco, Calif., the police, always subservient to the master class, are now hounding the I. W. W.'s in every conceivable manner and arresting them with the pretended expectation of convicting them of breaking the new anti-syndicalist law. Both we and they know very well that the activities of the I. W. W. do not come under that law of the state of California. The object here, as well as in Washington, is to take advantage of the law to the fullest possible extent, in order to counteract the work of the I. W. W. Men are held in prison for default of bail, they are put to suffering, expense and trouble, and the object sought is attained. Those in power only grin at our protests. We are too weak to bring them to justice, they well know.

The first case is against Emanuel Levin, the manager of the Peoples Institute of San Francisco. He is out on bail, and they are going to make a test-case out of his case. Of course it must end in acquittal. We are powerless to stop this kind of juridical vivisection on our membership. To the police and the capitalists our sufferings and distress are keen sport, much like a pigeon-shoot or a fox-hunt.

Retribution for this injustice may not be speedy, but, remember there is a Nemesis. Without fail the guilty ones shall some day pay the penalty for their cruel sport.

In the mean time our membership is increasing by leaps and bounds both in California and in Washington. Continued and tireless efforts at organization is the only means by which we shall finally free ourselves from this abject slavery and become independent men instead of hunted animals.

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The Swedish syndicalist movement held their congress during Easter week. Their growth is steady. From 15,000 in January 1918 they increased to 20,000 in January 1919 and at the time of the congress they were about 23,000. Their paper "Syndikalisten" (Address: Örebro, Sweden), is issued twice a week. The unions are industrial in form and comprise mainly the same kind of workers as the I. W. W. in this country.

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2,500 military prisoners at Fort Leavenworth recently went on strike in protest against brutal treatment. They refuse to work until a guard who shot a prisoner is punished.

## Fooling the Public

**M**UCH of the persecution against the I. W. W. is entirely artificial. It is gotten up for the purpose of diverting attention from other questions which the master class does not want to have discussed. One of the most important things for our enemies is to constantly raise questions that will prevent the main question from getting the floor.

The main question is, of course, the question of private property, the question of how the affairs of mankind should best be ordered for the benefit of all. But this question is tabooed. The papers and periodicals are filled with everything except that which is of real importance. They are filled with love stories and scandal, society notes and sporting notes, but hardly ever will you find the important secrets of the industrial world discussed. This applies to normal times.

At the present abnormal stage there are other additional questions that are to be kept out of the public mind, for instance what was done with the billions of dollars spent for war purposes, the secret plans of the capitalists in regard to the future, etc. These and hundreds of other equally important questions are pressing for a hearing and are creeping through in every place much as a winter storm is pressing thru the cracks and knot holes in a tumble-down old shack. To keep these questions down the comparatively insignificant I. W. W. has been selected as the proper thing for the unthinking mass to center its attention upon. To keep the mass from being too inquisitive on other subjects, they are daily being excited with hair-raising tales about the I. W. W. Riots and bomb plots are being arranged for the purpose, and in their desperateness to keep the great, big scandal down, the capitalist class is even drawing on the future. Already now, June 13, they are "discovering" a network of bomb plots for July 4. In this manner it is hoped to keep the popular mind so busy and so confused that people will not get a spare minute for independent thinking or for an orderly attempt to put two and two together. All the while the tracks of old evil-doing are being covered up and new deviltry is being planned and perpetrated. The mob is given the small questions to exercise their minds on, while the great manipulators are handling the bigger and more important questions, which are not even hinted at. The capitalist class and their government are not telling the people what they really are doing. They are instead amusing the rabble with cock and bull

stories of things that are of little importance. To use an illustration. If you should accidentally drop in on a gathering presided over by Morgan or Vanderlip or Rockefeller, they would immediately stop discussing the question in hand and turn to the discussion of yachting and golfing or something of that kind. If you go away with the impression that "there is nothing doing," you simply show that you are foolish. As soon as you are safely outside the door, these gentlemen will take up the thread of discussing the items of the peace treaty that they got in advance of congress. They will go through it point by point to see how their bond affairs should be adjusted to make the biggest profit, before the sheep are let in to be shorn.

For this reason the intelligent workingman should never allow himself to be carried away by newspaper headings or front page articles in the kept press. That page is there only to mislead and divert attention from the real thing.

There is just one question of paramount importance today for the workers, and that is how we shall be able to wipe out wage slavery. All other questions are of no importance to us. It is a question of life or death for us.

Supposing you fell over board at sea during a dark night. You might have had dozens of different matters in your mind which you thought were very important. But immediately as you lose your footing on the deck, all these questions cease to be of any importance to you. There is just one question for you now, and that is to save your life, and until you are saved, no other question deserves or will have your attention. That is exactly the position of the working class today. We have fallen overboard into the black depth of slavery. Our very life as a class is in danger. For that reason we should drop everything else and concentrate our attention on industrial organization. That is the life buoy which is going to keep us afloat until we are safely landed in the new society.

Thirty-two million people have died from starvation and resulting diseases in India during the last year. 150 million people are living skeletons. This is information sent out by a Canadian bank president, who is at the head of the relief movement. The English censors have tried to suppress this information. To shield their exploitation, their greed and their mismanagement, the English hypocrits are stopping the relief work.

## The Mooney General Strike and the I. W. W.

**A**S WILL be remembered the Mooney Conference in Chicago in the middle of January decided to send a committee of five to Washington to plead for a new trial for Mooney. We do not know the result of the work of this committee. As an alternative it was decided to start a referendum for a General Strike on July 4th, in case Mooney were not then liberated.

The voting on this proposition appears to be going on, but the result so far has not been made public. The Mooney Defense Committee has been promised that a resolution will be introduced at the A. F. of L. convention now sitting in Atlantic City, demanding a new trial, but the outcome of the whole matter seems to depend on developments during the next few weeks.

At the Mooney conference in Chicago I. W. W. and Socialist elements were repudiated. The majority of the delegates were A. F. of L. and seemed to insist on making it a pure A. F. of L. affair. This, however, did not seem to be endorsed by all parts of the A. F. of L. From Seattle comes the news that the Joint I. W. W. locals of that city are in cooperation with the A. F. of L. elements in a plan to include the demand for freedom of all class war prisoners in the demands of the eventual general strike on July 4.

The following is a circular letter on the subject, sent out by The Joint I. W. W. Locals of Seattle:

Seattle, Wash., May, 29, 1919

From the Joint Branches of the  
I. W. W., Seattle, Wash.  
Fellow Workers:

At the general convention of the I. W. W. just closed in Chicago, Ill., it was decided to refer to the various industrial unions and branches of the I. W. W. the matter of securing the co-operation of different labor bodies in their respective localities, with the object of incorporation in the fourth of July Mooney strike plans, demands for the release of all industrial and political prisoners and conscientious objectors.

The members of the I. W. W. have always realized their obligation to participate in any strike designed to promote the interest of any section of the working class, regardless of tactical differences of opinion and disagreement as to the ultimate goal to be attained. But we consider the Mooney case, as well as the case of the other labor prisoners to constitute an affront and a challenge to all of the working class, and we deem it necessary to take a united stand on July 4 for the unconditional release of all labor prisoners.

As this is a matter of vital importance

to all labor bodies, no organization can afford to disregard the ruthless imprisonment of any members of the labor movement who attempt to function in a progressive manner.

Trusting that you will receive this in a spirit of working class solidarity, and assuring you of our determination to make July 4, 1919, a day of independence for American Labor, we are,

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

Publicity Committee,

Seattle Joint Branches, I. W. W.,

Seattle, Wash., P. O. Box 365.

(Seal)

The situation requires the wide-awakeness of all our members. It would be a shame to stir up the whole working class of this country to general strike for demanding the freedom of merely one man, where there are hundreds in jail who are equally deserving of the moral support of all the workers. We do not think the workers of America would stand for any such action, whatever some of the leaders might do.

Now is the time to get busy along the lines proposed by our Fellow Workers in Seattle. We owe it to ourselves and to our Fellow Workers in prison.

## To Our Distributors

**W**E call your attention to the large apparent deficit of the One Big Union Monthly. This is not the editor's nor the business manager's fault. Our magazine has increased its circulation 125% in five months, and it should not only pay for itself, but leave a surplus to cover the cost of the sabotage practised on us by the Post Office and the express companies. **The fault is yours.** You are not paying up fast enough. As you know the organization is broke, and cannot give you credit. If you do not remit promptly what you owe, it is possible that we would have to suspend publication. It would be best for us if you would send in cash with your order but at all events you must pay immediately upon receipt of the books. Under no circumstances should you allow your bill to run over for weeks and months. If you do, you are injuring the organization. Secretaries of industrial unions and branches as well as other agents please take notice. **Pay up immediately in full and keep account paid up.**

## Fiendish Persecution In Kansas

THE following Associated Press Despatch tells an unequalled story of fiendish persecution and prostitution of law and justice to the rich, in particular The Standard Oil Co.:

"Wichita, Kas., June 9.—Members of the group of Industrial Workers of the World, who have been in jail here for more than a year awaiting trial, and who on Saturday succeeded in having the indictments pending against them in federal court quashed, were reindicted immediately by a special grand jury on charges of conspiracy against the government.

The group contains fifty-two members, most of whom were arrested in the oil fields of Kansas and Oklahoma.

The new indictment also is against the entire I. W. W. organization and contains four counts. Forceful resistance to all laws of the United States and attempted overthrowing of all authority constitute the conspiracy charge. The entire I. W. W. organization will be tried under the indictment during the September term of federal court here."

These men have first been held without trial since November and December, 1917, making about 19 months in all. They were so maltreated in prison that one of them died, and several are ruined for life. They were only a group of poor workers in the oil fields of The Standard Oil Co. The first charge against them being thrown out of court, they are now rearrested on the charge of forceful resistance to the laws of the United States and conspiracy to overthrow all authority. There is not a man or woman in this country that does not agree with us that the charge is ridiculous. Everybody knows it is nothing but a frame-up of the most despicable kind, to keep these men locked up in jail indefinitely. Of course they will finally have to drop this charge like the first one.

But "what are you going to do about it" the Standard Oil Co., and its tools chuckle. They openly laugh at our distress and revel in the thought of the sufferings the prisoners and we their Fellow Workers have to go thru. It is their only way of answering our arguments. This is exactly the way revolutions came about in other countries, now and in the past. Some day these very men in prison will sit as judges over the men now tormenting them nigh unto death. The people of the country will wake up some day and realize that they have allowed liberty to slip away from them.

## The Caged Sea-Lion

By ROBERTA BRUNER

THE RE is an artificial lake in one of Minnesota's beautiful parks, in which an old sea lion is kept, a prisoner. To further his captivity he is enclosed in a small cage made of chicken wire. The magnificent old beast has not let his fifty square feet of fresh water kill the spirit he acquired in the great salt sea. Without rest or pause he swims round and round with head poised high in the air, and at intervals he gives a loud cry, telling of this outrage done to him. No submission can be gained from him. His voice will not be silenced.

He is like the class-conscious agitator of the I. W. W. who ever goes out and cries his discontent. He is a slave and knows it and, like the old sea lion, he never rests.

Occasionally the old sea-lion, growing wilder with his mad desire for freedom, beats the water into foam but in his cage there are none to hear him. Even that does not quiet him. On he swims, crying louder and louder.

And it also happens that the militant agitator sometimes finds himself in the solitude of deaf ears who hear not the cry of industrial unionism. Neither is he discouraged but he goes on attempting to break dreary, stubborn deafness.

Here the parallel ends for the brave, sick, imprisoned sea-lion, lacking the intelligence of man lashes himself into vain fury. The agitator, having that intelligence, stops not with those who hear, pointing out the avenue of escape and the method of abolishing the cage which holds the working class in bondage.

But still—what about those wage-slaves who show less spirit, and less intelligence than the discontented lion—settling down to eternal wage-slavery and never even voicing any discontent but always licking the hand that's enslaving and robbing them?

Onward then, with **education** and **organization** which will bring us emancipation from capitalist control!

The war was supposed to be fought in order to liberate the small nations. The Irish and the Boers are taking this seriously, but the English masters did not seem to have meant it that way.

The Irish fought bravely to conquer the boers. The Irish under the control of the Catholic Church are also fighting the I. W. W. rather bravely in this country. Such actions tend to lessen people's sympathy for their own struggle from freedom from English rule.

## The General Strike In Canada

THE industrial unionists of Canada, the champions of the "One Big Union" have been forced into the necessity of testing their strength through a general strike of the larger part of the country.

The ostensible cause of the strike was the demand of the workers in the metal trades' for increased pay and for collective bargaining in the city of Winnipeg. This strike started on May 15th.

In a brief time it was found necessary to call out all the workers of Winnipeg in support of the strikers.

This was done so successfully that the strike committee was in complete control of the city, even the police and the municipal employees joining the strikers.

The employers, backed by a government hostile to the One Big Union movement refused to back down. It was plain from the start that the affair was something more than a common scrap over small differences between workers and their employers. Everybody feels and knows that it is a general muster of the two opposing world forces of today preparatory to the final battle.

The strike soon spread westward and eastward until practically the whole country is shut down. The railroad employees are now considering the question of joining the strike.

There is a show of working class solidarity hardly ever equalled, a sign of the times that promises well for the future.

The strike is better understood when seen against the background of capitalist oppression and exploitation. Never before has the capitalist class of any country become more shamelessly reckless than the Canadian capitalists at the present time. It looks as if they gathered all their forces to break the workers down and kill their aspirations. The cost of living was driven up altogether out of proportion to the wages, free speech, free press and free assemblage were abolished, and the powers that be rode roughshod over the workers, much as they are doing here.

This explains the ready response of the workers to the strike call.

The original issue has become entirely submerged under the bigger question of which class shall rule society in the future, and the workers are in this manner having their thought molded in the forms of the future.

Every strike must end some day—in victory—in defeat or in compromise!

Victory in the present case would consist

in the taking over of the industries by the workers through their industrial unions. Shall the present situation develop along those lines? That is a question which we will not undertake to answer.

The failure of the A. F. of L. to support the movement would tend to minimize such chances.

But no matter how it ends, the strike will be a great gain. It is to the workers what military training and organization is to the soldiers. The workers will come out of it with a schooling and a training which makes them twice as fit for the big battle of the future.

All hail to our brave Fellow Workers of Canada.

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### STANDARD OIL "JUSTICE"

Arrested without a warrant; held without indictment for seven months; kept in prison without trial for a year and a half; framed up by an ex-convict placed in his cell by the oil company as a stool-pigeon; re-arraigned immediately on a new warrant when the first was thrown out of court as worthless; prosecuted, not by the public officials supposedly elected for that purpose, but by expert criminal lawyers hired by the oil company—such is, in abstract, the experience of Charles Krieger, I.W.W. organizer, at the hands of Standard Oil "justice" in the Mid-Continental oil district of Oklahoma. And the foul story is not complete, as Krieger is still in jail and Standard Oil control is so complete in that district that his attorney hold out little hope of saving him from a long term of imprisonment for a deed with which he had no connection.

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The Furniture Workers of Rockford, Ill., of whom a part are I. W. W. members have recently fought out a longdrawn strike for shorter hours and higher pay. Solidarity was without a break, but as the A. F. of L. was running the affair the gain was not what it could have been. As it was, they cut the time down from a 60-hour week to a 50-hour week with the same total pay as before. The workers of this industry have learnt much during the weeks of the strike. The A. F. of L. is losing its hold, and the membership of Furniture Workers Industrial Union No. 480, I. W. W. is increasing steadily.

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### NEW SONGS

Some Fellow Workers are privately issuing a series of new songs of the right kind. The first one of the series "The funeral march of a Russian revolutionist" is now on sale at all radical book stores for ten cents per copy. The next song to be issued is "The advancing proletaire."

## The "Left-Wingers" and the I. W. W.

**Y**OU have all heard of it. The great events in the Socialist Party. The average S. P. man thinks that the world has nothing else to talk about. We mean the expulsion of the "Left Wingers" from the Socialist Party, 40,000 of them it is said, comprising the Slavic language federations as well as 3,000 mixed members in Michigan.

The cause of expulsion was the advocacy of "mass action" and the consequent fear of the conservative officials of the Party "that the left wingers would bring them all in jail." (Perhaps also a fear that they would lose their jobs.)

So there they stand, the mass actionists, isolated from political mass action. The majority of them endorse "industrial organization," but so far there has been no violent rush for membership in any existing industrial organization nor any attempt to form a new body.

Numerous left wingers are taking a friendly attitude towards the I. W. W., but it generally stops with the attitude. The endorsement of industrial unionism is more to be considered as a plank in their political platform.

In view of this "endorsement" a number of them seem to be mildly surprised at the I. W. W. for not doing them the same favor back, i. e. of endorsing Left Wing politics. The idea of barter and compromise in inherent in all political movements.

This expectation of the Left Wingers shows that they have not studied and understood the I. W. W.

Ever since 1908—that is for 11 years—I. W. W. has been non-political. To become a member it is not necessary to abjure politics. In fact that question is never raised. Members can vote for any party they please. But the program of the I. W. W. is such that it leaves no room for political action, and a member who has fully understood our philosophy is not a political worker.

Our program is to create a new society by organizing the workers in industrial unions, by means of which they can take over production and distribution, thus abolishing private ownership. We have dropped everything else and centered our activity on this point. As a matter of fact there is no difference of opinion on that score in the I. W. W.

If you go out among the agricultural workers, the construction workers, the lumber workers, the miners, the marine transport workers, the metal and machi-

nery workers, etc., who form the majority of the I. W. W., you will find that they will not for a moment countenance political agitation among the members or by any of the representatives of the organization. We simply are not in that line of business.

The 11th General Convention just closed, again unanimously went on record endorsing this stand. We continue to be non-political.

The left winger pleads in vain for a compromise that would let him into the I. W. W. on his present program of mixed political and industrial "mass-action." The only kind of mass action the I. W. W. endorses is **industrially organized mass-action**, as specified in its preamble and literature.

A considerable part of the left wingers are not wage workers. These we cannot absorb. Another large body is working in industries that we have not so far been able to organize. If they want to become I. W. W. members they would have to organize unions of those industries in accordance with our program. The others would have to enter as individuals the unions they properly belong to.

Where there is not a sufficient number to organize an industrial union, they can organize themselves into locals of the General Recruiting Union of the I. W. W.

But in neither case could they be admitted with any understanding about endorsement of their political program.

The left wingers are repeating the pretended concern of their leaders that the I. W. W. by excluding political activity has made no provision for the actual taking over of the industries.

We hold on the other hand that this "concern" is uncalled for. We are very much in the same position as the chicken in the shell or the embryo of any animal in its mother's womb.

When the chicken is ready, on the 21st day, he just picks a hole in the shell by his own inherent power. No external help, no "political action" is needed to release him. His own life force is sufficient. The same with the calf or the colt about to be born. When it is ready, the very bones of the mother relax to let it pass into independent life.

So it will be with the taking over of the means of production. When the working class organization is ready to take over society, the taking over will be a perfectly natural process. To attempt the taking over before that time thru "mass action" would be equal to social abortion, which would either result in disaster or require

some sort of social baby incubator to raise the prematurely born child.

Go ahead and organize industrially. That

is the advice we have for the now homeless left winger. The "taking over" will take care of itself when that time comes.

## The A. F. of L. Convention

THE A. F. of L. Convention met in Atlantic City, N. J., on June 9th. This watering place of the rich is a place where the Gompers machine is in the right surroundings. There are no turbulent industrial masses around to inspire the delegates to radical measures, nor is there any chance of unappreciative demonstrations to disturb the capitalistic minds of the Gompers machine. In this setting the delegates may better be relied upon to steer clear of radicalism.

The great question of the world to-day is the organization of the workers to take over production. The whole working class of this continent is stirred by the question of organizing industrially for that purpose. Large elements of the A. F. of L. are in sympathy with the proposition, but the Gompers machine is strenuously opposed to it. To give way to the "One Big Union" idea, as f. i. the Canadian workers have done, would in their opinion be to surrender to "bolshivism," to I. W. W. and anarchy. Gompers and his machine are the last hope of the capitalist class, and never before has the kept press had so many good words to say about Gompers.

These capitalistic delegates many again succeed in blocking human progress, but the honest and intelligent minority in the convention is constantly on the increase, and the near future may see the break-up of the A. F. of L. on this question.

A telegraphic request by the "One Big Union" of Canada for the co-operation of the A. F. of L. in the general strike now in progress was, of course, turned down. In fact Gompers is reported to have gone out of his way to fight the Canadian workers, by promising his aid in trying to "round up the agitators" in this country supposed to be instigators and abettors of this strike.

Could A. F. of L. sink lower!

The other great question up to the convention is the question of a general strike this Summer for the liberation of Mooney. The Gompers machine seems to be hostile to the proposition, but interest in the strike is widespread in the A. F. of L.

Last reports inform us that the strike proposition was voted down, the convention contenting itself with a resolution asking for a new trial.

The general policy which they follow on every question is to resist all forms of radi-

calism on every point. For them it is not a question: "Will this or that measure benefit the working class," but "will it help to conserve Gompersism in power, will it be of assistance to radicalism or not."

The whole convention seems to be simply a measuring of the relative strength of the forces of progress and the forces subservient to the enemies of the workers.

In close connection herewith is the question of Gompers' re-election.

Whether Gompers is re-elected or not makes little difference. If anything, it is better to have our enemies lined up as a separate body, distinctly hostile, than to have them among us. The One Big Union idea, propounded by the I. W. W. has taken firm root and is growing at a rate that terrifies our enemies. Victory shall soon be ours, irrespective of the doings of the capitalistic Gompers machine.

### NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

As the readers and contributors will note, few of the contributions to the One Big Union Monthly touch directly on the industries. They are more theoretical and general in nature. Of course it is all right to acquire a liberal general education, but in these times we must concentrate our efforts on the kind of work that will in the shortest time bring the best results in the way of knowledge how to take over and run the industries. For this purpose there is nothing better than a description of the industries. Take for instance the lumber industry. What would be needed is a survey of the area it covers, kind and quality of output, manner of working, distribution etc.

The writer should imagine that he has been entrusted with the important task of compiling the information necessary for the taking over of the industry and then go ahead and get that information. What is needed is a series of object lessons in this line covering the whole field of industry.

Who is going to be the first one to come with this kind of an article? If it is of the right kind it is going to have the right of way over everything else on the pages of this magazine.

As it is the articles are of pell-mell educational nature without any particular system. Following the advice of the editor would mean getting down to real systematic business.

The Editor.

The printing workers of Barcelona, Spain, refuse to print lies about the labor movement, is one of the news from that country.

## Gompers and Prohibition

**W**E wish we could say "A. F. of L. and prohibition," but that would be incorrect. The A. F. of L. is dominated by the Gompers machine as much as New York politics is dominated by Tammany. And the boss of the machine is Gompers, and we will deal with him.

As we have all read in the papers, Gompers and 500 of his faithful delegates took a day off on Saturday, June 14th, and made a trip to Washington to lead a monster anti-prohibition demonstration in favor of 2% beer, etc.

This act is perhaps the most undignified and improper step that a representative labor body ever took.

The convention has so far failed to respond to the call for any cause where the most sacred interests and the noblest ideals of the workers were involved. The Gompers machine is absolutely callous to the emancipation of the workers from wage slavery thru industrial unionism; it was cold as ice to the cry for solidarity coming from Canada; it tries to wriggle away from the duty of restoring to freedom one of their own, whom they believe to be innocent—but they devoted a day to saving beer, suspended the convention and traveled many miles to give expression to their enthusiasm for the paltry question of booze!

If this is not an excellent indication of A. F. of L. ideals we do not know what it is. And this they did in the name of liberty! Gompers pleaded for 2% beer with the fervor of a 100% patriot, all the while stroking fondly a silken American flag he had in his hand.

The spectacle would be disgusting no matter who did it, but when an alleged representative of the workers stands up and publicly stultifies the class for whom he pretends to speak, we feel outraged.

We repudiate your action, Mr. Gompers and A. F. of L. delegates. We denounce you as a bunch of mountebanks parading as the defenders of liberty.

If liberty is what you want, why have you not a word to say about the hundreds of workers who are in the jails of the country for no other cause than that they have faithfully stood by their class. But no! Those men you denounce, and would gladly see more of their kind go to jail.

Judging you by your actions, we would say that you are nothing but the tools of all the enemies of the workingclass. The sooner the workers wake up to see the fraud you are perpetrating on them the sooner will they be free.

Fellow Workers of the A. F. of L.! Do you feel proud of your leaders?

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### PERSECUTION OF I. W. W. IN KANSAS

Not only are the Kansas authorities arbitrarily keeping our members in prison by the score, but they are arresting every I. W. W. delegate they can get hold of. The county jail at Belleville is full of I. W. W.'s. In Hutchinson there met on June 14th the county attorneys of 30 counties with federal officials to make plans for concerted action in connection with the threatened invasion of the republic blush with shame.

The possession of literature and supplies is considered sufficient ground for incarceration. The question of legality does not seem to be taken into consideration.

Thus the machinery of "Justice" is being prostituted to the rich to aid them in fighting the poor harvest workers who struggle for better conditions.

To fill the shortage of labor thus artificially created they are releasing prisoners by the hundreds for the duration of the harvest.

A pretty picture of American democracy indeed! It is enough to make the pale ghosts of the founders of the republic blush with shame.

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Political democracy now exists in practically every country in the world. Even women have finally obtained full suffrage in most countries, the last countries being Sweden and United States. But that is not going to solve the world's problem. It will only increase the total vote and to some degree change the political color of officialdom. The world problem is how to disestablish private control and ownership of the means of production and distribution. That can be done only by the workers themselves, through their industrial organizations.

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The fellow with political inclinations has plenty to choose from these days. Besides the old parties whose hearts have always been bleeding for labor, there are 7 different ways of bringing the privilege of citizenship to bear upon the affairs of the country. There are the Nonpartisan League, The Labor Party, Gompers' "acid test" politics, The Social Democratic League, (The right wingers), The Socialist Party (Moderate) and The Left Wingers and finally the Socialist Labor Party. All of them are upbraiding the I. W. W. for not going into politics, and we upbraid them all for not going into industrial unionism.

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A. F. of L. organizers are being laughed off the floor when they read long telegrams from "Brother Gompers," who "hopes a settlement can be made by April 1."

GOMPERISM



THE MODERN LAOCOON

## The 11th Annual Convention--Last Seven Days

By ROBERTA BRUNER

**T**HE last days of the great convention showed no slackening of speed. The long daily sessions followed by the more intensive committee meetings had certainly been fatiguing—but not enough to abate the zeal of the delegates who never forgot that they were on pay from the rank and file.

The matter of stamps was finally disposed of. It was decided to change shape, size, and color of due stamps. This change was necessary owing to the fact that many of the old supplies have fallen into the hands of agents-provocateurs et al, who do not hesitate to make capital off them. It was also arranged to place stamps, marked "duplicate" on the face of each stamp, in duplicate books. The \$1 organization stamp and the \$1 relief stamp are to be retained and two general defense stamps of \$1 and 50 cents respectively are to be issued. All other general assessment stamps will be called in.

The matter of placing the various Marine Transport Workers, now separately chartered, into one union was brought up on the convention floor; but feeling unable to legislate intelligently on matters pertaining to an industry little understood by the body at large, the disposition of the situation was left for a special conference of M. T. W., which was to be held in Philadelphia the latter part of May. No doubt the M. T. W will be able to adjudicate their affairs satisfactorily to all, inasmuch as all wish to be under one charter and all are in sympathy with the principles upon which the I. W. W. is founded.

The Constitution Committee offered many changes to the convention. The most important perhaps pertaining to the regulation of organizers in conformity with Universal Delegate System and the striking out of all references to Recruiting Union Branch charters. The striking out of by-laws as such and incorporating the retained portions into the main constitution was considered wise owing to the fact that it is difficult to have by-laws applicable to widely varying industrial unions. The legislating against any official's holding office for more than one term was a splendid measure, precluding any chance at building up a machine with the organization. Many other important changes were recommended, all of which indicated the "onward march."

The Grievance Committee spent many evening hours in earnest session. The disposition shown by this body was one of fairness to all and a decided aversion was ever apparent toward any semblance of "slipping one over" on anybody. (The minutes of the convention and *New Solidarity* consider the report in detail.)

The discussion of the form of defense to be used in the future made one of the most intensely interesting sessions of the convention. The chairman entertained a timely suggestion that each delegate rise in response to roll-call and speak on the

subject of defense. Men and women not gifted as soap-boxers became eloquent on this vital subject. The tide of red blood dyeing the cheeks of delegates and visitors during the speeches attested to the uneven heart-throbs that answered the appeals made for our persecuted boys.

The speakers seemed to talk around these three points; legal defense, economic defense and silent defence. All agreed that legal defense was utterly lacking in justice where capital and labor were involved, being a mere capitalistic dispensation of favoritism. All who referred to the subject of economic defense knew it was a better means if it were possible but had to make the admission that, as yet, we had no general control of economic power. The silent defense at Sacramento has made a profound impression apparently on the working class and many favor it; but it was pointed out by a delegate who had been in close touch with the silent 44 that there was considerable doubt even among the silent strikers as to the wisdom of that course of action. After these points had been well covered it was continually pointed out that the rank and file must pass final judgement in the referendum.

The convention manifested a great faith in the workers' direct opinion. It is theirs to decide, for the workers are the ones apt to be involved and each one of these will no doubt do what the convention did, leave it in the end to the choice of the boys who may actually be called to test the reality of facing a long term in the prisons or a shortened term upon the earth like that faced by Joe Hill.

No industrial union seemed to be solidly for any one certain line of action except A. W. I. U. No. 400, which was on record as favoring the use of legal defense at present for the same reason that we have to put up with something else equally pernicious—that boss which is upon our backs.

It was pointed out that legal defense, while being very expensive, was also very good propaganda.

Some inclining to do away with the use of legal defense inquired as to where the money would come from. They sometimes expressed a fear that, in future, as in the past, the fundamental organization issues would be shoved aside for the sideissues of defense.

The answers to these arguments were to the effect that the defense funds collected had supported the organization during trying times; and that in the future the mistakes of the past would be avoided.

Some opposed defense as a general organization matter. Some opposed huge defenses but favored minor cases to be legally defended.

That lawyers were in a bourgeois conspiracy with prosecuting attorneys was argued by one.

The point covered oftenest, however, it is safe to say, was to leave it up to the person actually

involved; because one often thinks that in a certain situation, he will act in a given way—but will find in reality, if placed in that situation, that many act quite differently. And the point carrying most conviction perhaps was that if we refuse defense to any man who wishes it and who has worked for the organization—has given his all—or, if we should wait for an industrial revolution to take him out—that it would not only show ingratitude but would also be wrong management, inasmuch as many men, feeling no support from the organization back of them, would have less incentive to work. Many delegates said that personally they were opposed and would not use it for themselves but would favor it for those who wanted it.

The outcome was, "Leave it to the rank and file," and that outcome marked the wisdom which has dominated the eleventh general I. W. W. convention, in its entirety.

The recommendations in regard to the general strike was postponed till the last day for the obvious reason that the masters might find in such resolutions sufficient cause for sending the ubiquitous blue coats into our midst.

When Fellow Worker Tom Murphy began reading the final report of the Ways and Means Committee the air grew tense and at the words, "that we go on record as standing for a general strike in the United States this summer for the purpose of freeing all class-war prisoners," the tenseness broke into applause. Once before these sober delegates had applauded—the occasion was the announcement of the arrival of the delegate from the class-war prisoners at Leavenworth. These two occasions and the rapid fire announcements of a desire to federate with the I. W. W. on the part of the Irish transport workers, 75,000 strong, Italians of an equal number and many South American workers, taken together with the defense discussions and the singing of "Hold the Fort" at the final adjournment of the convention, were very dramatic moments and stand out clearly now that the convention has long been closed. But though the sessions are actually ended, the work of these men will go on for a long time to come, for the executions of plans here formulated will mark the historical progress of the working-class. A student of economics could have found no better school than this brief convention afforded, nor no better teachers than these sturdy men selected by the rank and file as representatives. May the convention next spring be equal to this just ended, and may conditions be so revolutionized that the work of that body shall be entirely for a new society!

#### THE I. W. W. ENDORSED

The growing movement in the ranks of the W. I. I. U. in favor of abandoning the hope of the workers freeing themselves by casting ballots in capitalists elections is indicated in a significant incident that occurred at the semi-monthly business meeting of Metal & Machinery Local 217 of the W. I. I. U. in Brooklyn, N. Y., on May 6, 1919.

A resolution was presented by a group of the members reading in part as follows:

"The world war has disorganized the functions of the political class state. The strategical position of labor is changed entirely. Its revolutionary vitality has been transferred from the political parties to the economic organizations of labor. Instead of fighting for seats alongside capitalist legislators, labor must organize on the economic field, for the sole purpose of establishing the Industrial Republic.

"The war has dissolved the multitude of workingclass factions, aspirations and conceptions, and laid the foundation for unified action.

"Taking the afore-mentioned conditions into consideration, the undersigned committee proposes the

1. That we **strike out the clause in our Preamble which calls for the manifestation of our revolutionary activity through a distinct political party of labor.**

2. That we call upon all our members to sever their connections with the S. L. P., S. P. or any other political party, as these bodies have outgrown their usefulness and are becoming detrimental to the cause of labor.

3. That we go on record as favoring **affiliation with the I. W. W.**, as the only organization in the U. S. A. advocating the correct application of the principles of the class struggle.

4. That our delegates to the National Convention of the W. I. I. U. be instructed to introduce a motion to that effect.

(Signed) CARL FINKELDEY,  
WM. GRUNDMAN,  
JOHN ALEXANDER."

The motion was bitterly fought by the S. L. P. politicians but **came within four votes of being adopted.**

#### A CALL TO THE SHIPBUILDERS

The shipbuilders have played a prominent part in the happenings of the last two years. All capitalistic elements seemed to agree that building ships, and building them fast, was necessary in order to continue their war successfully.

Thousands and thousands of slaves were brought to the coast cities to build the much-needed ships, and those slaves, not being organized in a class-conscious organization, were easily exploited and robbed of the product of their toil. Naturally, the masters called them heroes, and they remained here as long as they remained dull, submissive slaves.

As usual under such circumstances, the labor fakirs lended the master class a willing hand in keeping the workers divided against their own interest.

But no matter what schemes the master class may have, the workers after having been robbed and exploited for a certain length of time, are due for an awakening. This now seems to be the case with the men who are building the ships on the Pacific coast. Of course, they are not being called

heroes any more, they are being called hoboos and slackers now.

The workers who are building the ships are waking up. They are beginning to realize, that their craft form of organization is inefficient, that their various different organizations are unable to cope with the ever growing power of the master class. Consequently they see a vision of the One Big Union. All the shipyard workers in One Big Union; an industrial union. A union which does not organize along craft, but along class lines; a union which not only takes in the mechanics, but every tigger, from the office boy up to laborers, bolters up, riggers, fasteners, riveters, reamers, caulkers, in fact every one whose toil is necessary to build ships.

#### HOW THE SUPERIOR GIRLS TAKE THE 8-HOUR DAY

Not long ago in Superior a member of the H. R. & D. W. I. U. No. 1100 I. W. W. was in a position where the boss evidently expected the girls to kill themselves at work for a few dollars per. This girl works eleven and twelve hours for two or three days, but one day after working eight hours she started for her hat. The boss said, "Now, you can wash up the counters." "No, I work only eight hours after this." That is the right spirit, girls. Tell your boss how long you will work. Don't ask him. Just quietly tell him your plans. Don't be afraid you'll be fired. Your work is what makes his place profitable. He needs you. **Line up in 1100.**

Fellow Worker of the I. W. W., do you make it a point to ask the girl who serves your meals, if she is lined up? The Duluth and Superior boys start the order off by asking the girls if they are lined up. The result is that many places employ solid I. W. W. help, and the union card hangs on the wall. Boys, think what the hotels and restaurants will mean to us in the great clash and help us put 1100 on the map in every city.

Send into headquarters for this little card, \$3.00 per thousand and slip them under your plate every meal. Get busy!

#### NOW!

**This place runs you!  
If you want to run this place,  
LINE UP**

#### NOW!

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

The press and public men are trying to look serious while discussing the question whether the I. W. W. is merely a symptom or the cause of all evil in this country.

The people don't rule; they only think the do. **Big Business and High Finance are the real rulers.**

Now what is the I. W. W.? How are they organizing? What is its aims and objects? These are the questions being asked.

The I. W. W. is a revolutionary working class organization, which recognizes that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common. The ultimate aim of the I. W. W. is to organize the workers as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system. By organizing industrially we are forming the new society within the shell of the old. Shipyard workers, get busy! Join the I. W. W.! Do it now! Send to this office for supplies and credentials and do your duty.

J. VAN VEEN,  
Sec'y S. B. I. U. No. 325. Box 365,  
Seattle, Wash.

#### THE DELEGATE WORKS WHEN HE EATS.

Duluth, Minn.

At late lunch hour we went into the **Ideal Restaurant** and on the boss's time talked to some of the girls. They are in fine spirit. One girl lined up, another set the date for Fellow Worker Ruusenen to come back and give her a card. At the end of the counter the conversation took place as follows:

Del.: "You have the little red card?"

Worker: "No."

Del. "Well, why haven't you?"

W. "Well . . . later."

Del. "Now. It's always better to be earlier."

W. "All right." (And the worker borrowed a dollar to take out the card and pay two months' dues.)

The proprietor's wife, a radical, told the girls she'd be glad to see the union banner on the wall. Why? Because it's the spirit of superior organization. It will be a benefit to the **Ideal** to have the union card up because of the solidarity of the working class. That's what the One Big Union does. And then we tell the bosses where to get off. We **take** shorter hours, more pay, and come constantly nearer to Industrial Democracy.—Del. 90.

Throughout the country a most intense persecution of foreigners suspected of radical sympathies is being carried on. Recently the Swedes of Seattle have held great mass-meetings, adopting resolutions to have this persecution looked into. They have met with little encouragement from the powers that be.

Press reports inform us that 70,000 workers in Greece have organized into unions. We shall be interested in the details. We hope their program is a modern one.

"Give him what the Germans did not," was the cry of the Lawrence police in Woolen trust service, as they were mercilessly clubbing a striking soldier just back from France.



### THE MEXICAN SITUATION

#### NEW LEAFLETS

Three new leaflets are just off the press:

**The Furniture Workers**, by W. Severin. \$2.75 per thousand.

**The Unemployed**, by James P. Thompson, \$2.00 per thousand.

**An open letter to American Workingmen**, by George Hardy, \$2.50 per thousand.

There has been some "rioting" in Toledo, Ohio, in connection with the strike at the Willis-Overland Automobile Works, with two workers dead and many wounded. Of course the blame is thrown on the I. W. W., but we all know where it comes from, so there is no need to talk about it. Capitalism has come to a stage where production is carried on at the point of the bayonet.

The Bolsheviks or "Left Wingers" of Norway and have just held their yearly congress. In Norway they are in control of the Socialdemocratic party, having received 75 per cent of the vote at the recent congress. These 75 per cent endorse "direct action" as opposed to parliamentary action. No immediate action is to be taken, however. They are waiting for a further consolidation of the working masses. They endorsed the communist international and sent wireless greetings to Lenin. At the same time "Left Wingers" of Sweden, in congress assembled voted their endorsement of the communist international by a vote of 117 to 5, but in Sweden they are a minority party outside the socialdemocratic party. In neither country are the unions as yet in such a shape to be able to take over and carry on production, the larger portion of them still adhering to the craft union plan.

# Historical Sketches of the Revolutionary Labor Movement in Italy

By A. FAGGI

**T**HE labor movement in Italy has assumed a real class-conscious character within the past twenty years.

The year 1898 is written in the history of Italian Labor's martyrology in letters of blood. The colonial war for the conquest of African Eritrea had brought the Italian people to such a point of misery, that on May 1, 1898, there took place in all the large cities of Italy, spontaneous demonstrations which became known as the "moti della fame," or hunger revolts.

The revolutionary movement was then sparsely developed, either economically or politically. There were then only a few economic organizations in existence in the most industrially developed centers, such as Genoa, Milan, Turin, etc., and in the agricultural region of Emilia. The Socialist Party had very few members. Having only recently separated itself from the anarchist element (Genoa Congress, 1892), its activity was purely electoral.

Such state of affairs found its explanation not only in the industrially undeveloped condition of the nation as a whole, but also in the limited political liberties conceded by the monarchy.

In fact, the right of organization was contested and very much opposed; and depended in most cases upon the will or arbitrary acts of a minister of the government or of a prefect.

The hunger uprising of 1898, therefore, was really due to the serious economic hardships which the people were suffering; revolutionary propaganda played but a very minor part.

However, the government placed the blame entirely upon the anarchists, socialists, republicans, and even the democratic elements. The "hunger revolt" was stifled in blood. Hundreds of workers were slaughtered in the streets as they voiced their cry of, "We want bread and work." At Milan, General Bava Beccaris even caused artillery to be brought into action against the protesting masses. On that same day thousands of arrests were made in all the cities of Italy; the "military tribunals" passed the most astounding and outrageous sentences upon hundreds of men who were entirely innocent.

## Enormous Growth of the Movement

But it was from those same tragic days of May, 1898, that the labor movement was born and grew to gigantic size in its double expression, economic and political. The blood of the martyrs was on this occasion, as on many others, the fecund seed of the new ideal.

At the beginning, this movement born of tragedy and suffering rather than from the class-consciousness of the proletariat, naturally could not be an autonomous, independent movement of the working class.

The proletariat was but an infant in development

at this stage, and could not proceed independently, supported by its proper conscience and guided by its own program. Like all youngsters, it needed a guardian. And the Socialist Party assumed from that day this task of guardianship, of political exponent of the workers' interests.

The Socialist Party thus acquired great popularity. And while before 1898 it had sent to parliament only 5 or 6 deputies, in the first elections following the hunger uprisings, the number of deputies was increased to about twenty. Many among those elected to the office of deputy were in jail, and were then liberated.

The elections which succeeded the tragic days of May, 1898, not only sent a score of socialist deputies to parliament, but also sent another score or thereabouts among republicans and democrats; these were then considered as revolutionists, as they more or less expressed the popular opposition of that time against the dominant powers of reaction.

The government, presided over by the old reactionary Pelloux, presented to the parliament certain so-called "exception laws" to further restrict every form of freedom, especially the freedom of organization and the right to strike. The fifty deputies comprising the so-called "block of the extreme left" thereupon organized a desperate opposition, which culminated in **obstructionism**. Each one of them would speak at great length, some for whole days at a time, in order to play for time and to prevent the matter coming to any definite conclusion. This singular political fight was crowned with success, as the government, seeing it could not get its proposed laws passed, decided to dissolve the assembly and hold new elections, in the illusion of being able to get favorable action on its drastic laws with the new parliament.

But already the spirit of freedom had made headway among the people, and they elected to the assembly with even greater numbers the deputies of the democratic-Socialist opposition.

It was then that the government of Pelloux resigned, and with it were wrecked forever the proposed laws intended to throttle the most elemental liberties.

## A Great Labor Victory

In 1900 the workers took advantage of the new breathing spell of freedom to everywhere form their own organizations. With the rise of the organizations there ripened a whole crop of strikes, practically all of which were victorious because they took the masters by surprise and unprepared, and the novelty of it at the time stunned them.

One of these strikes was particularly important, because it gave origin to another unfortunate reactionary attempt against the organizations. Among others, certain workers of the port of Genoa went

on strike. And then, the minister Saracco, head of the government succeeding Pelloux, an old reactionary who could not adapt himself to seeing the workers enjoy certain few liberties, issued a decree dissolving the *Camera del Lavoro*, or local Labor Assembly of Genoa.

Once more there arose the necessity of defending the freedom of organization. But this time the proletariat itself took care of its own affairs. To the order to dissolve the *Camera del Lavoro* of Genoa, the workers of that city responded with the proclamation of a general strike. All the industries were paralyzed, and this paralysis threatened to extend to other cities, also, upon which the said industries were dependent for supplies for the port of Genoa. After a few unforgettable days of resistance, the Saracco government was forced to give in, resigning from office at the same time.

This was the first, real class victory of the Italian proletariat.

But another sensational event took place the same year. I allude to the killing of King Humbert I, at Monza, July 29, 1900, by the hand of the anarchist Gaetano Bresci.

#### Corrupting Politics

This event and the others already briefly referred to, had a powerful influence upon the succeeding directive agencies in Italian politics.

In fact, within a short space of time the directing classes took a new course toward so-called "liberal politics."

The first government expressive of this new policy, intent upon circumventing and weakening with blandishments and promises the young but promising revolutionary movement which it had been impossible to destroy with open violence, was the one formed by the ministers Giolitti and Zanardelli about 1902.

The policy of these gentlemen was at bottom that of all governments which, inspired by a criterion of political opportunism, attempt to elevate the prestige of their institutions and thus attract the proletariat, with the enunciation of a program upon which participation in the government by the opposition element might be obtained. In this way they endeavored to first attract, and then bind, compromise and corrupt a part of the revolutionary movement. And such were the results. The promises of the two new dukes of the Italian monarchy were: freedom of organization and of strike, legislative reforms as concerning the women workers and child labor, etc. And the trap worked successfully.

The democratic deputies gave their unconditional support to the new government; and soon afterward they actually entered in active participation in the government with their men. And the "liberal" government in turn supported the republicans and the socialists.

The Socialist Party had already become strong in numbers; had had for several years a daily newspaper (*L'Avanti*) and numerous weeklies in nearly all the principal centers of the nation. The workers

organizations also had become powerful and numerous. They had already carried on some splendid struggles, with all the ardor of youth. Not even a shadow of dissention had appeared to disturb the feverish work of the organizers and propagandists, with the exception of some serene debates and discussion with the anarchist elements, then quite numerous. On the other hand they were engaged in defending the most elementary freedom, as an essential condition for the affirmation of any renovating or regenerating movement. Therefore unity arose naturally and spontaneously from this immediate and most urgent need of common defense.

#### The "Liberal" Government Massacres the Workers

But the new "liberal politics" soon threw the whole movement deeply into decay, discord and schism.

The attitude of the socialist deputies in giving their vote and their support to the "liberal" government, was the signal of internal struggle and factional fights.

In a short time there appeared clearly outlined, three different tendencies within the movement: the reformist, for supporting the government which promised political benefits; the center or integralist, which believed itself capable of giving its favorable vote, from time to time, to some good law, but never to support the general governmental policies; and lastly, the revolutionary tendency, which soon became the syndicalist faction of the party—and which insisted that in order to continue in conformity and accord with the labor and revolutionary character of the party, it was necessary to maintain a continued and systematic attitude of opposition to all bourgeois government.

In the meantime, while on one side polemics raged furiously, on the other side the labor organizations were forging ahead on experimental and practical lines as far as they could rely upon the promises of the "liberal" government.

The capitalists, recovered from the stupor of their first defeats, again set out for conquest and domination. They organized themselves in turn in formidable corporations to oppose the workers' movement first, and to destroy it later on.

The struggle between capital and labor was thus rendered more arduous and bitterly cruel. Already the labor movement appeared clearly in its decisive class character. Revolutionary thought rose above the progressive level; it passed from the Socialist Party to labor organizations, which in the contacts of the difficult daily struggles were becoming more and more saturated with anti-capitalistic spirit; while the party, in its political contact and daily parliamentary compromises, was becoming more and more denatured.

However, the revolutionary element of the party did not abandon it; but, remaining in the party, engaged in a terrific fight in its campaign of opposition, of striving for control, of criticism and of revolutionary education, quick to profit from every event whereby it could demonstrate the inefficacy and fallacy of the reformist methods, and the danger of losing their identity as workers in the bour-

geois elements to which these methods exposed them.

And tragically demonstrative events were not lacking. In some agricultural strikes, the authorities, forgetting the promises of the government, returned to the old repressive measures, even to ordering the troops to fire on the workers in demonstrations. The revolutionary element rebelled more and more against the deputies, who still continued to support a government which had several times stained itself with the blood of the workers. This argument fully hit the fusionist reformists and was unanswerable, but this element did not allow itself to be moved thereby. The adherents of fusionist-reformism were already tightly held within the meshes of bourgeois parliamentarism.

For a mere law or for any stupid reform, they were disposed to sacrifice everything. As to the massacres of the workers, Filippo Turati, leader of the reformists, in order to justify the murderous government and endeavoring to show that it could not be held to blame for the machine gun fire directed against the breast of the proletariat, is quoted as using a phrase, which became famous, to this effect: "It is not a case of violence willed by the government, but of occasional violence, inseparable from every labor struggle; it is merely a matter of some stray shot which has involuntarily hit some laborer . . ."

Thus, reformism justified even the massacre of the workers and continued undaunted, upon its course of compromises and alliances with the government, while not a week passed without some "stray shot" put to an end the cries of hunger or of protest of some of the proletariat.

#### Advance of the Revolutionists

And thus, the gulf of dissension in the party grew ever wider, since the revolutionists emphasized more and more their fight against this reformist degeneration. Already the revolutionists had acquired strength and power; they had many weekly journals, such as "La Propaganda" of Naples, "L'Avanguardia" of Milan, etc. At Milan they had taken control of the local Socialist Party, forcing Turati to yield. Moreover, there was strong sympathy for them in many labor unions. And in a congress of the party held in 1903-04 the majority disavowed reformist methods and assigned the direction of the party paper and of all the directive agencies of the party to the revolutionists of the center,—that is, not the extremist revolutionists, who had almost become syndicalists, but a fourth faction owing its origin to the tactical differences or polemics of the preceding years, and which occupied a position between integralism, already mentioned above, and the extreme revolutionist ideas. This faction was led by Enrico Ferri, then a man of great authority, into whose hands passed the control of "Avanti," the party's daily paper. Ferri soon showed himself to be weak and ambitious, and a man of superficial and unstable convictions, so that in the course of six or seven years he was completely discredited as a party man.

#### The Biggest General Strike

At this period important events followed swiftly. The extremists approved of Ferri's leadership of the party, though they continued intrepidly in their propaganda and their implacable criticism. To the papers they already possessed there was added a review, "Il Divenire Sociale," issued twice a month and edited by Enrico Leone, a man of superior ability and culture, who always remained firm in his syndicalist convictions, through the stress of a thousand storms of various nature, and who even to this day indefatigably consecrates his generous spirit and his high intellect to the Idea which he embraced in his youth, or over 25 years ago. The review, "Il Divenire Sociale," was a veritable temple of instruction and a bond of faith.

While the extremists were thus laboring so intensely, there occurred an imposing and memorable event: the general strike of September, 1904. This has certainly been one of the greatest affirmations of the Italian proletariat.

Another massacre of workers in a town of southern Italy had put the proletariat in mourning and had aroused deep indignation and the highest fervor. During this extraordinary psychological period, another grave conflict took place, not far away from industrial centers as before, but in Turin. There were dead and wounded. And then there followed more serious discussions of a general strike than heretofore. The revolutionists, at the recurrence of each fresh outrage or massacre, repeated: "It is necessary to respond to the violence of the enemy with the general strike." But scarcely anyone believed in the possibility of carrying out a general strike in all Italy. Yet events proved otherwise. Soon after the slaughter at Turin, big mass meetings were held everywhere, and everywhere the idea of the general strike met with approval. In one of these meetings at Sestri Ponente, an industrial town near Genoa, the police intervened with brutality. A terrible conflict ensued. The police fired upon the assembly, and once more women and men fell on the public thoroughfares, pierced by the leaden bullets of the royal regime.

It proved to be the last drop that caused the cup of patience to overflow. Already partial strikes had been declared here and there following the bloody episode at Turin of two days previous. On the morrow of the fatal affair at Sestri Ponente, all the workers of Italy arose, as one man, spontaneously, irresistibly.

And the general strike was an accomplished fact. All the workshops, from the smallest to the largest, were paralyzed in an instant; all the trains were stopped; not a vessel left the ports. Even postal and telegraphic activity was interrupted, and bourgeois society, in all its manifestations and aspects, seemed shaking in its death shudders.

A few cities, like Genoa and Milan, were for two days completely in the hands of the workers. The barracks overflowed with troops, but the government kept them confined there. It did not dare, in those days, to throw the soldiers against the strikers who filled the streets or appeared every-

where in compact, solid ranks, expressing their scorn, in various forms, and showing a spirit of deep revolt; in front of the public or government buildings which were silent and closed up tight, and before the palaces behind the massive doors of which the terrorized bourgeoisie had securely shut itself in.

As if to show the incapacity of the politicians to express the proletarian psychology, it may be remembered that only a few weeks prior to this great and complete general strike, there had assembled at Amsterdam, the International Socialist Congress, where some forty odd intellectuals, representing the socialist parties of the various countries, voted a resolution decisively opposing the general strike.

#### Betrays by Politicians

And how did this big general strike terminate? After three days of fighting, there began to appear here and there, on the part of the deputies and followers, urgings and invitations to end the strike. The Socialist parliamentary group, assembled at Milan and comprising the few who were able to attend, decided to issue an appeal for the cessation of the strike. The revolutionists opposed the move, but a considerable number of workers, in obedience to the call of the reformists, began to leave the heretofore solid ranks of the strikers, so that on the fourth day there was such a lack of unity and solidarity that the strike had to be called off. The police, again dominating the situation, wrecked their vengeance upon the workers who still remained true, and upon the last to give up the now unequal and hopeless contest. Arrests by the hundreds were made on the streets and everywhere, and the bourgeoisie, recovered from the fright, took to insulting and attacking the enchained and manacled workers upon the public highway.

What could the revolutionists gain by continuing the fight? Some few dared to urge the overthrow of the monarchy and the proclamation of a republic. But, generally, the thought of such a plan carried fear, it seems. Suffice it to say that the Republican Party, the most interested in the republic, and quite strong in numbers and prestige at that time, opposed the strike because of political jealousy. Still, the revolutionists wished to continue the tie-up, as they did not desire to fulfill the duties of "social firemen" by putting out the sacred fires of revolt and breaking the impetus of the workers onslaught. Also they desired to continue because, aside from every other consideration, and interpreting the general strike rather as a spontaneous protest of the proletariat because of the massacres perpetrated by the government, they declared that, "the greater the intensity, duration and importance of the protest, the greater will be its efficacy, and the more effectively will it sound the desired note of reprimand and of warning."

The reformists, on the other hand, were dominated, as usual, by electoral preoccupations! They well understood that the general strike, that tremendous explosion of proletarian wrath, tended to alienate, insofar as they the reformists and poli-

ticians were concerned, the sympathies of the workers, the small shop keepers, the *petit bourgeoisie*, and the middle class generally, the social groups which held the most considerable number of votes from the reformist socialist viewpoint.

For this reason they not only combated the general strike during its development, but they devoted themselves to heaping calumny and defamation upon it and its propagators for months afterwards; charging the revolutionists with being fools, lunatics and criminals, and the workers with being accomplices in crime.

#### The Idea of the "Workers' Dictatorship"

The revolutionists not only defended the general strike and extolled its virtues and social necessity, but in doing so gained the inspiration for a new orientation of the revolutionary workers.

Prior to this great proletarian event, those of our comrades who were revolutionists were essentially political revolutionists. Only a relatively limited importance had been given the real labor movement as a factor of social transformation and reconstruction.

The life and conduct of the Party had been such that it brought these same revolutionists to confer an exaggerated importance upon the political and at the same time to neglect the economic factor.

But the general strike above referred to opened the eyes of the sincere revolutionists. From this great episode, frankly proletarian, they learned that revolutionary force under the capitalist regime emanated solely from the economic organizations of the workers; that only these possess the magic virtue with which to shake all of bourgeois society to its foundation; that bourgeois society rests upon the foundation of the factory, the shop, the mine; upon industrial production, in brief, and not on politics.

And since then, evoking the days when the workers, folding their arms, had automatically become the masters of the largest cities, they proclaimed that the future revolution could not be the result of political competition or rivalries, nor of legislative reforms, but rather the result of the **class dictatorship** of the proletariat become powerful and conscious of its destiny, through industrial organization. And from that time there was propagated a new phrase, and a notable one, expressive of the new interpretation of the coming social development: **True Socialism is entirely and solely within the labor organizations.**

#### The First "Syndicalist" Strikes

Soon there appeared in our press the new word: **Syndicalism**, which had already come to Italy through the French labor movement.

All the revolutionists applied themselves with diligence and care to impress a syndicalist character upon the workers' organizations. They said:

**"We workers, once organized, suffice in ourselves. We have no need either of deputies, nor of protective laws, nor of the paternalism of the state. We are Labor; Labor is everything; therefore we are the future. Let us organize ourselves in our unions, independent of any political group**

or party. By means of our solidarity, of our sacrifices, of our efforts as a class—we will create and mould our historic destiny."

This was the new Syndicalist gospel that was preached to the masses of Labor.

In 1906 there occurred some great strikes among the agricultural workers of the province of Piacenza and a part of the province of Ferrara. These workers had embraced the syndicalist idea and their organizers were syndicalists. These strikers were completely victorious, in spite of the obstacles interposed by the reformist politicians.

Especially memorable was the second of these strikes, that is to say the one of Argenta (Ferrara) in which were involved also thousands of women, who gave splendid proof of heroic resistance during three long months. One incident of this strike to be long remembered and full of emotion, was the following: The association of the masters had hired hundreds of scabs at distant points. The arrival of these wretches by a special train was announced. Hundreds of women and men went to meet this train and came upon it standing at a station some distance from the city of Argenta. It was necessary to stop its progress here, because if it were allowed to reach Argenta, the troops would have rendered vain any attempts to get to it, or to resist the strike-breakers. The men strikers of the group boarded the train to persuade the wretched traitors to their cause to turn back. But these latter seemed fully determined to carry through their infamous undertaking. Squads of police arrived, and a tremendous fight followed.

The strikers were overcome. Already the train, protected by the police, was ready to proceed; the strike-breakers were about to resume their journey to Argenta. But the heroism of the women strikers, and their defiance of danger and death, had yet to be reckoned with. All together, they laid themselves prone across the railroad track, in front of the train. Had the train moved under these conditions, the results would have been most horrifying to say the least. The police resorted to every possible violent means to clear the track, but in vain. The women strikers would not budge from their strategic position. In the face of this spectacle, the trainmen declared they would not proceed. The scabs, perhaps a bit moved by emotion, but certainly somewhat upset if not indeed terrified, declared that they had been brought hence through deceit and fraud, and asked that they be returned to whence they came. And such, finally, was the decision arrived at by the authorities, to "evade grave disorders," so they said. And so the trainload of slaves was turned back, defeated by that singular human barrier.

It was also during the strike at Argenta, in fact, that there was inaugurated for the first time the "exodus of the children," or the taking away of the children of the strikers to be cared for at places far from the struggle, so as to facilitate the resistance of their parents in the strike and at the same time prevent the suffering of the innocent children.

These children were intrusted to the loyal care of fellow workers in other cities. This great sacrifice was also made by the parents among the strikers at Lawrence, Massachusetts, and proved to be a successful experiment, in that great strike in 1912.

In 1907, the Syndicalists, assembled in regular congress at Ferrara, officially decided to abandon the Socialist Party, severing all connection with it, and to devote their efforts entirely to the organization of the workers into their unions.

#### The Parma Strike.

Then followed the strictly syndicalist general strike of the agricultural workers in the province of Parma, which lasted a whole summer and culminated in a terrific conflict between workers and police on the streets of the city of Parma. This was indeed a memorable manifestation of Syndicalist vitality and faith. In order to endeavor to kill the strike, the police had decided to arrest all the known directing heads then in the local "Camera del Lavoro," or local Labor Council. But to enter the "Camera del Lavoro," the police had to engage in a long fight against the resisting workers who, from the roofs of the adjoining buildings, stoutly defended their institution. Four years later, just before my departure from Italy, there could still be plainly seen the numerous bullet holes made by the deadly guns of the police on the facades of the houses of that working class district. This was the greatest of all strikes in Italy; and it therefore deserves to be given more space here, but I will only bring out the important fact that, at the end of the strike seventy-four of our comrades were arrested, and after a year in prison were brought to trial under the charge of having formed an association for the purpose of criminal transgression against the state.

Just as here in the United States there has taken place the famous trial of the I. W. W. of 1918,—so in Italy, in 1909, there took place the somewhat similar and celebrated trial aimed against syndicalists and Syndicalism. But with this difference: the jury there, contrary to the decision of the jury in the I. W. W. case here, at the end of the trial covering a period of two months, rendered a verdict of **not guilty**.

Only one man was condemned to one year's imprisonment: this was **Alceste De Ambris**, general secretary of the "Camera del Lavoro" of Parma, the person who had done more than any one else to put life and vigor into this gigantic strike. He had been able to take refuge in Switzerland during the epic days of this revolt of the workers, and sentence was passed upon him in his absence. He is the same De Ambris—(strange irony of men and things!) recently come to the United States at the head of a so-called labor mission, made up of renegades like himself, and received with open arms and sponsored by Gompers and his lieutenants!

Without dwelling upon the many important episodes of Syndicalist activity in this necessarily brief sketch, we now come to the concluding chapter:

### The "General Confederation of Labor" and the "Italian Syndicalist Union"

Up to 1907-1908, there did not exist in Italy any general organism uniting the labor organizations of the country. Such a general organization had often been suggested and discussed, and names proposed for it, but in reality it had never materialized.

The reformists established the "Confederazione Generale del Lavoro," the "C. G. L.," about 1907.

The syndicalists were undecided for several years. Absorbed in their continuous struggles, they were unable to form for themselves a co-ordinated general organism of their forces. Finally, however, after several vain attempts to come to an understanding with the General Confederation of Labor, referred to above, there was formed during the early part of 1918, the "Unione Sindacale Italiana," often referred to as the "U. S. I." (Italian Syndicalist Union), which was greeted with the liveliest enthusiasm and the frank sympathy of the workers.

The technical structure of the "Italian Syndicalist Union" is similar to that of the I. W. W., and of the General Confederation of Labor of France; being based upon Industrialism. There is only one main difference in the two organizations, and that is that the "Italian Syndicalist Union," in conformity with the traditional characteristics of the Italian labor movement, is largely based upon the local autonomy of the organizations. Italian labor is hostile to centralization, because of its marked tendencies against local initiative. It rebels against the idea of an excessively rigid discipline.

The main organism of action in Italy is still the local Labor Assembly, or "Camera del Lavoro," which unites all the local labor organizations. But each unit of local organization is affiliated with the national industrial syndicate (or Industrial Union), in the case of organized industries, which in turn are affiliated to the Syndicalist Union, or general organization. However, the Industrial Syndicates have so far been considered more specially as organs of technical co-ordination. The "Italian Syndicalist Union" unites the movement in a bond of national and international solidarity, thus impressing upon it the character of unity, and also directs its movements of a general nature. But the "Camera del Lavoro" or "Labor Assemblies," which might today be compared to "Workers' Councils" of the various industries of a city or center of population, still function as the main organism of propaganda and of local action.

But aside from these details, the Italian Syndicalist Union is practically exactly the same as the I. W. W., be it in the principle of organizing the workers by industry; be it in the principle of repudiating politics and depending instead on the organized resources of the proletariat as such; or be it in its methods and tactics in action, or even on the premise of desiring "that the instruments of production and exchange be redeemed and administered through the industrial organization of the workers."

Before the war, the organized workers of Italy

totaled very nearly a million, altogether. A little over half of this number were affiliated with the General Confederation of Labor; the others are mostly adherents of the Italian Syndicalist Union. There were also a few independent organizations. For instance, the national union of railroad workers (an industrial union) has never been affiliated with either of the above. This union has had for years an average membership of 50,000; at certain periods a much larger number. It has always been directed by syndicalist elements, and though not affiliated with the Italian Syndicalist Union, for reasons which are too lengthy to record here, yet it has almost invariably shown a spirit of solidarity with said union.

The general headquarters of the Italian Syndicalist Union were located at Parma at first, having for its official publication "L'Internazionale," of which De Ambris was the vital force and soul. But when the war broke out, De Ambris and the elements surrounding him aligned themselves as in favor of the war, and so the General Council elected Armando Borghi secretary of the U. S. I. with headquarters at Bologna, and issued "Guerra di Classe" (The Class War) as its official organ, which continues to be published. The interventionists or pro-war syndicalists have founded another organization, which we believe and hope may soon merge itself again with the Syndicalist Union.

During the European conflict, inasmuch as Bologna was declared as within the "War Zone," Borghi was expelled and interned, first at Florence, and then in a distant small town of southern Italy. From these places he continued to direct the organization insofar as compatible with the difficulties of the war period. Borghi is a man of intellect and of action.

Returning to Bologna at the end of the war, he again took up his duties as administrative head of the Italian Syndicalist Union, aided by certain fellow workers which the war has spared, which demobilization has freed from military service, or whom a recent political and military amnesty has restored from prison.

From the last numbers of "Guerra di Classe" received here, we learn that complete propaganda and organization activity has been resumed.

As regards the Socialist Party, it is now quite strong and authoritative in Italy. It is directed by revolutionary elements, although it is considerably influenced by the fifty or more deputies, who are nearly all reformistic. The Party has always supported, more or less openly, the Confederation of Labor. Yet many of its members, and among them a few of its executives, have well known sympathies for the Italian Syndicalist Union.

The revolutionary socialists as well as the comrades of the Italian Syndicalist Union promise to carry on serious agitation in favor of the class war prisoners of the I. W. W. in this country.

In Italy, let us say in conclusion, there is a ser-

ious and a strong movement, and it is to be expected that we will soon hear the echo of great events.

The Revolution appears outlined upon the horizon.

Note.—Since the above was written we have received dependable information to the effect that

the National Union of Railroad Workers is taking a referendum on the question of affiliating with the General Confederation of Labor or with the Italian Syndicalist Union. If the railroad workers syndicate joins the Syndicalist Union it will make of it the majority organization of the Italian workers. (Translated by Frank J. Guscetti.)



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## Provisions About Labor In the Peace Treaty

**A**S a matter of record we give herewith some of the provisions pertaining to "The International Labor Conference" and "The International Labor Office" created by the peace conference in connection with the League of Nations.

### PREAMBLE

Whereas, the league of nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice;

And, whereas, conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship, and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperiled; and improvement of those conditions is urgently required; as, for example, by the regulation of hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labor supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease, and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons, and women, provision for old age and injury; protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education, and other measures;

Whereas, also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

The high contracting parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following:

### Form of Organization

Article 387—A permanent organization is hereby established for the promotion of the objects set forth in the preamble. The original members of the league of nations shall be the original members of this organization, and hereafter membership of the league of nations shall carry with it membership of the said organization.

Article 388—The permanent organization shall consist of a general conference of representatives of the members; and an international labor office controlled by the governing body described in article 393.

Article 391—The meetings of the conference shall be held at the seat of the league of nations, or at such other place as may be decided by the conference at a previous meeting by two-thirds of the votes cast by delegates present.

Article 392—The international labor office shall be established at the seat of the league of nations as part of the organization of the league.

### Supreme Body of Control

Article 393—The international labor office shall be under the control of a governing body consisting of twenty-four persons, appointed in accordance

with the following provisions: The governing body of the international labor office shall be constituted as follows:

Twelve persons representing the governments;

Six persons elected by the delegates to the conference representing the employers;

Six persons elected by the delegates to the conference representing the workers.

### Organization of International Labor Office

Article 394—There shall be a director of the international labor office, who shall be appointed by the governing body, and, subject to the instructions of the governing body, shall be responsible for the efficient conduct of the international labor office and for such other duties as may be assigned to him. The director or his deputy shall attend all meetings of the governing body.

Article 395—The staff of the international labor office shall be appointed by the director, who shall, so far as is possible with due regard to the efficiency of the work of the office, select persons of different nationalities. A certain number of these persons shall be women.

### Functions of The International Labor Office

Article 396—The functions of the international labor office shall include the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labor, and particularly the examinations of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions, and the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the conference.

It will prepare the agenda for the meetings of the conference.

It will carry out the duties required of it by the provisions of this part of the present treaty in connection with international disputes.

It will edit and publish in French and English and in such other languages as the governing body may think desirable, a periodical paper dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest.

Generally, in addition to the functions set out in this article, it shall have such other powers and duties as may be assigned to it by the conference.

### Time and Place of First Meeting

Article 424—The first meeting of the conference shall take place in October, 1919. The place and agenda for this meeting shall be as specified in the annex hereto. Arrangements for the convening and the organization of the first meeting of the conference will be made by the government designated for the purpose in the said annex.

First meeting of annual labor conference, 1919. The place of meeting will be Washington.

The government of the United States of America is requested to convene the conference.

### Principal Questions

1.—Application of principle of the eight-hour

day or the forty-eight-hour week.

2.—Question of preventing or providing against unemployment.

3.—Women's employment.

(A) Before and after child birth, including the question of maternity benefit.

(B) During the night.

(C) In unhealthy processes.

4.—Employment of children.

(A) Minimum age of employment.

(B) During the night.

(C) In unhealthy processes.

5. Extension and application of the international conventions adopted at Berne in 1906 on the prohibition of night work for women employed in industry and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

#### Guiding Principles for the Work of the International Labor Office

Article 427—The high contracting parties, recognizing that the well being, physical, moral, and intellectual, of industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance, have framed, in order to further this great end, the permanent machinery provided for in section 1 and associates with that of the league of nations.

They recognize that differences of climate, habits, and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition, make strict uniformity in the conditions of labor difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding, as they do, that labor should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labor conditions which all industrial communities should endeavor to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit.

Among these methods and principles, the following seem to the high contracting parties to be of special and urgent importance.

First—The guiding principle above enunciated

that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second—The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third—The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth—The adoption of an eight hour day or a forty-eight hour week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth—The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth—The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh—The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth—The standard set by the law in each country with respect to the conditions of labor should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth—Each state should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

Without claiming that these methods and principles are either complete or final, the high contracting parties are of the opinion that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the league of nations; and that, if adopted by the industrial communities who are members of the league, and safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of such inspection, they will confer lasting benefits upon the wage earners of the world.

Balance of the regulations refer to routine details of minor importance to us. They would ordinarily come under the heading "by-laws."

For comment, see editorial in this issue.

## The Docile Slaves

By HAROLD ROLAND JOHNSON

These are men born weak and helpless, all complaining of their plight;  
These are people waiting, hoping, dreams to fulfill over night.  
They know not theirs is the power which can build the world anew;  
Neither know they of the fighters, battling ever, though so few.

If these men once saw their power, then, my masters, you would fear.  
Waiting, are they, for some Moses to lead onward to the clear?  
How they murmur, sad and heartless; rather than to stand up strong,  
Saying, "We're the workmen-owners; we are right but you are wrong."



THE BIG DRIVE OF A. W. I. U. NO. 400

## Justice Through the Courts or Through Direct Action?

By W. I. FISHER

**H**AVING been a member of the I. W. W. since October 1906 and passed thru practically every stormy period of its existence, seen its successes and failures, its strength and weaknesses, the writer believes he is qualified to speak with assurance as to any policy or tactics followed out by the organization or any portion thereof. To be sure, it would be a base motive that would "bawl out" the membership for personal reasons, but a time arrives that I am constrained to speak out regardless of whom it may offend or who takes issue with me.

What I am going to say is not what is disagreed upon but what is almost unanimously agreed upon, and which by practice has been found to be correct. My protest is against the practical ditching or side-tracking of our propaganda for court procedure and expecting to get results from lawyers. We as an organization have been bled more through lawyers

than any other in existence. Now to the most casual observer it is plain that the manipulation of laws and court procedure is the strong point of the ruling class. Any propaganda or organization activity they don't like is hailed into court. There you are weak, they are strong. But the capitalists are particularly weak when coming before the workers in meeting our propaganda. Violence and lies are their strongholds, the naked truth ours. Our strong weapon to organize the slaves to get hold of economic power has been propaganda. Where have we gone into court even with the best of legal talent and really won out as shown by after results? Perhaps some one may say in the Lawrence cases of Ettore, Giovanitti and Caruso, and in the Everett case. Not so fast, fellow worker, you are looking at superficialities, at externals and don't see what was lost by taking the method adopted. Let us while we are at it strip the whole subject

of the professional untruths that have grown up around the whole question.

To begin with, let us take the Spokane free speech fight, which was professionally rated as a great victory. It was a disastrous defeat. Before it we had an enthusiastic paid up membership of over three thousand paid up members in Seattle, Spokane and Portland alone, with a solvent organization, a rapidly developing job organization with over one hundred delegates in the field. At its close we had about one-fourth the former membership, in which dissension had broken out over issues and personalities that cropped up as a result of that fight. A bankrupt organization in those cities and a complete dismantling of our job organization and abandonment of delegate system. And yet that fight, if we had not listened to lawyers and put our money in agitation, could have made the organization in the Pacific Coast. The writer and Bruce Rogers wanted the free speech committee to fire the lawyers and put the money used for that purpose into the paper and get that paper in every workingman's home in Spokane and if necessary in Seattle and Portland. With the enthusiasm and fighting spirit then this could have been easily done. And who can doubt that with thirty thousand or more papers weekly going into workers' homes it would have created a sentiment and understanding that would have crystalized into an organization that the employers could not have broken? We spent over four thousand dollars for lawyers and court procedures alone in the fight. For the four months it lasted that would have paid for over thirty thousand copies of our paper to be distributed free to thirty thousand workers' homes.

Query: Did legal action pay there?

As a contrast take the almost unknown free speech fight in Aberdeen, Wash., during 1911-12, of less than two months duration. It was fought as a propoganda fight. We scattered to the homes of the workers two issues of four thousand each of a statement of our case, telling them what we advocated. Before a third could come out the fight was settled, as the authorities saw they were fighting a losing battle. Also the commercial club paid forty dollars damages. And we got a local boost that did us more good than a year of steady agitation. Although less than one thousand dollars was spent, not one cent was spent for lawyers, fines or court procedure.

Let us next take the Ettor, Giovanitti, Caruso trial growing out of the Lawrence strike. Over eighty-two thousand dollars was raised and spent in that case, the great bulk of which was spent for lawyers and court procedure. Granted that twelve thousand should be spent on lawyers and court procedure, does anyone think who knows the state of mind of the workers in the textile industry and the ease with which they could be organized just after the Lawrence strike, if we had used the remainder to put out the best propoganda and organizers, we could have gotten a strangle hold upon the textile industry and made it impossible to have convicted the fellow workers? Besides that

the permanent gain of actual position and knowledge how to fight would have been of inestimable value to the workers. But lawyers instead of propoganda and organizing specialists, were put upon the job with the disastrous result that we did not take advantage of our opportunity and lost all we gained by the strike.

Query: Did lawyers and court procedures get us good results in the Lawrence case?

Again let us take up the Everett trial. Over thirty-eight thousand dollars was raised and spent on that case. It was won in court. Yet the writer knows that if we had put out in the lumber industry the propoganda and organizers we had or could have gotten, we could, with twenty thousand dollars, have every lumber district fifty per cent. or more organized by the 1917 strike. We had a little over five per cent. organization with a very poor understanding among the lumberworkers as to our objects and aims. Yet whole districts that were ripe for organization were scarcely touched. If two thousand dollars could have been used in the Grey's Harbor district between December 1, 1916, and May 1, 1917, we could have from that on become more than self-supporting and by the time of the strike had more than seventy-five per cent. of the lumber workers organized. The same is true of the Willapa Harbor district. A reliable fellow worker told me that if during the first six-months period they had had one thousand dollars to use on Coos Bay district, with available organizers present there, they could have had at least half organized before the strike. And we know well the situation on Puget Sound and in northern Idaho and western Montana. And there were capable men out of jail to do the work.

Query: Did lawyers pay in the Everett case?

As to the Chicago trial the writer has said so much personally that to his wide range of acquaintances upon the Pacific Coast, it is superfluous to say more. Those who unqualifiedly condemned his attitude in October 1917, now as unqualifiedly accept same. However, as information to others let it be stated. It was this: to hire a lawyer only as a go-between between those in jail and those out. Throw all our energy and resources in an intense effort to equip our propoganda and organization work and go out and raise money everywhere and put it into education and organization work. Let the fellow workers know our plan and get them to hurl defiance into the face of the capitalist courts somewhat after this manner: "You have us here to be punished because we are true to our class. Your courts are but class courts to do the capitalists' bidding. Do what you have started out to do. We have our confidence only in a revolutionary working class to hurl you from power and free us." Then refuse to plead further. Who can doubt such an attitude would have won the hearts and the loyalty of every rebel of the working class, attracted world-wide attention and aroused a fighting spirit in the workers everywhere? As it was we relied upon lawyers to get us justice in capitalist courts and they gave us their brand of it. And by

reading the testimony of many witnesses we are compelled to admit we stultified ourselves by trying to prove that we were good capitalist patriots and by so doing took the keen edge off of our sword of propaganda. It was humiliating to a social rebel and got us nowhere, because the masters knew full well our real object was to destroy his control of industry, putting ours in its place and by cutting his income destroy his taxing power and undermine and destroy his slugging committee so it could not function.

Every time we have begun to seriously attack his control of industry we have been hailed into court, told by lawyers to be good if we wished to free our imprisoned fellow workers. We have fallen for their legal guff and spoke easy and neglected or turned our efforts away from the economic battle or preparations for it to fight a political fight in courts. Just to show the masters' motives in attacking us through courts is well illustrated in what the U. S. district attorney told Attorney Strief (for I. W. W.) in Spokane, Wash., last August. Peeved because Strief had the better of the argument, he yelled at him, "Yes, you I. W. W. may have the law on your side, but, damn you, we are going to keep you so busy fighting us through the courts you will have no time or means to carry on your propaganda and organization." That is a clear statement of their motive. To keep us so busy fighting the political battle we can have no time to organize to capture industry. Are we wise enough to refuse to fight them where we are weak and they strong, and when any fellow workers are arrested to redouble our efforts at the point of production to line up and educate the slaves to attack the bosses' pocket book? Or will we go on playing their game and losing out? We have educated our members to be a bunch of cowards to look to lawyers for protection instead of their own solidarity. We have fattened lawyers and starved off the job our agitators, refusing to give them enough to live on while making capitalists out of the lawyers. And yet I am not accusing our lawyers of being dishonest. They live in a different world than we and view life from a different angle. Why do we rely upon them? Isn't it more foolish to go before a crooked judge and a hand-picked jury and expect to convert court and jury than to do as the Socialist Party has been doing, that is, expecting to get control of the government, a la ballot box? What have we got to show for over two hundred thousand dollars spent on lawyers and court action? Isn't it a certainty if we had spent that for propaganda and organization we could have shown big results?

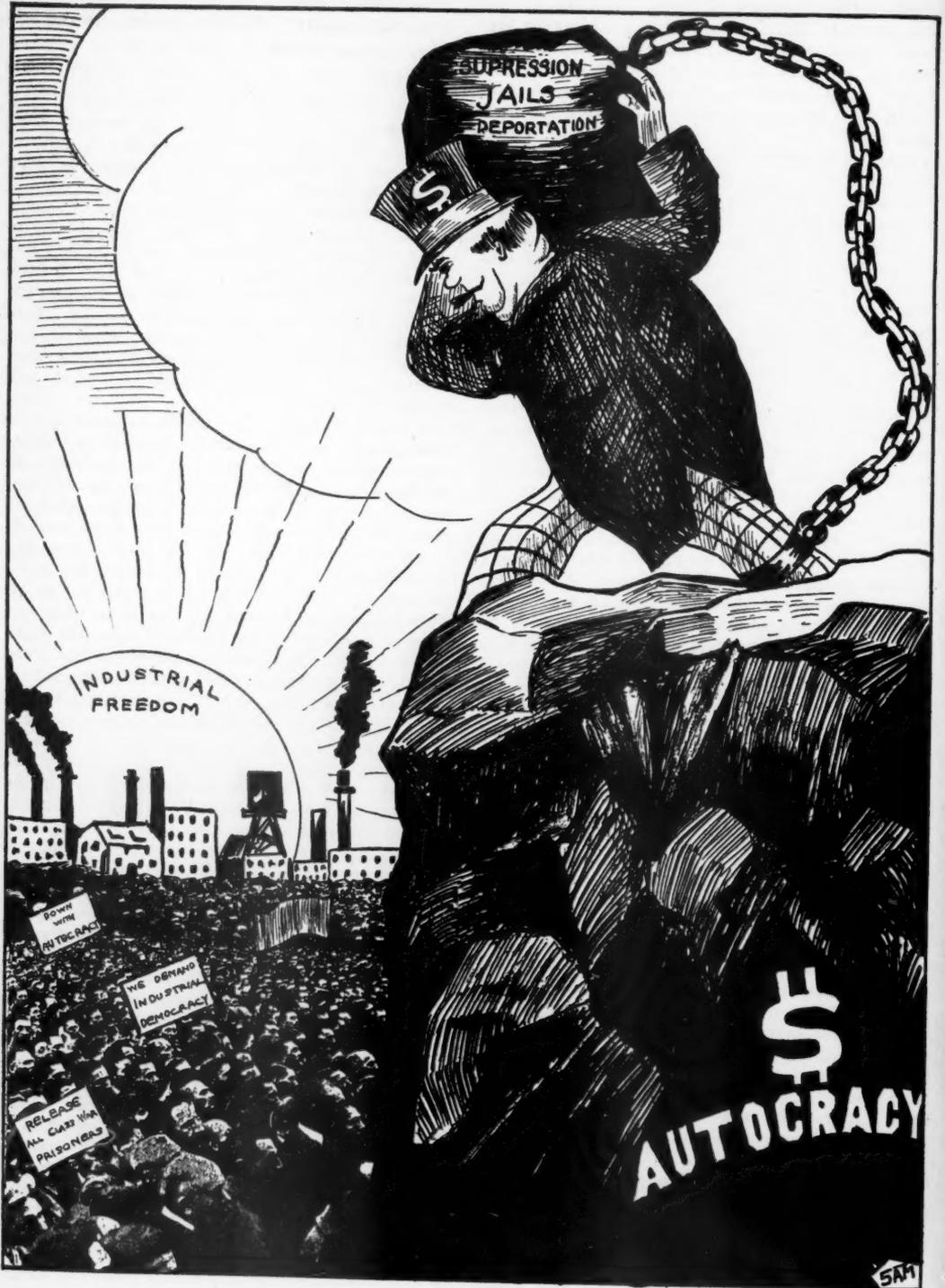
Query: Have lawyers and court procedure gained anything for us in Chicago and other recent cases? Isn't it clear by this time that when we spend time, energy and money upon lawyers and court procedure, thus diverting same, as we have been doing, away from agitating, organizing and taking action in industry, that that thing is just what the masters wanted us to do and is the reason they put some of us in jail? Aren't we the losers by

taking this course? Wouldn't we be gainers by doing the opposite? Wouldn't we by arousing and educating the workers to know their class interest and how best to use direct action force the masters to leave us alone? Also we could create the power that would prevent the masters from throwing us in jail? Don't we see that by reliance on lawyers we become a race of cowards, just what the masters want?

Vanderveer (as capable and sincere as any) said to me in Chicago, "We must have legal defense or else the delegates will refuse to act when they find out they have no protection." But legal defense is practically no protection. What we men on the firing line want is for the bunch to stick and fight with and for us. Constant complaint comes in from delegates that they have little or no support from the membership on the job. Solidarity on the job is what we want.

It is our business to promote organization, to arouse the masses of workers to action to destroy the bosses' control of industry and the oppression of the state. If we are real social rebels we will ever strive to break every rule and regulation that enchains the workers and seek to arouse the mass to do likewise. Our mission is not only to form the organization for the basis of the future producing administration of the workers, but also to arouse the mass to take the necessary action to break the "arm of violence" of the capitalist class, the state, and set up in its place the dictatorship of the proletariat. We cannot do this within the legalized forms of today. No, we must break with all legalized forms and in everything set up our own will as law.

We now have about thirty fellow workers in jail in Seattle that ask us to protect them by getting into line again and equipping our organization to fight at the point of production. Very small response is shown up to date. What is the matter? Are you anxious to fatten lawyers or build an organization to get results for ourselves? Who will stand behind them with funds to get out propaganda and organization? Who will carry credentials and literature to the workers to help organize the basic industry of the Pacific Northwest, the lumber industry, as well as others? It is for us to organize industries, carry on the fight, develop the tactics to not only free these fellow workers, make scraps of paper of their anti-anarchist and anti-syndicalist laws, but as a force for social revolution. We can do so by putting our efforts into education and organization to control industry. The masters' government, the "arm of violence," against the workers can be made useless by organizing so strongly that we will develop the power to cut off the bosses' income so he can have nothing to pay taxes to pay for hired sluggers and jailers. Industrial education, organization and action is the way to freedom. Away with political action at ballot-boxes and through courts. Direct action, that is the personal efforts of the workers through their organization, is what will get the goods.



CAPITALISM COMMITTING SUICIDE

SAP

## Printers and Such

By DONALD M. CROCKER

**E**VER since the 16th century, when Old Man Gutenberg doped out movable types and made a wider dissemination of misinformation possible, the printer has kidded himself with the notion that he is the one bona-fide super-aristocrat of labor. It is time he woke up at last to the knowledge that he is, instead a laughing-stock and a by-word to his more progressive fellow working-men.

The typographical "union" prides itself on a lineal descent from the printers' guildes of the Middle Ages. It also preserves a remarkably medieval psychology. The typical printer scissorbill affects the airs and dignity of his pre-capitalistic forebear, the independent journeyman of the ancient guilds, and indignantly refuses to face the present-day fact that, in common with every other member of the working class, from shovel stiff up, he is a wretched bond-slave of modern industrialism.

This aforesaid typographical "union," by the way, is a bird. A whole book could be written about it and appropriately entitled, "What a Labor Organization Ought Not to Be." You will know what it is by the single fact that its president, one Marsden Scott, considers Sam Gompers too radical!

Its international headquarters at Indianapolis functions as one of the most efficient strike-breaking agencies in the country. Driving recalcitrant unions back to work under threat of excommunication is one of its most frequent activities. The employing printers sure are lucky above almost every other class of bosses. They don't need to maintain scabs and finks to keep wages down and hours up and the workers servile. The typographical "union" attends to those details. Recently the typos of a Canadian city jumped the traces, went on an "unauthorized" strike, won all their demands and unionized the whole town. At the next convention of the I. T. U., they were censured as "Bolsheviks." Oh, mercy!

The things this official outfit can get across, put all the rest of A. F. of L. fakery to shame. For instance, when the last president, a fat, greasy grafter named Lynch, who had been a parasite and incubus on the "union" for years and years, retired at last to accept a juicy political piecard from Tammany Hall, as a reward for his long and consistent record of treason to his class, a hand-picked I. T. U. convention made him a gift of \$10,000 out of the treasury—this at a time when more hungry printers were walking the streets than ever before!

One instance of the ne plus ultra scissorbillism of this paragon "union" occurred not long ago in Omaha. The proprietor of the biggest "rat" shop in town, a rabid union-hater all his life, was called home to Satan. Here our gallant "union" boys saw a swell chance. They bought a lovely floral

wreath for the scab-herder's bier. This is what they argued: If we send these flowers, maybe it will soften the hearts of the heirs and they will graciously permit us to work in the shop. Waging the class war with funeral nosegays is a new one, eh lads?

The systematic scabbery by "union" printers upon all their fellow workmen and upon their allied trades particularly is of course notorious. The shameful betrayal of the Chicago newspaper strike in 1912 was but one instance of hundreds that are happening all the time—members of this disgraceful travesty of a labor organization working side by side with strikebreakers while their brother "unionists" of another craft are struggling for improved conditions. The sacred contract with the dear boss is more precious, forsooth, than the ideal of solidarity, the duty to one's self and one's dear ones, the aspiration in every decent man's breast that he and his fellows, and the generations that shall come after "may have life and have it more abundantly"!

"Boring from within," attempting reforms and the removal of rotten administrations cannot avail. It is the concept of craft unionism itself that is wrong, and from that false premise emanate the gross abuses and the poisoned ideology that make this "union" a thing for hissing and scorn. What has been here written of the printers is true, in varying degrees, of the score or more loosely affiliated craft organizations in the industry.

One big union of all printing and publishing workers! What a union it will be! Compositors and linotypists, proofreaders and copyholders, pressmen and feeders, lithographers, electrotypers, stereotypers, binders, photo-engravers, office and editorial employees, mailers and drivers, newboys (we won't leave out the "newsies," for we've seen 'em on strike), yes and the porters that clean the print-shop floors, and all the rest—presenting a solid front to the bosses, one for all and all for each! If anyone who devotes five minutes' thought to this conception cannot see that such a union would be master of the situation and able to enforce whatever demands it elected to make, his case is hopeless. He should drape his nasal protuberance with crape, for his brains have departed this life.

A union embracing every worker engaged in any way, shape or fashion in the production of the printed word, managed by the rank and file, no high-salaried officialdom, no expensive arbitration shell-games, no fettering contracts, no more "Please, Mister," attitude toward the common enemy—demanding, striking and winning, as one indivisible, invincible unit!

Doesn't the picture kinda make your mouth water, Brother Printing Craftsman? Of course, a union like that could never expect to get the praise from labor-hating politicians and capitalists and the pervert press that, for instance, the I. T. U. re-

ceives, but, after all, kind words don't buy many doughnuts in this era of high prices.

And such a union will be far more than just a more efficient weapon in the day-by-day struggle with the employer. It will be a unit, and a mighty vital one, in the edifice of a New Society, the Great Industrial Union that "shall be the human race." An integral, indispensable part of the world-wide Workers' Commonwealth that is to be, in which there shall be neither profits nor wages, employer nor employe, rich nor poor, but all shall equally be workers and owners, free men and comrades. In this howling bedlam of a society agonizing in the final and most frightful phase of Capitalism, the only thing that makes life tolerable to a man who thinks and feels is to be a dreamer and a builder for that Better World whose time is almost here.

Remember that the printing and publishing worker is in physical control of one of the most supremely important industries in a revolutionary era. Control of the industry which is the sole source of popular information is scarcely less essential than control of food and fuel supply. Did you note when the heroic Spartacans were battling against the

traitor "Socialist" government in the streets of Berlin, how desperately both parties contended for possession of the printing plants? With revolutionary, class-conscious workers wielding their economic power to determine what shall and what shall not BE SET IN TYPE, we nearly have the masters helpless then and there, for, in the last analysis, the class struggle is nothing else than a struggle to capture THE MINDS of the workers.

Then no more will printing workers be compelled to perform the shameful task which is now their daily lot and prostitute their craftmanship to send out into the world the lies and libels that help to keep their class in ignorance and slavery.

Printing and Publishing Workers' Union No. 1200 is the youngest offspring of Mother I. W. W., but a lusty infant it is, for all that it saw the light of day only a few months ago. New York organized first, then Chicago. The pace at which the workers are lining up is a glad surprise even to the promoters. Organized and unorganized, skilled and unskilled, are flocking to our standard. No. 1200 is destined to play a big role in the strenuous days ahead, in the final conflict and the certain victory.



THE AWAKENING OF THE GIANT

# The Story of the I. W. W.

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

## CHAPTER FIVE.

### ousting THE LABOR FAKIRS.

F the reader assumes that the I. W. W. which was formed at the First Convention was the same organization which bears that name today, he will be far from the truth. The I. W. W. which was first created was a makeshift of heterogeneous elements. St. John describes the different groups as five in number—pure and simple labor fakirs; parliamentary socialists of two kinds, reformists and impossibilists; anarchists and industrial unionists. Some such a division really existed. No attempt was made at the First Convention to strike the fundamental note of syndicalism. A blind unity was the keynote of the gathering. The delegates skated around the borders of all controversial topics.

Sherman relates how he brought Eugene V. Debs and Daniel De Leon together for this occasion. Long and bitter personal enmity had precluded even the thought of co-operation between them. De Leon's bitter tongue had been used only too frequently to castigate 'Gene Debs. But when the I. W. W. was formed, the barrier of difference was overcome—at least, for a time.

So it was with all the strong personalities of the new movement. They had forced themselves to agree, but the heat of difference was still simmering under the surface. The period which we are entering can best be styled the theoretical period of the I. W. W. It lasted three years. It is deadlocked by an absolute lack of unity among the membership. Not until 1908 did the destined I. W. W. type emerge into dominance. The first three years were but the training periods in which he was produced.

The most dangerous weakness of the new I. W. W., however, was the fact that it was honeycombed with rank reactionaries. The Executive offices were controlled by reactionaries. Under the guise of industrial unionists, they soon demonstrated themselves to be industrial unionism's deadliest foes. During the entire first year the situation was surcharged with danger.

Such was the artificiality of the organization that Sherman and Trautmann took charge of, after the delegates had completed their work. No premonition of approaching breakers disturbed them, however. They entered upon their task, actuated by a high note of enthusiasm.

The convention had created three industrial departments, mining, metal and machinery and transportation. But none of the three was of any great assistance to the general office. The mining department was, of course, but another name for the Western Federation of Miners. This organization never gave up its identity during the time it was a part of the I. W. W. It kept its structural form intact and continued to use its old name. Its financial support was equally indifferent. The convention had provided that every union should pay a per capita tax of fifteen cents per member to the general office. Although the membership of the W. F. of M. was 28,000, it paid per capita on only 12,500 members, and out of this reduced amount, it demanded a remittance of fifty per cent.

The other two departments existed only on paper, and consequently could not do so well. Sherman's organization, the United Metal Workers, did not install the 3,000 members which it had claimed. Only 700 members was the nucleus with which the Metal and Machinery Department started and many of these were taken over from the S. T. & L. A. and the A. L. U. Charles G. Kirkpatrick became

the president of this department. Shortly after the launching of the organization, metal and machinery workers began to line up in large numbers in Schenectady, N. Y. The indefatigable efforts of a little group of former S. T. & L. A. men made that city the scene of the greatest growth experienced by the I. W. W. during its first year. Several A. F. of L. locals came over to the I. W. W. in a body. An industrial council was formed and at the end of the year, 17 metal and machinery department charters had been issued in Schenectady alone.

One great disappointment came from the loss of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. This union, with its 4,000 members, had been affiliated with the A. L. U. When the A. L. U. entered the I. W. W., it was assumed that the A. S. of E. would follow. But a disagreement between the United Metal Workers element and the A. S. of E. prevented the latter from installing itself in the new department.

But the weakest unit of the I. W. W. was the Transportation Department. Instead of its promised 1,500 members, it installed only 300 members in the new organization. These 300 paid no income to the general office and the department was an expense rather than an assistance. Much dissension could have been avoided if the department had been disbanded. But its officers clung to the shell and strenuously resisted any reform which would have displaced them. This Transportation Department was the storm center which later wrecked the administration. We will return to it again.

Trautmann estimates the actual membership with which the I. W. W. started as 1,900. With this nucleus, the new officers began their task.

Although Sherman was nominally the president, the real executive of the I. W. W. during the first year was Trautmann. His strong personality eclipsed the weaker Sherman. A lecture and agitation tour was arranged for Sherman and he was on the road almost continuously until the Second Convention. In the meanwhile, Trautmann administered the affairs of the general office.

In order to give the I. W. W. a good start, a spectacular campaign of agitation was conducted. In addition to Sherman, Eugene V. Debs gave his services for this work. Many other prominent socialists assisted the I. W. W. in its local agitation. Great rallies were held in all the cities and crowds turned out everywhere, anxious to hear the message of the new organization. Locals and district councils were strung across the country and many small industrial bodies affiliated. Splendid results were obtained among the Montana lumber jacks in particular. This lumber district had been controlled by the A. L. U. at one time. With the influence of the Butte miners of the W. F. of M. they now came into the I. W. W., 8,000 strong. Thirty-two locals were installed in that district.

The vagueness of the First Convention soon led to the inevitable controversy. Sherman was not a thorough-going industrial unionist. He was quoted as having stated, during this period, that "industrial unionism is a hundred years too early." Such an attitude is certainly reflected in his acts. He began to issue separate charters to crafts working in the same industry. This was contrary to the principle of industrial unionism, which prescribes that only one charter should be issued in one industry in order that the lines of craft autonomy may be eliminated. During all of Sherman's administration, this was a fruitful source of bickering.

After the first impulse of unity had subsided, fundamental disagreements began to be apparent. In nearly all matters, Sherman and Trautmann were

on opposing sides. With Sherman, stood four of the G. E. B. members, Moyer (afterwards Mahoney), Kirkpatrick, McCabe and Cronin. The only supporter of Trautmann was John Riordan. Naturally then, the reactionaries were dominant. The membership was similarly divided. Sherman and the majority of the G. E. B. were supported by the conservative element of the W. F. of M., the Socialist party members and the Socialist party press. Trautmann's following was the S. L. P. element, the extremists of all the unions and the Haywood faction of the W. F. of M. But no open rupture occurred during the year.

The secret of the dissensions of this first year has never been explained. It is unquestioned that there was some hidden hand working to destroy the I. W. W. through the agency of these reactionary officials. Trautmann, in his report to the Third Convention, suggests that the reactionaries were agents of the A. F. of L. He quotes a speech made by Samuel Gompers at a meeting in Thilly's Place on Vine St., Cincinnati, in March of 1905, before the First Convention had even assembled. "We have our men now, at the head of the A. L. U.," Gompers is supposed to have said, "and we have taken good care that the new buccaneer organization will be controlled and managed by the same people." If this incident is authentic, it throws a flood of light upon the subsequent developments.

Daniel De Leon suspected that the dissension was created by the Socialist party. It is a fact that the reactionaries were supported by the Socialist party press in all their acts. Sherman, who was a distant relative of Eugene V. Debs, was under the influence of Socialist party politicians during his entire administration. At first, Sherman associated himself with the radical rather than the conservative elements of the I. W. W. But he was not a firm man and he eventually became a pliant instrument in the hands of the wreckers, McCabe and Mahoney.

De Leon describes the attitude of the Socialist party politicians in the following language:

"Whatever may be said in favor of the tangible fractions of the Socialist party, unquestionable is the fact that, with very few exceptions, the officialdom of the party consists of an element from which the working class has nothing to expect but a specialized form of exploitation. This element would fain have the socialist republic established. Nevertheless, due to their training—some being the product of craft unionism, others the product of the frazed-out middle class—they have no conception of the nature of socialism. They have no inkling of the fact that socialism is the movement of the working class. Where they do not downright despise, they, at least, place no faith in the proletariat. Like true craft unionists and bourgeois the horizon of their minds is bounded by bourgeois thought . . . Needless to say, that to such folks, the mission of unionism is a closed book and that the rise of the I. W. W. was correctly interpreted as the knell of their doom. The officialdom of the Socialist party set about averting the threatened danger. The method was to flatter Sherman out of his senses. Such is the weakness, mental as well as physics, of Sherman, that the man is a feather driven by the cross gales of the labor movement. Would for Sherman's sake that he were only a feather. His weakness would keep him out of posts of danger. His vanity, however, thrusts him forward to his ruin. The S. P. officials made Sherman believe that his popularity would be boundless if he would only put an extinguisher upon the revolutionists."

Another element which dabbled unduly in I. W. W. affairs during this first year was the officialdom of the U. M. W. of A. Although this element had been checked during the first convention, its leaders gained an ascendancy over Sherman which led to

the crippling of I. W. W. organization efforts in the coal mining industry. But, whatever influence was behind the reactionaries, A. F. of L., Socialist party or U. M. W. of A., certain it is that they came dangerously near to wrecking the I. W. W.

Reactionary tendencies were first openly manifested by McCabe in the Transportation Department. In order to control this department, McCabe had ousted W. L. Hall and W. J. Pinkerton, the leaders of the industrialists in his industry. He carried things with a high hand. All protesting locals were arbitrarily expelled from the I. W. W. When the matter was taken before the G. E. B., a referendum was ordered. McCabe brazenly ignored this ruling and continued in control of the department. The presence of such a character as McCabe in a revolutionary union was ridiculous. He was a typical labor fakir. When questioned, he scoffed at the purpose of the I. W. W. and wished to have the words, "labor produces all wealth" stricken from the constitution. Charges of dishonesty were accumulated against him. The controversy was carried over into the Second Convention.

To make the situation worse, the W. F. of M. unfortunately fell into the hands of reactionaries during this year. The imprisonment of Haywood and Moyer, which we will discuss later, removed the strong revolutionary influence which Haywood had always exercised in the Federation. Charles E. Mahoney became acting president, as Moyer's alternate. Assisted by John M. O'Neil, the editor of the Miners' Magazine, he made strong efforts to break down the revolutionary instincts of the miners. In the approaching controversy, the W. F. of M. was to side with the reactionaries.

As the Second Convention approached, the imminence of a rupture loomed greater. Both sides strained themselves to control a majority of the delegates. Despite the lack of unity, the I. W. W. had made a healthy growth. From the paper organizations with which it started, it had mounted until, at the opening of the convention, Trautmann's report showed a membership in good standing of 58,000. But, as in the previous year, the membership was still topheavy and the W. F. of M. easily controlled a majority of votes in the Second Convention. It was upon this W. F. of M. vote that Sherman pinned his hope of control. Out of a total of 646 votes, the four W. F. of M. delegates voted 109 apiece. Had the reactionaries controlled these delegates, their control would have been unbreakable. It was Vincent St. John who saved the day for the revolution.

St. John was one of the younger leaders of the W. F. of M. and one of the most remarkable parliamentarians in the labor movement. De Leon, who later became his bitter adversary, characterized him as follows: "St. John has an organizing capacity and a persistency and perseverance and a faculty of commanding men, which makes him the Napoleon of this country today." Elected as one of the four W. F. of M. delegates, he joined with Albert Ryan, another of the four, assumed the leadership of the revolutionists and split the W. F. of M. vote. The second largest vote was that of the Schenectady Metal and Machinery Workers. The two delegates from Schenectady, Anthony Maichele and Henry V. Jackson, had 60 votes apiece. Both of these, swung into the column of the revolutionists. The reactionaries were in the minority.

The convention assembled at Fitzgerald Hall, Chicago, Sept. 17, 1906, with 120 delegates in attendance. The very first act was the signal for a clash. Sherman, as president, arbitrarily insisted on appointing the credentials committee which should pass upon the temporary organization of the body. The revolutionists protested that the committee should be elected. This division led to the next clash, which occurred over the seating of representatives of the Transportation Department loc-

als, which McCabe had expelled. A debate tinged with bitterness resulted. Trautmann took the floor and declared that, "if these delegates go out, I will go with them." The McCabe incident was made a test vote to indicate the proportionate strength of the two factions. It showed that the revolutionists were predominant, the contestees being seated by a vote of 379 to 246.

Seeing themselves outvoted, the reactionaries endeavored to tire out the revolutionists. Many of the latter had no funds to support themselves through a long convention. Sherman, in the chair, used dilatory tactics for this end. The revolutionists outwitted him by voting to pay the delegates. The McCabe case again came up. Charges of personal dishonesty were preferred against McCabe. The ridiculous size of the Transportation Department was exposed. A motion was offered dissolving this department and thus automatically unseating McCabe from the G. E. B. After a hot fight, the motion was carried by a vote of 331 to 301. Next, a motion was passed disbanding all departments of less than 10,000 members. This disposed of Kirkpatrick, another reactionary. But, as the convention proceeded, it became obvious that progress would be impossible with Sherman in the chair. St. John drafted a motion so cleverly worded that it not only abolished the office of President but barred Sherman from even participating in the convention by becoming immediately effective. The motion was carried on the twelfth day and, after a vitriolic speech, Sherman stepped down from the chair and left the hall never to return. St. John took his place in the chair. The remaining days of the convention passed harmoniously, with the revolutionists in full control. Only one division occurred when an anarchist delegate presented a motion to strike out the political clause. Out of deference to the S. L. P. this motion was voted down, 369 to 243.

A clean slate of revolutionists were elected to fill the general offices. Trautmann was re-elected General Secretary-Treasurer, which had now become the highest office. The new G. E. B. members were Vincent St. John, F. W. Heslewood, A. Maichele, T. J. Cole and Eugene Fischer.

But Sherman and his reactionary supporters, Mahoney, McCabe, Cronin and Kirkpatrick, had prepared a surprise for the majority. The day after the convention closed, St. John, Heslewood and Fischer went down to the general office to take charge. They found that Sherman had barricaded the place. The doors were guarded by detectives, hired from the Mooney-Bohlan agency, and when the new officers endeavored to obtain entrance, they were slugged and driven away. It is believed that a trap had been laid to provoke violence, as some

"Americanization" is the cry. We I. W. W. members have always stood for the highest ideals of liberty. There is no necessity for training our spirit to a higher degree of Americanism. Those who need the training most are the capitalist class, who are trying to enslave our spirit under the guise of Americanization.

One reason why we make slower progress than we want to, is that we have not yet got the educational material in such shape that even the most unintelligent and mentally perverted can see the light.

Humor iz wit with a rooster's tail feathers stuck in its cap, and wit is wisdom in tight harness.—Josh Billings.

unknown party had called up the police department on the previous day and stated that a riot would occur at 146 W. Madison St. (the general office) on the following morning. A patrol wagon was already waiting, but St. John and his group were too wise to be trapped.

Seeing that Sherman was determined to hold on to the records and refuse to recognize the legality of the convention, the I. W. W. officers secured an injunction from the Circuit Court restraining him from using these supplies or the name of the I. W. W. A temporary headquarters was established in the Gault House and afterwards transferred to the Bush Temple. Prevented from getting out the official organ under the old name of Industrial Worker, an official paper was established under the name of Industrial Union Bulletin and the membership kept informed. The Weekly People also gave full publicity to the case.

But, at first, Sherman's act was a body-blow to the I. W. W. With no records, the work was hampered for weeks. Of course, Sherman circularized all the locals and claimed that the convention had been illegal, and that he was still the President of the I. W. W. Through the influence of Mahoney, the W. F. of M. was, at first, disposed to recognize Sherman and affiliate itself with the fraudulent office which he set up. But the revolutionists in the W. F. of M. punctured this possibility. St. John, Ryan and Heslewood traveled from local to local, revealing the true facts of the convention. When the Executive Board of the W. F. of M. met in December, it voted to suspend itself from the I. W. W. entirely, pending the next convention. This cut Sherman off from a support which he had counted on, confidently. In all, probably 1,500 members stayed by Sherman. The remainder either left the I. W. W. entirely or else gave their support to the legitimate officers.

This controversy of the Second Convention, although it halted the progress of the I. W. W. temporarily, was a fortunate occurrence. It released the I. W. W. from its reactionary integuments. The Socialist party element led by such people as Simons and Debs, left the organization permanently. All the Socialist party press supported Sherman, even after his high-handed seizure of the general office and his employment of armed sluggers. The residue which remained in the I. W. W. was, at least, revolutionary. Another crisis and split was destined, however, before the real I. W. W. could emerge. In those early days, the great struggles of the I. W. W. were the struggles in the conventions. The purifying process had to be completed before the destined career of revolutionary unionism could be entered.

Bertrand Russell says, "It is not only material goods that men need, but more freedom, more self-direction, more outlet for creativeness, more opportunity for the joy of life, more voluntary cooperation, and less involuntary subservience to purposes not their own." This, Mr. Workingman, will give you an idea of what you haven't got, and why you ought to join the I. W. W. to get.

The capitalist class are what we have called them. They are really crooks, robbers and murderers. If they were anything else, they would give in and help to form a new society like decent men. But instead they plant the cannon on top of their pile and die in the defense of filthy lucre rather than repent.

# Ethics of the Producers In An Industrial Democracy

An adaptation from the French of Georges Sorel,  
by Abner E. Woodruff.

## INTRODUCTION

This adaptation was made more than a year ago and was intended for publication on the Centenary of Karl Marx in a magazine of national circulation and some radical reputation, but was refused by the editors for reason other than literary merit. Fourteen months have passed and the world has moved forward at an amazing rate, yet the subject matter of this article is more pertinent now than it was a year ago. Then, it was offered to the intellectuals as an explanation; now, it is offered to the proletariat as instruction and justification. Its purpose is to answer the question so often asked us; "What is the guaranty of good work and efficiency in the Industrial Democracy?"

Sorel, from whose work these thoughts have been lifted bodily and given a slight American tinge, was a pupil of Bergson, the Intuitive Philosopher. His conclusions are in full accord with our own conceptions of Proletarian psychology and justify our advocacy of the principle of the General Strike as the mechanism of proletarian emancipation.

The adaptor does not desire to appear as a plagiarist, so he makes no pretense of originality. Neither does he offer any apologies; for the present world situation, with its dominant element of Change, is sufficient justification. To keep abreast of social transformations, we must adapt, and adapt again, the classic productions of the past. Sorel himself would undoubtedly applaud the motive.

Abner E. Woodruff

## THE DECADENCE OF MORALS

More than fifty years ago Proudhon declared that it was necessary to give the people a morality that would fit their needs. He thought that former ideas of **right and wrong** had become but "vague and indeterminate phrases" and served only to cover up "hypotheses, Utopias and unprovable prejudice"; and that, instead of being based on **human respect**, social behavior had, in fact, become purely arbitrary.

Nearly all the modern philosophers agree in condemning the insipidity of present-day morality, and none more vigorously than Proudhon. In contrast to the humility of the pulpiteers and the newspaper moralists, hear his ringing definition of the concepts of Right and Justice. "To feel and assert **the dignity of man**, first in everything in connection with ourselves, then in the person of our neighbor, and that without a shadow of egotism, without any consideration either of divine or communal sanction—therein lies Right. To be ready to defend that

dignity in every circumstance with energy and, if necessary, against one's self—that is Justice." He thought the teaching of this new morality would be an easy matter, for he considered that the French Revolution had created principles of Justice (Juridical Faith) that would enable humanity to recover from its temporary lapses.

This conception of a new morality was the real line of cleavage between Proudhon and the then Socialist, who had adopted a sneering attitude towards the moralists of practically every school. Being **office seekers**, they had little time or desire to study ethical problems and, being convinced that nothing would be impossible for the State under their own most able (?) management, they felt that **good men and morality** could be readily manufactured by enacting a few **good laws** when they should assume control—they failed to grasp the meaning of Proudhon's ideas.

Renan, like Proudhon, recognizes a decline in moral values. He dreaded the loss of "**the sentiment of sublimity**" which he saw disappearing from the ideology of the middle class and asked, "On what will those who come after us live?" However, he did not despair, because he felt that "the resources of humanity are infinite" and that "the springs of life, ever forcing their way to the surface, will never be dried up." Evidently he saw that the conditions for a rebirth were preparing within the body of the working class, for he asserted that "history rewards the resigned abnegation of men, who strive uncomplainingly and who accomplish, without personal profit, a great historical work." He denied the doctrine that the lower class must always live at the mercy of the upper, and proclaimed the creation of a new ideology, out of which might come the salvation of the world. He envied "wise Kimri, who saw beneath the earth."

## SOCIALISTS AND ANARCHISTS

If the philosophers unite in criticising the decadence of Christian and Capitalist morality, they are no less severe in pointing out the failure of the **official Socialists** to generate any consistent progression of moral concepts and ideas. Georges Sorel attributes their short-comings to "**the democratic superstition** which has dominated them for so long and which has led them to believe that, above everything else, the aim of their actions must be the acquisition of seats in political assemblies." "If one is convinced that the future of the world depends on the electoral program..... it is not possible to pay much attention to the moral constraints that prevent a man going in the direction of his most obvious interests." Comparing the glittering promises made, both by candidates for office and the promoters of Capitalist corporations, he concludes that "there is a great resemblance between the electoral democracy and the Stock Ex-

change" and that the success of the Anarchist teachers and moralist has been due to "the disheartening spectacle presented to the world by these political and financial parasites."

Anarchism has founded its hopes of social rebirth on the intellectual progress of the working class and its adherents have never ceased to urge the workers to educate themselves, to realize the **dignity of manhood** and to **perfect their Solidarity by devotion to their comrades**. The whole course of Anarchist teaching has been to lead men on to noble and heroic action. The Anarchists cannot conceive that there should be a society of **free men** unless the individual has learned the virtue of **self control**, has acquired the capacity to guide and direct himself, and has developed the resolution to defend his own dignity and the dignity of his fellows by consistent and aggressive action. Anarchists, under the urge of these ideals, have penetrated all the labor organizations and their efforts have had a profound effect upon thinking workingmen; with the result that we find the **new school of unionism** (the Industrial Unionists) recognizing the necessity for the improvement of morals, as suggested by Proudhon and the philosophers, who have come after him.

#### PROLETARIAN CONCEPTIONS

Socialism, as a philosophy, concerns itself with the criticism of Capitalist Economics, while Anarchism has devoted itself to the criticism of Capitalist Ethics. We of the Industrial Workers of the World find points on which we disagree with both these schools of criticism, but we also find many points on which we entirely agree with them. Like the Socialists, we hold to the Economic Interpretation of History as laid down by Marx and Engels, but, unlike them, we do not place faith in political formulas as a means of emancipation from wage slavery: rather, we look upon the labor organizations, as such, as the dynamic forces which will accomplish the change into the organized society of the near (?) future. Like the Anarchists, we condemn modern master class morality and look upon the **dignity of man** as of the highest importance; we teach the value of self control, regarding it as the basis of character, and we urge our fellows to acquire both technical and academic education, that they may meet the emergencies of life with perfect confidence in their own powers; but we also know that morality is not altogether a matter of sentiment, a thing arising from altruistic impulses, but, rather, is founded in economics and has a most material basis. We are quite able to explain the moral vagaries of the Medieval Knight, who was the soul of chivalry to the women of his own class, but the conscienceless seducer of the daughters of the yeomen—we can also find examples much nearer our own times.

From our point of view, **morality is a course of conduct based on a sense of duty**, and its expression in modern society is the effort to promote the interests of a group. As the group is small or particularly confined, its morality is likely to be hard

and narrow, but, as men's ideas of the group expand to the extent of all-inclusiveness, the sense of duty becomes a more over-mastering principle, the course of conduct becomes more purposeful and consistent, and the moral precepts take on a nobler character. We hold that only as there is a conscious and expanding force in society can there be any rebirth in moral ideas—such a force is now found only in the working class, the Advancing Proletariat. Therefore, in considering the revival of ethical standards, we must discover under what conditions a rebirth is possible, but, first, we must analyse the component parts of modern morality, as displayed by various groups, and, to do that, according to Sorel, all the contradictions in the problem must be sharply defined.

#### NIETZSCHE AND THE SUPERMAN

Nietzsche, who, as a professor of Greek, drew his inspirations largely from the Homeric heroes, has given us a powerful thesis on the moral values constructed by a class of **masters**—warriors, freed from all social restraint and founding their judgments "on a powerful bodily constitution, a flourishing health, without forgetfulness as to what was necessary to that overflowing vigor—war, adventure, hunting, dancing, games and physical exercises, is short, everything implied by a robust, free and joyful activity." This ancient type has reappeared several times in history, as, during the Renaissance, after the French Revolution in the person of Napoleon, in those Americans, who set out for the conquest of the Far West, and, more recently, in our popular bourgeois heroes, Andrew Carnegie and Theodore Roosevelt. Such men must appear in every historic cycle and they are valuable as heroes of moral revolt as they are successful in stirring the people to consistent action for the correction of abuse.

#### ASCETICISM

To the morality of this **master** type, Nietzsche opposed the morality of the priestly castes—the humble, self denying ideal. He certainly erred in giving a great value to the influence of the Jews in the formation of this type for, even when appearing the most humble and resigned to the hard knocks of the world, the Jew always nursed a hope of **revenge** (a passive form of militancy to be sure, but not asceticism by any means) and, furthermore, the Jewish **family** strictly opposed any form of monkish ideal. Even in the middle ages outside influences modified the ascetic values of the Church and **the modern world evidently considers the true ethical values to be enshrined in the family**; respect for the person, sexual fidelity and concern for the helpless or weak being often regarded as the sole elements of morality.

The attitude of the church, being at variance with the sentiments of high minded men, is evidently a perversion due to asceticism. Contrary to the priestly theory, that the family is an application of moral principle, it would be more exact to say, **"the family is the base of moral theory."** Also it may be pertinent to ask, if the church is wrong in

its conception of the sexual union, is it not essentially incompetent as regards morality generally? Proudhon was accused by the church in France with attacking marriage in his book on Justice and sentenced to three years imprisonment. What he really said was this "Sexual duality (as opposed to the church formula which makes the married pair one and that one the husband) was created by nature to be the instrument of Justice..... generation and what follows from it only figures here as accessory." In his justification which he wrote afterwards, he said "Marriage, both in principle and in purpose, being the instrument of human right and the living negation of the divine right, is thus in formal contradiction with theology and the church."

The enthusiasm begot by love denies the humility and submission demanded by the marriage vows—it creates a sublimity that must be productive of the highest morality. In this connection, it may be well to add that no one has surpassed Proudhon in his appreciation of Woman in the last pages of his work on Justice.

#### MORALITY OF THE WEAK

Nitzsche failed to treat of the *civil relations*, and, in this respect, the Jews are worthy of a special study, but modern writers on ethics apparently disregard them and draw their ideas from the Greeks at the time of their decadence. Aristotle, whose ethics are so much admired by theologians, had the *consumer's* point of view. The Greeks were then no longer productive or warlike. They depended upon slaves and sought to procure an easy existence for themselves. Said Aristotle, "So soon as a man can save himself this trouble (the direction of the slaves) he leaves it in the charge of a steward, so as to be himself free for a political or philosophical life." Which is exactly the same idea that clouds the mental atmosphere of our modern coupon-clipping magnates, who turn the management of industry over to a class of salaried managers and superintendents. As to the slaves, Aristotle thought that if they possessed such virtues as would prevent neglect of work through drunkenness or idleness, it would be enough. We can well imagine Aristotle as a modern business man, advocating temperance reform and preaching the "dignity of labor" while he pays fat salaries to efficiency engineers to introduce "speeding-up systems" into the factories, encourages the Y. M. C. A. to "pussy-foot" around and organizes Employee's Welfare Associations in lieu of the installation of decent safety devices.

Such is the *morality of the weak*, to which our friends, the State Socialists, could accommodate themselves with ease, since their conception pictures a society divided into producers, who labor in industry, and thinkers (?), who occupy all the political offices. Mr. Allan Benson (of whom, by the way, we hear no more) had a great admiration for Henry Ford, and many Socialist scribblers have written enthusiastically of the Taylor efficiency system. Revolutionary Industrial Unionism would be impossible were the workers to accept such a morality, for State Socialism would exercise the

most ingenious deviltry to enforce discipline in the mill, mine and factory—the workshop would lose all its inspirational value—inventive genius would disappear—a negation of Marxian teaching.

#### BASIS OF PROLETARIAN ETHICS

I have said that the new school of unionism recognizes the necessity for the improvement of morals—in which it differs from the official Socialists and thereby wins the appellation, Anarchist. It is reproached with returning to the dreams of the Utopists; which illustrates the misconception these office seekers have of the elder socialists—no one is more misread or misquoted than Marx. Men like Morris may have conceived that it was only necessary to imbue the wealthy with a sense of social duty and give the poor a better education in order to bring about industrial peace and a full human happiness—a sort of fusion of the salon and the workshop—but Marx, basing his criticism of history on the development of Technology, evidently pictured a future society of producers (proletarians) carrying on industry in a technically progressive way. How else could he have spoken to the working class alone when he cried out, at the end of the Manifesto, "Workingmen of all countries, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains: you have a world to gain!"

True to the Marxian formula, the "new school" does not conceive things on either idyllic, Christian or middle class models (production requires quite different qualities from those characteristic of the consumers) therefore it **considers ethical problems solely on account of the moral qualities necessary to generate invention and thereby improve production**—a view point differing from that of any other forward-looking school of modern thought. It holds that, if modern industry is to be lifted to the higher levels demanded by the advance of technical science, **the moral progress of the proletariat is as necessary as the material improvement of machinery**. Recognising that moral concepts are rooted in economic necessity, it considers not only the improvement of production, but also seeks the base of moral perfection—it is **desirous of creating today the ethics of the producers of the future**. Evidently such a task demands of the common man a sustained idealism that is found in none of the modern moralities; nor is it generated by altruistic emotionalism or in the hectic enthusiasm of sensational political campaigns,—it must contain an element of sublimity, to insure stability and continuity.

#### MOTIVE FORCE OF PROLETARIAN ETHICS

Any effort to project a train of thought into the future is fraught with the danger of arriving only at Utopia. For that reason our question must be stated for the present and for the **preparation** of the transition from one era into the other. We have asked, "Under what conditions is moral regeneration possible?"—more specifically, How is it possible to conceive the transformation of the men of today into the free producers of tomorrow, working in factories where there are no masters?

Kautsky has considered the question of the conditions following a social revolution, and many Socialists evidently follow him in the belief that the Union discipline that maintains bitter and long drawn out strikes will be strong enough to man the workshops, point out the common welfare and obtain an efficient production. This belief may be absolutely in error; especially if the conception of discipline is conditioned on some form of external restraint, instead of on those deeper feelings of the soul on which we conceive that conduct should be founded. Labor bodies must have more than discipline in order to be progressive. It is not sufficient that their leaders shall have vision—there must be an animating principle working in the mass. Apparently the ancient labor corporations were as sterile of improvement and invention as are now the English Trade Unions and the American Federation of Labor. They all seem to serve for the protection of the industrial routine and are depressive, rather than elevating in their influences.

Turning to the political control of labor, we should expect to find great progress among the municipal workers and a promise of the future State. But here production is regulated by resolution of the Council, inspected by a sort of industrial police, and with rewards and punishments meted out by the sanction of tribunals. The discipline in an exterior compulsion, even more capricious than that of the Capitalist workshops, because the functionaries have their eyes on the next election, and must veer and turn to every gust of the wind of fickle popular opinion. The inefficiency of municipal employees under democratic discipline (?) is too notorious to be any longer a scandal.

While Kautsky made the mistake of visioning a sort of quasi-military control in the labor organizations of the future, he still had one view in conformity with Marxian principles, in that he is aware that the motive force of the revolutionary movement must also be the motive force giving urge to the ethics of the future producers. He supposes a direct effect upon workmanship through the action of the Unions, when, in fact, this influence should result from remote causes which will affect the general character of the workers.

#### REPUBLICAN SOLDIERS AND STRIKE PROPAGANDISTS

Probably there is no better way of arriving at the answer to our question than by drawing analogies between the qualities of the soldiers in the French wars for Liberty, the qualities which are engendered by the propaganda for the General Strike and those necessary to a free worker in a highly inventive and progressive state of society.

We draw our conceptions of the Soldiers of Liberty largely from the literature of those times, and it is certain that the frequency with which the free men of the republican armies are contrasted with the automata of the royal armies does not arise from love of a mere figure of rhetoric, but actually corresponds to the feelings of the sol-

diers. They did not look upon themselves as part of a military mechanism, but considered themselves as individuals having important roles to play in the absorbing events of the campaign. Battles were not games of chess, but the collective heroic exploits of individuals exalted by a wonderful enthusiasm. Contrary to the ideas of some theorists, these wars possessed no scientific character—the ideas of great plans of campaign, preponderating artillery and rigid military discipline were Napoleonic innovations—their distinctive characteristic was the truly Homeric qualities of the combatants. In the place of an imposed discipline was the universal conviction of the soldiery that the slightest dereliction of the individual private might compromise success and sacrifice the lives of all his comrades. It is not untruthful to say that “the early French victories were due to intelligent bayonets.”

The same spirit animates those groups of workmen, who favor the General Strike. These groups picture The Revolution as a great individualistic uprising; each man acting zealously on his own account and not subordinated to a scientific plan. And it is this character of the general strike which earns it the opposition of the politicians, for they well understand that such a Revolution would do away with the necessity for seizing the Government—the Government could be very well left alone—Bebel was quite logical to the political point of view when he sneered, “General Strike; general nonsense.”

The desire of the proletariat to exalt the individuality of the life of the producer runs counter to the politicians, who want to transmit power to a new minority; and it is this individualistic characteristic which gives such great moral value to the notion of the General Strike. Like the wars of Liberty, the General Strike manifests the individualistic force in the revolted masses. The Proletarians thus become the inheritors of the spirit of the Revolutionary warriors, while the politicians, with their fine ideas of discipline from above, are the logical successors of royal and Napoleonic military tradition. On such a basis we may well understand the attitude of Kerensky the Russian in his attempts to reestablish discipline in the disintegrating army of the Czar, and the attitude of Ebert, the German, in retaining the service of Von Hindenburg, and then admire the perspicacity of the Bolsheviki, which disbands the reactionary units of the Russian army and creates a new one, reflective of Revolutionary vision and purpose, which may be reasonably expected to have all the old Homeric qualities and possess an enthusiasm in keeping with the task before it.

#### EDUCATION FORCE OF THE UNIONS

Having pointed out the analogies between the Revolutionary soldiers of France and the modern propagandists of the General Strike, let us now consider the educative force of the Industrial Unions in preparing the ethics of the producers in the new

society, their effects upon the characters of the workmen of today.

#### THE STRIVING FOR PERFECTION

Sorel says, "It is the spirit of invention which it is, above all, necessary to stir up in the world." Modern industrial management concentrating into fewer hands and the adoption of standardization in production for the purpose of increasing profits force the workingman of today to the endless reproduction of models which are not his own and tend to stifle all his desire for the new, for innovation. Yet there is scarcely an invention that has achieved success until it has been many times re-adjusted and improved at the artful suggestion of the artisans by whom it is produced or used. **Marx predicated social changes on the basis of the improvements made in the productive processes, tools and machinery.** Evidently then, in a new society dominated by the producers there must be an **enthusiasm** for the creation of new and useful forms. The workman must be given full opportunity for the expression of his talent and desire, his inventive talent and artistic capabilities must be progressively developed. "Art is the anticipation of the highest and technically most perfect forms of production." The impatience of the artist with the conventional arises from his inventive turn of mind. The workman of the future must be equally impatient. Therefore the revolutionary Industrial Unions teach that the free producer must never evaluate his efforts by any conventional standard: he must consider the models as inferior and strive to surpass anything that has been done before. The inculcation of such a spirit should generate a boundless enthusiasm and thus insure constant improvement in the quantity and quality of the social product—the inventive workshop of the future should realize the ideal of constant progress.

It is pertinent to ask our political Socialists what guaranty of technical progress they can offer for

....\*(NOTE) The questions asked in this paragraph apply with equal force to that body of economists, college professors, engineers, technicians, chemists, industrial managers and superintendents which I am informed is now forming in this country (the members of which call themselves "Syndicalists") with the purpose of taking control of the industries and supplanting the present political form of government with an Industrial Government selected from their own number. Regarding themselves as the **brains** of modern society, these intellectuals, like the revolutionary workmen, regard the golf-playing capitalist as an anachronism in an industrial age and evidently intend to substitute princely salaries for themselves in the place of the dividends that have formerly gone to the Capitalists. Such government would naturally take the Bureaucratic form and therefore be **despotic**. It would meet the same opposition from the forward-looking workmen as Capitalism meets today. For the notion of the proletariat is a society broadly based upon the working class and culminating in an industrial administrative body elected from the ranks of the producers themselves—not in self appointed and therefore dictatorial directors, potential Napoleons of Industry. Will these egotistical gentlemen be able to stimulate art and invention and thereby move the world ahead?

A. E. W.

a society directed from above, when we consider that officialdom is always wedded to routine and rendered deadly stupid by devotion to convention. The very nature of their positions renders the political officials of the State highly conservative and antagonistic to innovation—they must preserve the institutions over which they have control. Would the State of the Political Socialists welcome changes in the industries over which its officers had administrative power—would they not, more likely, be the victims of their own routine and stifle invention, that force so necessary to progress, by an over-zeal for conservation?\*

#### HONESTY IN PRODUCTION

The soldiers in the French wars for Liberty had a high sense of **personal responsibility** and carried out the smallest order with the most scrupulous exactness—they had scant mercy on the man who failed. The same spirit is found among the striking workmen of today—they make every sacrifice to achieve a victory—and failure is usually attributed to the treason of some member of their class, for treason alone explains the defeat of heroically battling troops.

Devotion to duty and innate honesty are characteristics of the proletariat specially exhibiting themselves in time of strenuous endeavor. The revolutionary Industrial Unions maintain that these qualities must predominate among the producers in a free industrial society and especially so, when the workers are animated by the enthusiasm of a liberated artistic-inventive passion. The tendency towards honest production is extra well defined in modern industry—due, we believe, to the steady improvement in the technical processes—goods must have quality equal with their appearance, the product of the modern shop must have fewer hidden faults. Long after Germany ceased to manufacture trash, the suspicion cast upon her goods by former practices hampered her commerce. And in the realm of art, the man, who resorts to tricks of technique to create the illusion of reality, now falls under swift condemnation. The society of the producers evidently will not cheat itself with shabby work or shoddy goods. If honesty grows with the development of industrial technique, as Marx indicated and experience evidences, then, in the progressively inventive society of the future, we are absolutely insured against decadence.

There yet remains one other analogy to be pointed out and then I am done.

#### DISREGARD OF REWARDS

Every age of the world testifies to an **eternal striving towards perfection**, to a potential heroism in every walk of life—a heroism that asks no immediate, personal or proportional reward, but which constitutes the **secret virtue** which assures the progress of organized society. No brave man ever yet performed an heroic act with the intention of claiming a reward proportional to the value of the service rendered. The soldiers in France, advancing at the head of the assaulting columns, knowing they went to their death, marched forward without re-

flecting on the injustice of the fact that those, who pressed onward over their dead bodies, would reap the glory of the victory. Only an army with declining morale needs to be stirred to action by the promise of rewards. Napoleon, with his system of carefully measured rewards, destroyed the enthusiasm of the old time French soldiery—his system produced few great general officers and he conducted his campaigns with men bequeathed to him by the Revolution.

When we consider the silence of history concerning much of Medieval life, we seriously question whether anyone outside the artists guilds ever admired those monuments which were erected to the glory of the ancient arts and crafts by those anonymous Gothic artists, who produced the architectural masterpieces of the middle ages. Not only the artisans, but the architects themselves, must forever remain unknown. And Viollet-le-Duc, commenting on these things, concludes that "genius can develop itself in obscurity..... it is its very nature to seek silence and obscurity."

Our own experiences in the shops teach us that every great invention is an accumulation of fundamental improvements introduced by ingenious workmen into their work, and that these unknown inventors perform a labor of love, without hope of appreciable or permanent returns for their innovations. Every workshop has its humble artists, who contrive, with infinite skill and patience and a secret joy, the wonderful industrial progress of the world.

Renan thought there was a glory in battle that repaid the soldier for his sacrifice of life. But, is there glory for those who create our economic advance? Sorel asks, "Is there an **economic epic** capable of stimulating the enthusiasm of the workers?"

#### THE GENERAL STRIKE

Renan's "glory" certainly cannot be the sustaining influence in the shop; nor does religion call up emotions that can inspire the workingmen with a desire to perfect the machines and the processes of production. The "secret virtue"—the constant human striving towards perfection—is not enough; **there must be an epic quality to life**—a force which can generate and sustain enthusiasm, and drive us on to those heights, which evidently mankind is qualified to attain.

From our point of view, morality is not doomed to perish—it is not destined to become mere precepts, without force in determining human conduct—but can yet revive itself with an all-conquering enthusiasm and surmount the obstacles of prejudice and present ease which oppose its progress. It will not walk any path laid out by either modern philosopher, social scientist or advocate of **far reaching reforms**—these roads are dull and academic—but it will joyfully tread the way made clear by the propaganda for the **General Strike**.

All the philosophers agree in demanding **sublimity** for the ethics of the future. In this they follow historical example, for in every historic change there

have been epic events that affected the thought of the world and added a sublimity to the morals of those times. The concepts of the results of the struggle generated an enthusiasm that persisted long after the final victory had been won and society had settled into its newer forms.

The concept of the General Strike as an economic warfare, a stupendous struggle calling for deeds of the greatest heroism and culminating in a great catastrophe to modern society, which is crowned with victory for the workers, produces the epic frame of mind necessary to generate the enthusiasm that will carry the proletariat successfully through the great transformation. That enthusiasm can but continue to be operative under the conditions created by the realization of workshop carried on by free men.

#### CONCLUSION

Judging the future producer by the workmen, both of the past and present, we may hold that his morality in the free and unrestrained society, will have these three fundamental bases, (1) the artist-inventor striving for perfection, (2) honesty in the product and the method of production and (3) disregard of an exact measure of recompense for his service to the commonwealth. On these, he will realize the "dignity of man," of which Proudhon spoke; he will realize "Justice" and a continuously progressive Civilization.

"The Cleveland Plain Dealer states editorially that the sending of the bombs through the mail was an I. W. W. act. If that paper knows who did it, why does it not show the bungling police. We are interested in having this matter cleared up. But the chances are that it is a job of the American Okranja that will never be cleared up.

The same paper mentions with pride that on May 1 "the outraged citizens of Cleveland took matters into their own hands and tore the red flags from the hands of the marchers and sent scores of them home to nurse sore heads and broken bones." The same law-breaking element that takes "the law into its own hands" in one case is fully able to do it in another case, especially with the hope of getting the I. W. W. into trouble. Besides, we have not got any technical experts in the I. W. W. of the kind that could make bombs of the kind described. And finally, we are not in the bombing business, never were and never will be. We are organizers of industrial unions, and that is why a kept paper like the Plain Dealer considers it its business to lie about us.

Two international printing trades unions held their convention recently in New York City. The kept press is commenting favorably on their action in requesting the aid of the Newspaper Publishers Ass'n in checking the spread of "bolshivism" in their unions. It seems the new I. W. W. union in their industry has scared the fakirs.

Of the first batch of deportees on Ellis Island, 45 are members of the I. W. W.

## Be Prepared

By W. E-HL

**G**REAT have been the effects of the social revolution in Russia. It came in the darkest hour that the world has ever experienced and once more brought light and hopes upon earth. It is the greatest experience in the history of man, and as such it is of infinite value in future revolutions here and elsewhere.

We, here in America, have followed its various surprising stages with keenest interest, as indeed it was our duty to do, and we have learned a good many things which hitherto were unknown to us. We have read of their successes with a feeling of happiness and joy, and for every item of news that comes from there assures us of the stability of the soviet republic. The workingmen of Russia are determined to hang on to their new-born freedom, no matter what interferes.

Now, their successes are not the most important facts that we ought to study, by far more significant are the mistakes and shortcomings so inevitable in so great and strange a mass movement. These things, above all, ought to be the subjects of our studies and profoundest considerations.

It is true that we are thinking and planning for the future, but our thoughts, at its best, are very limited when dealing with the future state of things. Thoughts cannot embrace everything, and so many unforeseen things happen, that when the critical moment arrives we might be at a loss.

The surest way out of it is to thoroughly study the mistakes and failures of former revolutions and to prepare ourselves so that those will never again be repeated. And, then, we will yet have all the hard-shelled problems to contend with that we want.

In the progress of the Russian revolution there

was a stumbling block upon which the new republic nearly fell: the inefficiency of the workers in running the industry when it once was theirs.

It is for us a question of utmost importance. We must acquire knowledge not only of running industry as efficiently as it is run at present, but in a still more efficient way.

It is true that members of the middle class, who, to a certain degree, are filling important places in the administration of the industries, are leaning towards our principles. We can, however, never depend upon that element, for while some might prove true to our cause in the extremely critical movements of a revolution, chances are that the majority will turn against us, and leave us when they are most needed.

We must do away with all such dependency and build our plans and dreams upon our own efforts. It is necessary to have a solid foundation upon which to build our new society.

For this purpose night-schools ought to be established teaching technical subjects on the various branches of industry and public utilities.

We are efficient enough in the capitalist system where more efficiency spells more profit for the master class, but in the future society it will be quite a different thing.

The Headquarters should do everything to encourage such a movement, and it is without a question but they will.

It is, moreover, desirable that these things be discussed at every opportunity, at our meetings as well as on the jobs. After all, we have a good many things to learn, and much could be gained to our advantage by studying the ways industry now is carried on.

### A Toast to the Past

By TONY WOLF.

Here's to the end of kings and queens  
General staffs and submarines.  
Here's to the day when men grow wiser,  
Refuse to bow to king, czar or kaiser.

Here's to the end of shrapnel shell  
Here's to the end of war and hell.  
Here's to the end of trench and gun,  
And put the militarist on the bum.

Here's to the day that is to be  
With man and child and women free.  
Here's to the end of all autocracy.  
Here's to the coming world—  
Industrial Democracy.  
P. S. Don't mourn, but organize!

If killing people is patriotism, patriotism is something the world can well do without.

### Awake!

By HARRY BORISOVSKY.

Awake! ye slaves, ye workingmen,  
The thralldom overthrow;  
Gather all your strength  
And strike the mighty blow!

Despots, tyrants—crush them all!  
Eradicate the pest!  
Gather all your strength  
And extirpate the nest!

Raise your voice, fellow workingman,  
Mankind listens with a thrill;  
Let the ruling class—the vampires—know  
That there's a people's will.

#### SOME BELIEFS.

We believe in self-determination for the working class. When the working class begins to determine its own destiny, good-bye capitalism!

# A New History of the I. W. W.

A Brief Announcement.

by Irving Freeman.

A recent contribution to proletarian history, is the book "The I. W. W. A Study of American Syndicalism." (432 pages) by Paul F. Brissenden a member of the faculty of Columbia University. Briefly it is a historical sketch of the Industrial Workers of the World describing the theory, methods, tactics and activities of the organization since its inception in 1905 until the year of 1917.

As far as I know this is the first attempt on the part of either economist, professor, or agitator to write the history of the I. W. W. I fully realize the laborious task Mr. Brissenden undertook when he proceeded to traverse libraries, pore thru periodicals, write hundreds of letters to as many people, and to interview the great number of individuals he did in order to accumulate the information and data for the completion of his undertaking. The book is worthy of high commendation and a great amount of credit must be given to the author for the masterly manner in which he carried out his task. The prejudice usually very conspicuous in works of this kind is only conspicuous by its absence. The author has been impartial to the contending parties when presenting the case of either parties. In fact, wherever there has been a controversy he has presented all sides of the case. The book is written in an easy and simple English, and is plain enough for any workman to digest. Another characteristic of the work worthy of comment is that it is written from a student's point of view. As a result it makes very pleasant reading. Mr. Brissenden has presented all the facts from all sides wherever possible. As a reference book it will be a very valuable asset for future research workers. Despite the many obstacles in the path of anyone in securing information about the I. W. W., especially historical data, I must admit that Mr. Brissenden certainly has succeeded in overcoming this impediment and has made out wonderfully well in his attempt.

He clearly shows to the reader the sources from which he has gathered his information. Undoubtedly he has been influenced to a great extent by the anarchist and syndicalist writers to whom he has gone for reference. This he shows distinctly when he employs the terms anarchist, anarcho-syndicalist, and syndicalist when referring to the I. W. W. The use of these terms are very misleading as they are bound to give the wrong impression to the reader of the Industrial Workers of the World. The author by far overstretchers the influence of the anarchist and syndicalist movements over the progress of the organization. All of the historical data are not entirely correct but this is due as the writer explains to the inability to secure the exact information. However he could have given more space to the various crises during the life of the

I. W. W. and could have spent more time on some of the very important strikes the organization has conducted. He has portrayed the conflicting ideas that have held within the organization thru personalities. In doing this the author has neglected to mention the one big union factor that has preserved the I. W. W. thru all crises, namely, the job delegate system. Mr. Brissenden could have done justice to the hundreds of unknown comprising the rank and file who have given their all to build up the movement if he would have devoted more time to them. Nevertheless despite all of its faults the book is worthy of a place in the library of every worker. If for no other reason, than for the countless data it contains.

We hope to be able to give a more complete review in a coming issue.

The book is published by Longmans & Green and Co., New York, N. Y. Members of the I. W. W. and other labor organization can obtain it at the special price of \$1.50 for paper and \$2.00 for cloth cover, plus postage for 2 lbs. by remitting to the author, Paul Frederick Brissenden, c. o. U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D. C.

## A VINDICATION OF THE POETS

Ellis Island, May 12, 1919

Editor O. B. U. Monthly

Chicago Ill.

Fellow Worker:

I am not in the habit of throwing bouquets at anybody and have been especially hostile towards poets, (except song writers) but I sure have to hand it to the poets of the O. B. U. Monthly.

I do not know as I have ever enjoyed poems as I enjoyed reading Covington Ami's "The Orators of Discontent" and "I am a Wobbly" by R. E. Dunbar. They are great.

Here is hoping there will be more like them.

Yours for the O. B. U.,

Peter Williamson (Merta)

Card No. 288585. (One of the Deportees)

As we are about to go to press the news reaches us that the German Austrian republic, all that remains of original Austria is going to establish a communist government. The workers not being organized industrially to take control of production, the communist theorists have to content themselves with taking over the political power as a temporary expedient. This is the penalty they pay for having ignored or opposed industrial organization in the past.

The masterful man who puts on airs of command and leadership insults his fellow-creatures, and he should be gently, but firmly, lifted down many pegs.

## Upton Sinclair and the Clergy      Roberta Bruner's Organization Tour

What has the I. W. W. to do with Upton Sinclair and the clergy? Yes: In the June number of *The One Big Union Monthly* we mentioned how three "eminent divines" of London, England, had publicly expressed their horror at our publication, text and cartoons, and wondered how the religious people of the middle west could possibly stand for such a publication in their midst. We are almost tempted to line up the clergy of the world for caustic X-ray examination, as an answer to their attack, for we know who they are, but fortunately it is not necessary to occupy the scant space for the purpose. The job has been done before, and much better than we could possibly do it. One of America's most renowned authors, Upton Sinclair, has only recently written a book called "The profits of religion" that fills the bill to a T. This book has not one word to say against religion. In fact, one gets the impression that the writer is a deeply religious nature, brimming over with resentment over having had his most sacred feelings outraged by a devil-serving clergy parading as the ministers of God.

This book of several hundred pages is one long logical arraignment of the clergy, both catholic and protestant, showing with documentary evidence not generally known, that the churches are in the most intimate cooperation with the capitalist class. It is a regular gold mine of highly interesting information that is most valuable to the agitator and the student of social questions. It explains many a phenomenon that would otherwise be mysterious.

We recommend it for reading by the English clergymen in question as well as the gentlemen of the black robe in general, but as a rejoinder to them the editor considers it more effective to recommend the book to the readers of this magazine, although we are not in the habit of advertising literature outside the industrial union sphere. But, then, "The profits of Religion" really falls within that sphere, inasmuch as it is a survey of a swampy ground where many of us have been lost.

The book may be obtained by sending 50 cents to **Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, Cal.** It is not for sale in book stores and has been tabooed in all the regular book reviews.

### THE CHANCE OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS

The social problem could be solved in a brief time if the capitalist class were willing to cooperate. All they would have to do would be to cease producing for profit and start producing for use. In other words they would have to cancel their ownership of the means of production, stay at their job, if they have any, help to create industrial organizations of workers to take over the management, and everything could be arranged peacefully and without any suffering.—But a voice whispers to us: They will never do it! So keep right on organizing industrial unions.

The attention of our readers is hereby called to the agitation and organization tour of Fellow Worker Miss Roberta Bruner during this summer. The tour is to include the states of Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin, where the Fellow Worker is now travelling and speaking in various cities, as well as Colorado, Utah, Arizona and other western states.

This tour is arranged by the Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers Industrial Union No. 1100, I. W. W., and Miss Bruner will make it her special business to organize the women workers of that industry.

Fellow Worker Roberta Bruner is well known as a writer and speaker and organizer, and attracted much attention in connection with the orange industry workers' strike in California a few months ago.

Fellow Workers in the states mentioned should immediately get in touch with the sec'y-treas. of H. R. & D. W. I. U. No. 1100, Ernst Holmen, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill., to arrange dates for meetings and make arrangements.

Fellow Worker Roberta Bruner is meeting with exceptional success at present in the Superior District, organizing new branches, increasing membership, and placing delegates. We are sure the same success will follow in the Southwest with the earnest co-operation of all interested Fellow Workers. Write or wire at once.

### ITALIAN WORKERS RESTIVE

Recent press dispatches inform us that the Italian Workers have forced the government to abandon the plan of sending the steamship *Fedora* from Genoa laden with arms for general Kolschak, with which to fight the bolsheviks. The government has consented to unload the ship at Gibraltar, and turn her into a general transport.

A general strike is on in Naples and surroundings, and is spreading. Many trades are striking in Florence, and in Rome all restaurants and cafés are shut down on account of the strike of the waiters.

The cost of living in Italy is about twice as high as in England. Driven to desperation the masses in Spezzia and other cities are plundering the shops and fixing prices in the markets to suit themselves.

This is perhaps only the beginning of a country-wide movement of the workers of Italy.

To the liquor capitalists, to the saloon keepers and the inveterate drinker, the main question is prohibition on July 1. To the intelligent worker the main question is the same as before: organizing the workers to take over production and distribution.

## Concerning Education

By JOHN GABRIEL SOLTIS

**T**HE QUESTION of educating the proletariat, is a problem that merits the constant attention of all groups in the radical movement of Labor, and, in our opinion, justly so, as it is indeed a very large and pressing question. Queer enough, there are those who charge the I. W. W. with a lack of proper regard and grasp of the problem; that, in fact, the I. W. W. does not make the worker class-conscious, because it sets out to get "more hay and oats" instead of teaching them the philosophical profundities of celebrated ratiocinators, and, above all, the first volume of Karl Marx, where on page so and so, he says that \* \* \* etc.

In nine cases out of ten, this criticism proceeds from the tongues of the embryonic pundits, who have appointed themselves as instructors extraordinary to his majesty the proletariat. Usually, we find, that their moral and intellectual level is so high, that it is really a condescension on their part to even consent to teach the great unwashed the essence of Socialism scientific, and especially the first volume of Marx, to the elucidation of which they only possess the secret, as they so generously and readily admit themselves, thereby saving others the task. Hence the organization of study-classes, where the deluded proletaire is introduced to the higher realms, via the erudition of the "scientists," who are keen, very keen, on educating the workers, that the struggle on the industrial field is only a commodity fight and, therefore, no industrial union can do more than assist in that fight.

The literature of the I. W. W. is not very voluminous, it is proletarian logic, and Socialism that is scientific. And when economic questions are involved, the treatment is always Marxian, in the best sense of the word. Moreover, it is written by workers whose hearts have been singed with the fire of the raging class war; whose pens did but portray what life itself had felt and suffered in the damnable industrial hell of this most tyrannical nation.

When one speaks of educating the working class, it is well to know just what is meant. Of what avail is it to the working class, from the viewpoint of its social and economic liberation, to be organized into study classes, and not into unions of their class? Not only that, but we have noticed that the union has been misrepresented, put into a false light, in these classes. The answer is, that in these classes Socialism is taught. Very well. But to realize Socialism, that is the collective ownership and workers control of the tools of production and the land, there must be created a machinery by which the theory shall be made a reality. The mere knowledge of a thing, is not the thing itself. An engineer has a marvelous plan in his head how to span the river. So long, however, as the plan is not translated into reality, the river remains unspanned. Art for art's sake, and knowledge for

the sake of knowledge, equals the thing. Bunk. Knowledge without action is worthless.

As a matter of cold, hard fact, the rank and file of the I. W. W. numbers more Maxian students than any other American radical group. Of course, these harvesters, lumberjacks, and general all round laborers, are not in the habit of shouting it to the world, because they are too busy organizing on the job. But we defy the learned doctors of decorated persiflage, to enter any Wobbly sanctum sanctorum and there not find a student of Marx.

It is quite impossible to educate the worker, generally speaking, to be a Karl Marx, and that for more reasons than one. It is not, however, difficult to make him class-conscious and to impress him with his historical mission. To do that it only requires that the worker be met where he abodes: on the job. As a class, the workers don't go in very strong for intellectual pursuits, and, in our humble judgment, are not likely to, under capitalism. Moreover, in all of his mental darkness, it is somehow clear to the worker, that the union is power, while things academic are talk. We favor study classes (in fact we have them) in connection with unions of our class. As related to a vital organization of labor, the study class has its virtues. In the hands of self-confessed "scientists" without works, it only sows confusion abroad.

The greatest single factor of educating the working class today is the I. W. W.. It is a revolutionary union functioning from the bottom up. It is organically related to the proletariat, for the simple reason that it is the proletariat. It is on the battlefield of the class struggle, where the army of the workers is deployed. It dispenses with the necessity of the class room, for the very plain reason that the whole realm of industry is its school room. The language of this magnificent and heroic organization is that of the working class. The profound yet simple truths of Marx are not only couched in the jargon of the shop, mill, mine, field and factory, but also in the sweet words of songs; songs that are the delight and inspiration of over a million migratory workers everywhere. Yet there are those who soil their lips with the slander that the I. W. W. does not educate! Truly, they know not whereof they speak. They cannot, or will not, differentiate between the reality and the word. They are intoxicated with their own words, while remaining blandly indifferent to the light of burning facts. They are ideologists and not realists. The triumphant philosophic weapon of materialism is, in their crude hands, shorn of its dynamic, and rendered innocuous. Like all pedants who proclaim to the great world their infallible wisdom, they are the first in need of it.

On with your study classes, ye jugglers of words, conducted in the sacred interests of "pure knowledge." For ourselves, however, we declare, "Forward with the I. W. W."

## Report of the Auditing Committee of the General Convention of the I. W. W., Books and Records of the General Office

To The General Membership of the I. W. W.  
Fellow Workers:

Your Auditing Committee, elected by the 11th General Convention to audit the books and records of the General Headquarters at 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Illinois, for the period between September 1st, 1917 and May 1st, 1919, have to report that we have gone over all the books and records referring to the financial transactions of the organization between the dates mentioned and find that they are in regular form and correct, and that the regular monthly statements issued by the various secretary-treasurers, who have occupied that office during the said period, together with the summaries of the reports are regular and correct.

To this specific approval of the books of the general organization, we wish to add the following remarks.

These books and records would meet with a fair approval in any ordinary times, but when we consider the conditions that have prevailed during this period of twenty months and realize the difficulties the bookkeeper had to labor under, we marvel that the work has been so well done. During a great portion of the time our mail was held up, the Gen. Sec'y-Treas. was in and out of jail and acting Secretaries were appointed under unusual circumstances, all of them working under pressure and often threatened. The bookkeeper, as well as other fellow workers in the General Office, often had to assume the duties of the General Secretary-Treasurer, not only that the work of the office could be transacted, but that the doors could be kept open and the organization be kept alive. We believe there is no other organization that would have shown the same vitality, or among whose office force there would have been found the same loyalty and

### THE GOSPEL PIMP.

#### Scientific Name *Skypiloticum Hypocriticus*.

It is about time that plain language is used in regard to specimen No. 101. He is one of the staunch supporters of capitalism with its small wages and long hours, which drives women to desperation. For a few thousand dollars a year the "Follower of Christ" sells the souls of a thousand girls. He then sheds crocodile tears over the immorality of the fallen women. As camouflage he is handing out a little charity once in a while. He also takes a heroic wrist-slap occasionally at some individual capitalist, but when it comes to a show-down he is always there to defend the ruling class and our present system, which breeds misery and immorality.

(Watch for No. 102 in June issue.)

"Restoration" is a familiar war term, and there's one kind of restoration that the One Big Union movement believes in. That is restoration to the workers of what is being stolen from them.

courage as has been exhibited here: certainly there would not have been an equal efficiency. We doubt if any other organization would have survived.

These fellow workers in the office have lived up to the reputation of Fellow Workers and we can be proud of our organization on their account.

In going over the disbursements, we were not able to find bills to cover all the expenditures, but by making personal inquiries we were able to trace all such expenditures to our satisfaction. During the most disturbed period we find that there was inefficiency in conducting the financial affairs, but we can readily trace it to the conditions under which our officials were compelled to work. On the whole we feel that we got the greatest efficiency possible under the circumstances.

Since the committee was not able to report to the General Convention, we are recommending to the Acting Secretary-Treasurer and to his successor in office that the custom of issuing checks to "currency" be discontinued. It is an unbusinesslike proceeding and leaves a loophole for petty abuse to creep in. During the time that business houses and banks were unwilling to cash our checks the practice might have been justified, but under normal conditions it should be abandoned.

We have yet to go over the books of the General Recruiting Union and the Duluth Defense Committee, which will take a few days to complete. Also the manager of the Publishing Bureau and the manager of Solidarity are demanding that their accounts be audited. We will push along as rapidly as possible.

Yours for the One Big Union,

Abner E. Woodruff, 289169

E. Lerman, 116634

O. J. Arness, 238718

It is said that the Russian soviet government has sent 200 million dollars over here to buy goods with. At the same time it is announced that the soviet government is going to sue U. S. to recover 150 million dollars in Russian property in this country held by the former ambassador of the Kerenski government. In the midst of these business relations the Bolsheviks and the allied troops, including Americans, are killing one another off round Archangelsk. Perhaps the press is misinformed somehow. It seems it cannot all be true. And we dare not suspect the press of fabricating news.

The Hon. W. L. Mackenzie, King of British Columbia, recently made a speech before a big capitalist club in Chicago, in which he explained the beauties of the Rockefeller plan of "industrial representation." At the close of the lecture the capitalists shook hands and embraced one another. When such things happen, labor had better look out. "Industrial representation" should be treated with the greatest suspicion.

## Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800, Superior District

**Financial Statement Superior District M. M. W. I.  
U. No. 800 of the I. W. W. for the Month  
of May 1919.**

RECEIPTS.	
475 Initiation and 1 Craft Card .....	\$ 950.00
2,566 Due Stamps .....	1,283.00
11 General Organization Stamps .....	11.00
14 Six-Hour Assessment Stamps .....	7.00
16 Class War Prisoners' Relief Stamps .....	16.00
Buttons and Gold Pins .....	142.75
Literature .....	63.30
Card Cases .....	1.75
Banners .....	9.75
Press Fund .....	658.54
Personal Deposits .....	50.50
Subscriptions .....	3.75
Credit on Branches & Delegates accounts .....	190.71
Miscellaneous:	
G. Henricson, error on former reports .....	1.30
J. Karkkainen from J. Hack .....	8.85
I. Gantsch paid for lost due stamps .....	3.00
J. Korpi on account .....	6.36
<b>Total Receipts .....</b>	<b>\$3,434.56</b>

EXPENDITURES.	
For Superior Office:	
Wages .....	\$ 379.50
Mileage .....	7.69
Rent, Heat and Light .....	20.00
Stationery and Fixtures .....	32.98
Postage, Expressage & "Wires" .....	50.93
Literature .....	70.90
J. Korpi on account .....	6.36

T. Whitehead on account of K. Fedchenko .....	50.00
Remittance to M. M. W. I. U. No. 800 Headquarters .....	1,670.00

Branch and Delegates Expenses:	
Wages for Branch Secretaries, Commission to Del. ....	770.31
Mileage .....	148.86
Rent, Heat & Light .....	17.50
Stationery & Fixtures .....	2.88
Postage, Expressage & "Wires" .....	14.64
Literature .....	17.10
General Headquarters for Charters .....	30.00
Relief to Mrs. Masanovich, Virginia Branch .....	25.00
Charges on Branches & Delegates accounts .....	126.27

Miscellaneous:	
Nick Verbanac .....	1.50
Attorney C. Onkka for legal service .....	2.00
Advertising Mass Meeting by Virginia Br. No. 800 .....	10.00
Art Craft Print. Co. Advertising Mass Meet, Duluth .....	4.75
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$3,459.17</b>

RECAPITULATION.	
Total Receipts .....	\$3,434.56
Cash Balance May 1, 1919 .....	290.66
<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>\$3,725.22</b>
Total Expenditures .....	3,459.17
<b>Cash on hand June 1, 1919 .....</b>	<b>\$266.05</b>

PETER PETAJA,  
Sec'y-Treas. Superior Dist. M. M. W. I. U. No. 800.

## Shipbuilding Workers' Industrial Union, No. 325

**Financial Statement from May 1-31, 1919.**

CASH RECEIPTS.	
Del. 113 .....	\$ 2.00
Del. 106 .....	30.00
Del. 102 .....	149.95
Del. 57 .....	11.25
Del. 105 .....	21.50
C. W. I. U. No. 573, Chicago .....	9.50
Del. 114 .....	39.50
Del. 111 .....	62.00
Del. 118 .....	43.00
Del. 112 .....	2.00
Del. 117 .....	8.00
Del. 116 .....	36.00
Portl. Br. per Del. 104 .....	12.50
Del. 77 .....	23.00
Del. 53 .....	14.00
Del. 66 .....	6.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500 .....	12.00
Del. 79 .....	24.00
Del. 121 .....	4.50
Del. 168 .....	18.00
Del. 119 .....	46.00
Del. 59 .....	24.50
Del. 140, Tacoma .....	11.50
Sec'y SB. I. U. 325 .....	43.50
G. R. U. per Whitehead .....	11.25
G. R. U. pro-ratio exp. ....	117.49
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$782.94</b>

CASH EXPENDITURES.	
C. E. C. Literature .....	\$ 18.55
Telegram to Whitehead .....	1.06
Stationery & Fixtures .....	6.50
Duplicate Cards .....	0.50
Seattle Br. No. 573, Ind. cards .....	3.00
Printing Co. (suppl. bills) .....	17.50
Printing Co., Letterheads .....	6.00
Gen. Str. Vic. Def. ....	47.00
Del. 118 Mileage & Wages .....	5.00
Clerk, on Index Files .....	12.00
Capita Tax to Headquarters .....	219.65
On acc. supplies Headquarters .....	41.10
Gen. Def. to Headquarters .....	15.50
Gen. Org. to Headquarters .....	35.00
Money orders & Reg. mail .....	1.40
Donation to paper .....	50.00
Typewriter, rent .....	5.00
C. E. C. B. O. Portland .....	3.00
Hand bag for del. ....	3.50
Bookkeeper, wages .....	12.00
Jail Relief .....	85.00
Postage .....	4.00
Express .....	3.72
Sta. Del. wages incl. back pay .....	132.00
Sec'y wages incl. back pay .....	116.00
Office rent .....	17.50
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$861.48</b>

RECAPITULATION.

Total cash receipts .....	\$782.94
Cash on hand May 1 .....	574.42
<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,357.36</b>
Expenditures .....	861.48
Cash on hand June 1 .....	\$495.88

RECEIPTS.

104 Init. (I. A. F. L. card).....	\$206.00
713 Due Stamps .....	356.50
Jail Relief .....	47.00
Gen. Org. ....	21.00
Buttons .....	10.00
Literature .....	4.20
Acc. Cash Bal. ....	125.99
Card Cases .....	48.50
Strike Victims Def. ....	47.00
Gen. Def. ....	3.50
Dupl. Cards .....	0.50
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$870.19</b>

EXPENDITURES.

Capita tax & supplies .....	\$260.75
Gen. Def. & Gen. Org. ....	50.50
On acc. supplies .....	55.25
C. E. C. Literature .....	21.55
Gen. Strike Victims Def. ....	47.00
Jail Relief .....	85.00
Del. Comm. & Wages .....	43.00
A. W. I. U. Acc. cash bal. ....	4.50
Donation to paper .....	50.00
Main office wages .....	143.00
Sta. Del. wages .....	132.00
Rent, Light, Heat, etc. ....	43.50
Postage, Express, etc. ....	12.68
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$948.73</b>

RECAPITULATION.

Total receipts .....	\$ 870.19
Cash on hand May 1, 1919.....	574.42
<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,444.61</b>
Expenditures .....	948.73
Cash on hand June 1, 1919.....	\$495.88

Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 600

Financial Statement for Month of May, 1919.

CASH RECEIPTS

May 3, Delegate X52, report .....	\$ 6.25
Delegate X44, report .....	18.00
Delegate X176, report .....	5.00
Delegate X23, report .....	1.00
Delegate X40, report .....	7.75
W. W. White, acc't, C. W. I. U. No. 573 .....	2.75
5, Delegate X23, report .....	4.00
Delegate X3, report .....	27.32
Delegate X103, report .....	2.25
Delegate X31, report .....	3.97
Delegate X148, report .....	.50
6, Main office receipts .....	6.00
Delegate X143, report .....	2.14
8, Delegate X41, report .....	9.50
9, Delegate X162, report .....	10.35
10, M. K. Fox acc't, A. W. I. U. No. 400 .....	8.25
12, Delegate X24, report .....	1.00
14, Geo. H. Ricker acc't, L. W. I. U. No. 500 .....	2.50
Delegate X192, report .....	2.25
W. White, acc't, C. W. I. U. I. U. No. 573 .....	.75
Main office receipts .....	3.90
15, Main office receipts .....	1.50
Main office report for G. R. U. ....	1.00
Delegate X47 report .....	2.44
18, Delegate X1, report .....	4.25
19, H. R. & D. W. I. U. Swedish Brch of Chicago, donation .....	10.00
Delegate X47, report .....	1.00
21, Wm. Clark, report .....	2.00
Delegate X144, report .....	3.00
Delegate X214, report .....	2.75
22, Delegate X48, report .....	.30
Delegate X193, report .....	2.00
Delegate X3, report .....	5.42
23, Delegate X3, report .....	.25
24, Office receipts .....	3.00
Western Union Tel. Co. Monies unclaimed and returned .....	10.00
Delegate X40, report .....	18.00
Delegate X246, report .....	6.50
Delegate X27, report .....	7.90
26, Delegate X44, report .....	11.50
Delegate X140, report .....	15.50

A. S. Embree acc't, M. M. W. I. U.

No. 800 .....	.25
27, Delegate X1, report .....	10.00
Delegate X143, report .....	9.50
28, Delegate X3, report .....	5.32
Benito Vargas, deposit .....	2.20
29, Delegate X7, report .....	.50
Delegate X48, report .....	1.50
31, Delegate X137, report for No. 500 Delegate X163, report .....	2.00
Returned by Smoker Committee..	4.50

Total cash receipts May, 1919.....	\$273.51
Cash on hand May 1, 1919.....	139.34

Grand Total .....

Grand Total .....	\$412.85
<b>CASH EXPENDITURES, MAY 1919.</b>	
May 3, C. N. Ogden, main office wages.....	\$ 21.00
5, Italian paper, subs. ....	1.50
New Solidarity, subs. ....	.75
6, New Solidarity, B. O. for April....	16.80
7, Hodge & Homer Hdw. Co., twine..	1.20
8, Main office, postage .....	10.00
9, Money wired to organizer .....	10.00
Cost of wire .....	1.01
10, Horders Stationery Co., Signature stamps .....	2.50
Horders Stationery Co., wire paper clips .....	.42
R. J. Robinson, convention, wages	18.00
C. N. Ogden, main office wages....	21.00
17, C. N. Ogden, main office wages....	21.0
22, Exchanged postage stamps .....	.30
24, C. N. Ogden, main office wages....	21.00
Main office postage .....	5.00
Money order to organizer .....	10.00
Money order to organizer .....	15.00
Cost of wire .....	1.01
Bulgarian paper, subs. ....	1.50
Italian paper, subs. ....	.75
New Solidarity, subs. ....	2.25
Int. Type Setting Co., ptg. leaflets	13.25
Adv. to Smoker Comm., ptg. plug- gers .....	4.50
R. J. Robinson, Gen. Convention wages .....	18.00
31, C. N. Ogden, main office wages....	21.00
<b>Total cash expenditures .....</b>	<b>\$238.74</b>
Bal. cash on hand June 1, 1919.....	\$174.11

**SUMMARY RECEIPTS.**

52 initiations .....	\$104.00
240 due stamps sold .....	120.00
Relief .....	1.00
Defense .....	4.00
Organization stamps .....	14.00
Buttons .....	1.00
Literature .....	46.40
Papers, B. O. ....	27.60
O. B. U. Monthlies, sold .....	11.50
Magazine and papers, subs. ....	8.25
2 duplicate cards .....	.50
Card cases .....	1.00
Donations .....	10.00
Monies returned .....	14.50
Br. Sec. & Del. acc'ts .....	32.55
Branch charter .....	10.00
Industrial Unions Acc'ts .....	9.25
R. R. Magazine stamps .....	5.00
Personal deposit .....	2.20

Total summary receipts .....\$422.75

**SUMMARY DISBURSEMENTS**

Gen Hdqts, per capita .....	\$ 7.50
Gen. Hdqts, supplies .....	5.75
Papers, Bo. O. for April .....	16.80
Papers, Subs. ....	6.75

Dels' Comm. Lit. & Initiations .....	27.88
Organizers, wages .....	39.00
Organizers, mileage .....	10.71
Del. Gen. Convention, wages .....	36.00
Main office, wages .....	105.00
Main office, stationery & fixtures.....	4.12
Postage, express and wires .....	19.48
Industrial Unions' Accounts .....	10.75
Industrial Unions' allowance, supplies .....	16.00
Branches & delegates accounts .....	9.74
Advanced to organizers .....	35.00
Advanced to smoker committee, ptg.....	4.50
Ptg. leaflets for No. 600.....	13.25
Account Gen. Hdqts .....	6.50
Allowance, G. R. U. on supplies .....	13.25

Total expenses May, 1919.....\$387.98

**RECAPITULATION.**

Total receipts, May .....	\$422.75
Cash on hand May 1, 1919.....	139.34

Total receipts .....	\$562.09
Total expenditures .....	387.98

Total cash on hand June 1, 1919.....\$174.11

C. N. OGDEN,  
Secretary-Treasurer R. R. W. I. U. No. 600.

**Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 300**

Bulletin No. 1 June 11, 1919  
Fellow Workers:—

The time is at hand for Industrial Union No. 300 to become one of the largest of the industrial unions of the I. W. W. Never before in the history of this industrial union has the time been more opportune, or the need so great, for the One Big Union of metal and machinery workers.

We have on hand at this writing a large number of membership cards surrendered by members of other unions for M. and M. W. I. U. No. 300 cards. These cards are from the following unions: I. A. of M., W. I. I. U., Russian Workers Union, Russian Young Men's League, Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America.

In Cleveland, Ohio, while marching in a parade in protest against the unjust imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs, J. Ivanyi was killed by the hired mercenaries of the master class. Several were wounded or badly beaten up. J. Ivanyi and some of those who were wounded are members of the Cleveland I. U. No. 300 Branch.

A cordon of police and soldiers was placed about the branch hall and while the boys have been unable to reopen the hall the work of organization has gone on in fine shape. They are taking in new members and expert to have another hall shortly.

No doubt you have read the accounts which have appeared recently, in the press, of the huge frame-up on a number of our members in Pittsburgh, Pa. It goes without saying that these members' "crime" was that they had been working hard trying to build up a branch of I. U. No. 300 in that city. We believe that the achievement of this aim would have been much more dangerous to the "Steal Trust" than the few bombs which are supposed to have been discovered.

The above paragraphs, showing the action which

has already been taken by the "Bosses" in the east, only make plain to us the gigantic task we have before us. Some of our branches are doing fine work, while others are not doing quite so well. Let's all pull together and see to it that all branches are put on a solid basis.

Above all things each and every member should take out credentials and supplies. It is a fact that those branches which are doing the best work are the ones who have a large number of delegates out on the jobs in their respective districts.

There will be job news in the bulletin when the membership in the field send some in. All job news should be as authentic as possible in order that there will be no confusion in the minds of those members who depend upon this for information.

On June 5th the General Office received the following telegram from Seattle, Washington:

Seattle, June 5.—James Bruce was acquitted today of the charge on which he was tried, during the past two weeks. The jury was out from 3:45 yesterday until 2:15 today.—Committee.

While we are pleased to receive this good news we must not forget that there are a number of more cases of this same nature still to be disposed of in that district, so we must keep on steadily organizing until we have put an end to this sort of procedure on the part of the "Bosses."

With best wishes I remain,

Yours for Industrial Freedom,  
E. R. THOMAS.

The workers of the world were never so restless. This is a sign that the masses are awakening to the realization that they are being fleeced in order that the small minority may live in splendor.

# Metal and Machinery Workers, Industrial Union No. 300

May 1 to May 31, 1919

## CASH RECEIPTS

May 1919	Brought forward April.....	\$507.32
2.	H. Van Dorn, Report.....	20.00
	Erhard Shunk, Report.....	2.00
	Glenn B. Fortney, Report.....	3.25
	L. Nemeth, Report.....	6.10
	L. Halasz, Report.....	1.00
	H. Van Dorn, Report.....	30.00
3.	Rona De Guerre, Report.....	1.50
	Oliver Lowder, Report.....	1.20
4.	Viana Kongo, Report.....	6.50
5.	Martti Lemberg, Report.....	4.40
6.	John Draganoff, Report.....	25.30
8.	A. J. Nemeth, Report.....	5.00
	Oliver Lowder, Report.....	1.50
	Martin Stefanko, Report.....	5.50
9.	A. J. Nfimeth, report.....	10.00
	E. G. Quist, Report.....	.80
	O. Bartson, Report.....	50.00
11.	H. Karnstrom, Report.....	60.55
12.	Gus. Mortenson, Report.....	13.50
	Gus. Mortenson, Report.....	5.00
	Al. Holger, Report.....	18.00
13.	H. Karnstrom, Refund.....	100.00
14.	S. Grobesky, Report.....	30.00
	W. W. White, I. U. 573, On acct.	7.00
	Louis Hartman, Report.....	3.00
15.	O. Bartson, Report.....	25.00
19.	Rona De Guerre, Report.....	7.62
	Harvey Karnstrom, report.....	14.00
21.	Philip Larson, Report.....	8.00
	A. Newman, Report.....	2.50
	Martin Stefanko, Report.....	7.00
	Mike Nowak, Report.....	7.00
23.	H. Karnstrom, Refund.....	75.00
	C. Kaspi, Report.....	4.50
	E. R. Thomas, Refund.....	25.00
	P. Pek, Report.....	24.00
26.	H. J. Wilson, Report.....	2.00
	M. R. Vollmer, Report.....	3.00
	Oliver Lowder, Report.....	6.00
	A. J. Nemeth, Report.....	5.00
27.	Joseph Rado, Report.....	10.00
28.	H. Karnstrom, Report.....	37.90
	Edward Yerke, Report.....	3.00
	Henry Danielson, Report.....	5.50
	Martin Stefanko, Report.....	12.00
29.	John Bulik, Report.....	28.24
31.	H. Karnstrom, Refund.....	100.00
	F. W. Johnson, Refund.....	26.05
	E. R. Thomas, Refund.....	10.00
	Total.....	\$871.41

## CASH EXPENDITURES.

May	2.	A. Axelrod, Convention, Mileage\$	29.42
		F. W. Johnson, Convention, Mileage	26.05
		Leon Shuff, Convention, Mileage	7.58
		P. O. Station No. 176, Postage....	4.00
		P. O. Station No. 176, Money order	.20
	3.	Marjorie Lockwood, Office wages	21.00
		Irving Freeman, Office wages.....	21.00
		E. R. Thomas, Office wages.....	28.00
		Int. Print. & Type Co., Pluggers	34.95
	4.	P. O. Station No. 176, Postage	1.98
	5.	A. Axelrod, Conv. del., Expense	4.00
		Leon Shuff, conv. del. expense....	4.00
		F. W. Johnson, Conv. Del., Expense	4.00
	6.	John Draganoff, Personal Deposit	74.70
		Horders Company, Stat.....	3.00
		A. B. Dick Co., Stat.....	5.00
		A. B. Dick Co., Sta.....	1.50

	7.	Walter Baotel, Wire.....	.47
	8.	P. O. Station No. 176, Postage	1.98
		F. Dewey, Fixtures.....	10.00
	9.	H. Karnstrom, Advance I. U. 300 Entertainment	100.00
	10.	Int. Print. & Type. Co., Printing	11.25
		Glen B. Fortney, Office wages....	3.50
		Irving Freeman, Office wages.....	21.00
		E. R. Thomas, Office wages.....	28.00
		P. O. Station No. 176, Postage	1.05
	13.	P. O. Station No. 176, Postage....	1.00
	14.	A. Axelrod, Conv. Del. Expense	36.00
	15.	Leon Shuff, Conv. Del. Expense	36.00
		F. W. Johnson, Conv. Del. Expense	36.00
		F. Dewey, Repairs.....	.50
	16.	Thomas Whitehead, Supplies.....	3.80
	17.	Glenn B. Fortney, Office wages	21.00
		Irving Freeman, Office wages.....	21.00
		E. R. Thomas, Office wages.....	28.00
		Gus Mortenson, Duplicate Money Order	13.50
		F. W. Johnson, Conv. Mileage....	26.05
	20.	Theo. Krueger, Stat.....	1.01
		E. R. Thomas, Advanced, Organ.	25.00
	21.	A. Newman, Hungarian Subs.....	148.50
	22.	P. O. Station No. 176, Postage....	2.00
	23.	F. Dewey, Repairs.....	.40
	24.	Inter. Print. & Type. Co., Printing	4.80
		Glenn B. Fortney, Office wages	21.00
		Irving Freeman, Office wages.....	21.00
		E. R. Thomas, Office wages.....	28.00
	26.	P. O. Station No. 176, Postage	4.00
		Anso Co., Advertising.....	.58
	29.	David Stern & Co., Advertising	.10
		H. Karnstrom, Advanced I. U. 300 Entertainment	100.00
	30.	P. O. Station No. 176, Postage	1.98
		Am. Ry. Express Co., Wire.....	1.40
		Thomas Whitehead, Rent.....	16.67
		Glenn B. Fortney, Office wages	17.50
		Irving Freeman, Office wages.....	21.00
		E. R. Thomas, Office wages.....	24.00
		Total.....	\$1,106.34

## TOTAL RECEIPTS.

Initiations, 319.....	\$ 638.00
Due Stamps, 1,275.....	637.50
General Organization Defense.....	32.00
Class War Relief Defense.....	5.00
Buttons.....	2.25
Literature.....	59.97
Credit Br. Sec'y & Br. Del.....	515.20
Donations.....	12.38
Metal & Mach. Assess. Stamps.....	110.50
Card Cases.....	2.00
Refunds.....	65.00
Charter fee.....	10.00
	\$1,989.80

## TOTAL EXPENDITURES.

Personal Deposit, John Draganoff.....	\$ 74.70
General Office, Supplies.....	3.80
General Office, Literature.....	141.75
General Office, Subs.....	148.50
Br. Sec'y & Org., Wages.....	433.50
Mileage.....	131.12
Held on hand by Br. Sec'y & Del.....	203.78
Main Office, Wages.....	321.50
Advertising.....	3.60
Advanced for entertainments.....	200.00
Rent, light and heat.....	127.59
Stat. and fixtures.....	127.74
Postage, wire and express.....	33.07
Commissions to Delegates.....	23.00

Entertainment expenses .....	20.00	Total Receipts from May 1-31.....	\$1,989.80
Delegates expenses, Convention .....	183.05	Brought forward from April 30.....	507.32
Organizing .....	25.00		
Loan .....	20.00		\$2,497.12
Misc. ....	3.03	Total Expend. from May 1-31.....	2,224.73
	<u>\$2,224.73</u>	Cash on hand May 31.....	\$272.39

Construction Workers' Industrial Union, No. 573, Seattle District

Bulletin No. 6. June 6, 1919 Box 365, Seattle

The financial statement for the month of May shows 250 new members for the Seattle District alone, on checking up the delegates accounts in the district office, they show that we have 100 delegates working out of this office. These two statements show even to the most sceptical that we have the nucleus of a real organization formed, it is up to you, fellow workers, to do the rest. There are now over 50 construction camps in the Seattle district, reports from them show that sanitary and working conditions have improved very little in the last two years, there are of course exceptions to this rule, there are isolated cases where the workers through their organized power have secured decent living conditions.

But job reports as a rule read something like this—sleeping accommodations rotten, no blankets, no baths, no floor in the bunk house.

How much longer are we going to stand for this? We are working in an essential industry. Have we not the same right as workers in other industries? We demand clean bedding, clean sheets, facilities for bathing first class food and decent working conditions.

We are going to enforce these demands. How? By being solidly organized in the Construction Workers Industrial Union of the I. W. W.

The trial of James Bruce on the criminal anarchy charge is over with a verdict of not guilty. Most of the other cases no doubt will be dropped, this releases a very few of the many thousands of the class war prisoners held in the filthy jails thruout the country. We demand the release of all class war prisoners. Organization is the one best bet to secure their release.

Will C. L. Showalter communicate with the Chicago Defense Committee on a matter of importance to the defense.

Will the following members write in to this office, Frank Wright Dewey Osborne, Geo. Russell, Chas. James, E. W. Heern and R. Martin.

Members take notice.—Take up the credentials

and supplies of Victor Mason and notify this office.

Members whose names appear on the main office ballot for C. W. I. U. are requested to send their addresses to Wm. W. White, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill., this is important.

Notice to all members of the I. W. W. A call is issued for a joint delegate conference to be held in Seattle, July 3, 1919, all branches and groups of 10 or more members in good standing entitled to send delegates to this conference, credentials should be signed by the secretaries of the branches or with the names and card numbers of 10 members in good standing electing the delegate.

Branches and members on the job are requested to make this a special order of business, all contemplating sending delegates should get in touch with the district secretaries of their respective industrial unions.

Signed: Conference Committee.

In reply for nomination for the Seattle District C. W. I. U. the following were nominated for Sec.-Treas. J. Kennedy, R. van Wingerden, Thos. Whitehead, Roy Gammon, P. McGovern, A. L. Emerson and Thos. Elliott. Thos. Whitehead, Thos. Elliott, Roy Gammon, and P. McGovern declining and J. Kennedy being ineligible, the names of A. L. Emerson and R. Van Wingerden will be placed on the ballot for sec.-treas.

The following were nominated for the organization committee Lawrence Gross, L. L. White, Joe Weight, Frank Ryan of Seattle, Frank Ryan of Portland, F. Kingsley, Dick French, Bob Beck, Arthur Lundin, Harry Shannon, John Brady, Chas. Koler, C. Elliott, John Moore, Fred Bohn, John Troy, Wm. Chapman, J. Kennedy and Fred Reynolds.

As Frank Ryan of Portland and L. L. White declines and no record being found of Chas. Koler and John Moore, the rest of the nominees will be placed on the ballot which will be out immediately, members not in touch with branches or delegates are requested to write in to this office for ballots, we would like to have as big a vote as possible on this referendum.

Financial Statement of Construction Workers' Industrial Union, No. 573

Month of May, 1919				
CASH RECEIPTS				
May 2	Del. E92, report .....	\$ 4.00	12 Del. E24, report .....	30.00
	Del. E222, report .....	147.53	13 Del. E23, Seattle Dist. Report.....	564.45
	Del. E81, for O. B. U. Monthly .....	10.00	Del. F5, report .....	15.00
5	Del. E81, report .....	25.00	Del. E584, report .....	7.00
	Del. E20, report .....	1.50	14 Del. E295, report .....	3.00
	Office receipts .....	13.50	Del. E22, report .....	6.90
6	Del. E23, Seattle Dist. Report .....	250.00	Acct. No. 500, report .....	25.00
	Del. E207, report .....	15.00	Del. E441, on Acct. Cash Bal.....	5.00
10	Del. E69, report .....	3.00	17 Office receipts .....	10.75
	Office Receipts .....	26.63	19 Del. E431, report .....	10.00
			Del. E404, report .....	26.75
			Del. E24, report .....	30.00



Money Held by Br. Cec. and Del. ....	1270.10
Jail Stamps to Deportees .....	5.00
Main office wages .....	312.00
Rent, Light, Heat, etc. ....	424.74
Stationary and Fixtures .....	150.23
Postage, Express, Messages .....	162.35
Org. Exp. Ballots .....	28.40
Leaflets .....	13.25
Handbills and Dodgers .....	18.50
Allowance to Unions on Supplies .....	64.75
Allowance to Del. for Supplies taken by Federal Officer .....	1.20
Seattle Br. Business Meetings .....	28.50
<b>Total Outgo .....</b>	<b>\$4,940.08</b>

<b>RECAPITULATION:</b>	
Balance on hand May 1, 1919 .....	\$2,358.36
Cash receipts for May .....	1,512.72
	<hr/>
Cash Disbursements for May .....	\$3,871.08
	1,173.86
	<hr/>
Balance on hand June 1, 1919 .....	2,697.22
Consisting of funds	
In bank .....	2,680.66
In cash drawer .....	16.56
	<hr/>
Total Cash on hand .....	\$2,697.22
W. W. WHITE, Sec.-Treas., Pro-tem, C. W. I. U. No. 573.	

## Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 400

Bulletin No. 37 Chicago, Ill., June 9, 1919  
Fellow Workers:

According to the reports reaching this office the haying is now on in full swing in Oklahoma; there is a lot of that work going on in the vicinity of Enid but there are enough men at that point to handle the work at this time.

Wheat harvest started in Texas; Ochiltree county has a bumper crop and wages have started out at 50 cents an hour for a ten hour day; all kinds of help is needed down there at this time.

The crop in Oklahoma has been held up on account of the cold weather but by the end of this week things will be started off in good shape around that part of the country as well as over at Alva, Oklahoma, Pratt, Kansas, Caldwell and other parts of the south.

The rain has held the Kansas crop back but it will be ready for cutting any time after the 15th of the month and all delegates in Oklahoma and Kansas should get territories mapped out where they expect to do some harvesting; all members in Kansas and every other part of the wheat belt should write to the office and give us all the job news available so that members in all parts of the country will know just what is going on; papers and supplies will be sent out at once to all members as soon as we hear from them.

The commercial club at Dodge City Kansas are advertising for 4000 men to start harvesting there any time from the 15th on; there is a fine outlook around that part of the country for a bumper crop and according to reports from our delegates there is a great crop of harvest hands to be lined up in Kansas this year.

Harvesting in the Great Bend, Hoisington country will not be in full swing till around the 20th of the month and the same is the case around the Salina and Colby territory; reports state that there is going to be a bumper crop around Hays, Kansas, and also on the U. P. branch from Salina to Colby; there is a big Bohemian settlement and quite a few Russian farmers in this territory and wages are always better than in other parts of the state; it is not more than thirty miles from the branch to any part of the main line of the U. P. and there is room for a hundred delegates around that part of the country.

Reports on the situation in Nebraska will come in later bulletins; there is nothing much doing in that state at this time but they expect a great crop this year.

We are getting some good reports from Iowa and the Dakotas but there is no great demand for men in these states yet; there is some ditching work going on around Spencer, Iowa, with wages from 50 cents an hour up; all the footlose one's who want to put No. 400 on the map this year will get down to the Oklahoma and Kansas harvest within the next ten days.

All members in and around the Yakima country can get supplies and credentials from the member of the organization committee either there or at Pasco, Wash., reports coming in from there state that the fruit harvest is now on and delegates in that part of the country are more optimistic than they have ever been in the past. This is a great agriculture country and work goes on continually till the snow flies; there should be at least a couple of hundred delegates around there before August.

Members in Montana can get credentials and supplies from A. S. Embree at 318 N. Wyoming St., Butte or from the stationary delegate at Great Falls, Montana, and members who want to become active in the Utah or Idaho country can get fixed up by writing to Headquarters No. 800 at 253 W. Broadway, Salt Lake City.

Members of the organization committee and others will please take notice that no more money will be wired from this office; all money advanced will be sent either by check or money order and then only after a letter has been received.

The latest news on the Wichita indictment is that Judge Pollock sustained the motion of our lawyers to quash the case; we are informed that a Special Grand Jury is now in session to indict the boys on another case something similar.

The papers in that district are full of stories of plots to get the prosecuting attorney, and others, to avenge the imprisonment of our fellow workers by burning the crop and many other such fairy tales. Robertson is being boosted for governor of Kansas next term and naturally he will do all in his power

to frame up on the boys who have been in jail now for about two years.

Any member who knows of anyone who would put up cash or property bond to get any of these fellow workers out on bail is requested to write to this office immediately.

One thing which will help the men in jail all over the country is a big drive through the agriculture fields and in order to make that a success we will need at least one thousand delegates so let our slogan be One Thousand Job Delegates before August 1st.

All delegates have organization stamps on sale and the proceeds from them will be used to build up weaker industrial union. Relief stamps sell at one dollar and the proceeds of them are used to get tobacco and other things for the hundreds of rebels who are now lying in jails for their activities in the past; defense stamps are on sale at one dollar each to give the men who are now awaiting trial the best possible defense.

Every member should get some of the above stamps immediately.

Every member who can write should do so today and get credentials and supplies and take part in what promises to be the biggest drive that has ever taken place in the organized movement of this country.

Best wishes we are yours for the One Big Drive,

D. N. SIMPSON, MAT. K. FOX,

Chairman, Gen. Org. Com. Sec.-Treas. A. W. I. U.  
No. 400

#### FINANCIAL STATEMENT A. W. I. U. No. 400,

May 1919

#### RECEIPTS

184 Initiations .....	\$ 368.00
1678 Due Stamps .....	839.00
Relief Stamps .....	137.00
Gen. Org. Stamps .....	207.00
Gen. Def. Stamps and Misc. Donations .....	303.65
Buttons .....	19.95
Card Cases, Lit., Dups. Cards, etc., etc.....	275.90
Subs. to O. B. U. and Solidarity .....	5.25
Money paid on acct. br. sec'ys. and del's.	1752.13
Monies refunded .....	10.00
Misc. receipts .....	29.47
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300, dues .....	1.00
O. W. I. U. No. 450, dues .....	43.00
O. W. I. U. No. 450, init. ....	14.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500, dues .....	42.50
C. W. I. U. No. 573, dues .....	77.50
C. W. I. U. No. 573, init. ....	18.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, dues .....	8.50
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, init. ....	2.00
M. T. W. I. U. No. 700, dues .....	1.50
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, dues .....	13.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, init. ....	8.00
D. W. I. U. No. 1100, dues .....	1.00
G. R. U., dues .....	49.50
G. R. U., init. ....	10.00
Total receipts .....	\$4,238.85

#### DISBURSEMENTS

Personal deposits .....	\$ 10.00
Commission on Literature .....	21.81

Literature .....	30.50
Bundle orders, papers and subs. ....	53.25
Dist. and Br. Sec'ys. and Dels. Comm. ....	1261.48
Mileage .....	278.63
Acct. supplies .....	2.00
Monies held by Br. Sec'ys. and Dels. ....	2003.40
General defense .....	30.00
Main office salaries .....	364.00
Rent, heat, light .....	205.86
Stationary and fixtures .....	73.43
Postage, express and wires .....	67.95
Joint office expenses .....	54.20
Half delegates expenses from California .....	38.97
Stamp allowed for jails .....	29.50
Allowance of for other unions .....	91.36

Total expenses .....

#### RECAPITULATION

Total receipts .....	\$4,238.25
Cash an hand May 1, 1919 .....	1,347.06
Grand Total .....	\$5,585.91
Disbursements .....	4,621.34
Cash on hand June 1st, 1919 .....	\$ 964.57

#### CASH RECEIPTS MAIN OFFICE A. W. I. U. NO. 400 May, 1919

Jim Ward .....	\$10.00
S. J. Cole .....	12.50
A. Fraine .....	16.06
James Kelley .....	19.27
C. Nelson .....	6.40
C. Baker .....	20.50
Ed. Carlson .....	25.00
D. N. Simpson .....	3.21
Paul Vold .....	5.00
F. B. White .....	.25
John Lee .....	9.70
J. L. Jackson .....	3700
Jim Ward .....	20.00
Albert Anz .....	50.00
George Keyes .....	28.50
M. Englehart .....	4.25
R. Douglas .....	11.20
P. C. Aguilar .....	4.00
Thos. Foley .....	3.50
Joe Martin .....	2.50
H. P. Herzberg .....	19.73
P. Taft .....	3.21
George Keyes .....	1.00
Theo. L. Olson .....	12.00
John J. Murray .....	7.50
J. Vanween .....	.25
Chas. Newman .....	.25
A. H. McCloskey .....	6.00
Sam Nelson .....	1.65
W. H. Meyers .....	10.00
M. J. Smith .....	5.00
Joe O'Neil .....	10.00
Harry Smith .....	6.50
E. Kivett .....	5.00
Joe Fisher .....	5.50
Albert Anz. ....	75.00
Jim Davis .....	3.50
Albert Rendings .....	10.60
Jesse Lemens .....	.25
H. Bradley .....	.25
W. W. White .....	.25
C. E. Thompson .....	17.00
George Dutton .....	1.00
Joe Stepmic .....	.25
Joe Rogers .....	17.80
John Eininger .....	7.50
Thos. Hackett .....	1.50
H. Haines .....	.25
Thos. Grist .....	1.00
Ed. Britt .....	5.00
J. Vanween .....	.25

M. Englehart .....	4.55
Fred Beaman .....	15.00
R. S. Morgan .....	55.00
Albert Anz .....	50.00
Ben Eaves .....	8.00
H. Biddiscombe .....	6.25
Joe Stephnic .....	.25
M. H. McDonald .....	5.38
A. H. McCloskey .....	5.50
W. Zigmant .....	14.85
Joe Bush .....	.25
H. P. Herzberg .....	23.54
Robt. Douglas .....	7.95
Wm. H. Meyer .....	4.00
A. S. Embree .....	.75
W. Kelley .....	.25
Joe Rogers .....	22.50
Tom Whitehead .....	15.00
Fred Beaman .....	7.50
Chas. Newman .....	.25
Albert Anz .....	50.00
George Keyes .....	42.10
John Murray .....	13.50
Joe Fisher .....	15.00
T. Hackett .....	15.00
F. McDonald .....	3.00
F. McDonald .....	2.00
Dave Rommell .....	5.00
Joe Higgins .....	.25
R. L. Meyer .....	1.00
S. J. Cole .....	43.25
Ralph Anderson .....	20.00
Thos. P. Brady .....	2.00
A. Friend acct. W. Francik .....	20.00
A. Rendings .....	4.25
Robt. Douglas .....	7.90
George Dutton .....	.25
M. H. McDonald .....	2.40
Jim Davis .....	3.50
Leo James .....	.25
H. P. Herzberg .....	21.75
George Dutton .....	6.25
Frank Belina .....	26.00
Office receipts .....	18.55

Total cash receipts .....\$1043.80

CASH DISBURSEMENTS

May 3 D. N. Simpson, chairman, wages ....	\$ 28.00
Mat. K. Fox, Sec'y.-Treas., wages ....	28.00
J. Wosczyński office wages .....	21.00
6 M. K. Fox (stamp rec'd. during April .....	1.76
A. B. Dick Co. office supplies .....	25.00
7 Rebel Worker, bundle order .....	10.50
8 Mat. K. Fox, wired to Jack Terrell....	20.00
9 Russian Paper, bundle order .....	5.25
Hungarian Paper, bundle order ....	1.50

10 James Kelley, wages attending conv. ....	24.00
T. A. Jenkins, wages attending conv. ....	24.00
Philip Taft, wages attending conv. ....	24.00
George Allridge, wages attd. conv. ....	24.00
J. Wosczyński, wages office .....	21.00
D. N. Simpson, wages chairman ....	28.00
Mat. K. Fox, wages sec.-treas. ....	28.00
W. W. White, balance due 573 to date .....	14.63
C. N. Ogden, balance due 600 to date .....	8.25
15 Mat. K. Fox, wired to W. A. Rumfield .....	50.00
16 Tom Whitehead, rent up to June 1st .....	100.00
C. E. Smith on acct. ....	20.00
R. A. Williams (California defense) .....	12.00
Horders Stationary (office supplies) .....	13.70
Rebel Worker (Sioux City bundles) .....	15.00
17 James Kelley wages attending con-vention .....	20.00
Philip Taft, wages attending conv. ....	20.00
George Allridge, wages attending convention .....	20.00
D. N. Simpson, wages chairman .....	28.00
Mat. K. Fox, wages sec'y.-treas. ....	28.00
J. Wosczyński, wages office .....	21.00
Tom Sullivan, wages work in office .....	14.00
19 Mat. K. Fox, wired to C. E. Smith....	30.00
Towal Supply Co. ....	1.50
20 Geo. Allridge on acct. ....	30.00
23 Mat. K. Fox, wired to Albert Bare....	25.00
Mat. K. Fox, wired to Joe Higgins .....	25.00
24 Mat. K. Fox, wired to Jack Ward ...	15.00
International Ptg. Co. A. W. I. U. Ba[llots) .....	15.75
J. Wosczyński, wages office .....	21.00
D. N. Simpson, wages chairman ....	28.00
Mat. K. Fox, wages Sec.-Treas. ....	28.00
D. N. Simpson, acct. org. comm. meeting at K. C. ....	250.00
31 D. N. Simpson, acct. org. comm. meeting at K. C. ....	28.64
Wencil Francik .....	20.00
D. N. Simpson, wages Chairman.....	28.00
Mat. K. Fox, wages Sec.-Treas. ....	28.00
Albert Bare, acct. trip west .....	150.00
Mat. K. Fox, postage .....	3.81

Cash Disbursements .....\$1,426.29

RECAPITULATION

Total cash receipts .....	\$1,043.80
Cash and hand May 1st, 1919 .....	1347.06

Grand total .....	\$2,390.86
Total cash disbursements .....	1,426.29

Cash on hand June 1st, 1919 .....\$ 964.57

MAT. K. FOX,  
Sec.-Treas., A. W. I. U. No. 400

## Industrial Workers of the World--General Office

Bulletin.

June 10, 1919

Fellow Workers:

The referendum ballots have been shipped to the various Industrial Unions and Branches. Secretaries and Delegates should supply all members they come in contact with ballots, and every member should carefully study the many proposed changes to the Constitution.

Instructions on the ballot should also be carefully noted. Industrial Unions must send tabulated ballot reports by registered mail addressed to "Ballot Committee," 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. They will be held, unopened, until the ballot committee is on the job, for that purpose. The ballots will be counted July 25, 1919.

Publications.

The April financial report showed a total deficit for five of our papers of \$6882.50. The papers that show this deficit are as follows: New Solidarity, Italian Paper, Spanish Paper, Swedish Paper, and the One Big Union Monthly Magazine. The papers that are self-supporting are the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Russian, Jewish. During the month of May a slight gain was made, as the total receipts were \$4526.23, while the disbursements were \$4451.11, leaving a balance for the month of \$75.12, reducing the total deficit to \$6807.47.

A determined effort by all units of the Organization to pay up back bills should be made to clear off this indebtedness, and prompt payment of all

bills in the future, will enable the General Organization to get out new leaflets, pamphlets, and in various ways help on the General Organization work.

#### General Defense and Relief.

Your special attention is called to the status of the accounts. Excess expense over receipts for the month for General Defense was \$536.85, and the excess expenses over receipts for relief was \$811.30 making a total expense over receipts for the month of \$1,348.15. Therefore, Industrial Unions and Defense Committees having funds collected for these purposes should remit promptly.

#### New Press Fund.

Contribution for the month of May to this fund was \$224.65. In order to make room for the increase of the printing plant, the main office has been moved to the third floor. The ground floor has been rented to the International Printing and Typesetting Company, and the new printing machine will be installed some time this month, when we shall be called upon to make an installment of \$1,000.00. To meet this, more generous response from those interested is urgently needed.

Since the last Bulletin the following have been released on bond from Leavenworth, Kansas: John Pancner; Wm. Tanner; Geo. Andreytchine; and E. F. Doree; with bright prospects for early release of Ray Fanning and V. Lossieff.

The following Wichita defendants have also, been released on bonds: Harry Drew, E. J. Huber and Ray Lambert while the bonds for S. B. Hicok and H. McCarl are waiting approval by the Marshal.

Information is received that Judge Pollock on June 7th, ruled in favor of Vanderveer's motion to quash the Wichita indictment. This was followed by a wire saying that a special Grand Jury was in session to re-indict them.

L. C. Russel was released on \$1,000.00 bonds. The demurrer was sustained by Judge Carpenter. The Government, however, appealed against the ruling, hence the need for bonds for his appearance.

James Bruce the first of the Seattle Cases charged with "Criminal Anarchy" was declared not guilty by the jury, after discussing the merits of the case from 3:45 P. M. Wednesday until 2:15 P. M. Thursday, June 5th.

There are quite a number of I. W. W.'s and Socialist Party members charged as above. The industrial barons of the Pacific Northwest are demanding of their political hirelings their pound of flesh because of the terrible jolt to their industrial interests in the recent successful "Seattle general strike." The trial shows that Bruce himself was not on trial, he was hardly ever mentioned. It was really a trial of the I. W. W. of which Bruce is a member.

We understand that the next member to go to trial is Walker C. Smith, but when we have no definite information.

The Equity Printing Plant in Seattle, which prints radical literature, has for some months now had a censor in the form of a burly cop appointed by Chief Warren. Some joke, the Seattle Star tells

Chief Warren, after several months, to put the cop back on his beat, telling the Chief he made a "bonehead play." The Star as well as all other Seattle papers has known about the facts all along, and only discover the "Boneheadedness" after the court fires the censor of the chief.

\* \* \*

The Delegates to the Eleventh Convention have been back nearly a month now. They were all invited to get the members busy, interested in seeing the Leavenworth and Wichita defendants out on bail; to raise all the liberty bonds and cash, as well as interest friends that have property to go bail for these members that have been in jail for many months, especially the Wichita defendants who have now been waiting trial 19 months. We certainly expect some results to be reaching the office in the very near future, through their efforts. Remember actions speak louder than words. Let everyone get busy on this proposition.

The Leavenworth Appeal will not be heard before the October term, and may possibly be delayed until next year, so get busy.

\* \* \*

The following Fellow Workers who are in the Wichita indictment are moved to Ottawa, Kansas: (Formerly at Hutchinson, Kans.)

Michael Sapper, Sam Forbes, Frank Patton, Robert Poe, Harry McCarl, Albert Barr, E. M. Boyd, Jack Wallberg. Leo Stark was left in Hutchinson, Kansas until he gets the dental work done on his teeth. Jack Caffrey was moved to Ottawa with the rest of the boys. The Street address is: 307 Main Street. They like to hear from the Fellow Workers on the outside often.

With best wishes, I am

Your for Industrial Solidarity,

THOS. WHITEHEAD

Acting General secretary-Treasurer.

#### BAIL MATTERS

June 10, 1919.

The latest information on Leavenworth Bail and deportation matters is as follows:

Bail set for all defendants—ten thousand for all ten and twenty year men;—five thousand for five year men, with the exception of C. L. Lambert, whose bail is set at fifteen thousand.

W. T. Nef: Schedule for entire amount received here last week, but had to be returned for minor corrections. Deportation warrant cancelled.

G. H. Perry: Letter sent May 29th to District Attorney in Chicago, asking him to take condition of Perry's health up with prison doctors so that bail might be reduced.

C. Ashleigh: New Schedules again sent to Mrs. Wagner, who said she had some already raised.

Jack Law: Have sufficient schedule for second surety. Dorsow and Mrs. Law working on first.

John Martin: Contemplated conference between Attorney Christensen and Danish Consul for raising his bond.

Chas. Jacobs: Deportation bond forwarded Mrs. Jacobs, upon her request.

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W. S. Fanning: Received word that parties in Chattanooga, are forwarding by mail schedules totalling \$30,000 clear property.

C. Bennett: Wire from Central Labor Council, Portland, Oregon, that \$5,000 in liberty bonds are forwarded.

C. B. Anderson: Forms and instructions sent Jasper Graham, Rexford, Montana.

Geo. Hardy: Deportation bonds filed and accepted.

J. A. McDonald: Eight thousand clear already scheduled. Forms and instructions forwarded to Francis Rudolph, Erie, Pennsylvania, in an effort to raise the balance.

Forrest Edwards: Forms and instructions were forwarded his sister in North Dakota, a long time ago. Have written many times, but no response. If she would send schedule back, there is a brother in Montana who could raise the balance.

Wm. D. Haywood: Christensen and McIntosh have tried to raise cash on McIntosh property, but have met with no success. Bonds that will be released about the middle of this month have been promised.

Chas. McKinnon: Forms and instructions forwarded to Frank L. Reber of Nevada.

Manuel Rey: Received letter from John Berg stating he hoped soon to send entire amount of money required to release Rey.

Dan. Buckley: Forms and instructions sent two weeks ago to Meyer Friedkin, who is working on these bonds.

A. R. Sinclair: Forms and instructions sent to W. H. Weber, Bemidji, Minnesota.

Muller and Nelson: Deportation bonds cancelled.

Chas. Plahn: Have been in communication with department with bail, obtaining affidavits that Plahn's father was a citizen before Charles reached his majority. The warrant will be cancelled when we obtain these affidavits, and the department has investigated the authenticity of same.

J. P. Thompson: Twelve thousand clear property scheduled.

One thousand dollars in liberty bonds were put up for James Cully, pending deportation. The bond was refused by the Washington Deportation Department immediately.

Yours for Industrial Solidarity,

THOS. WHITEHEAD

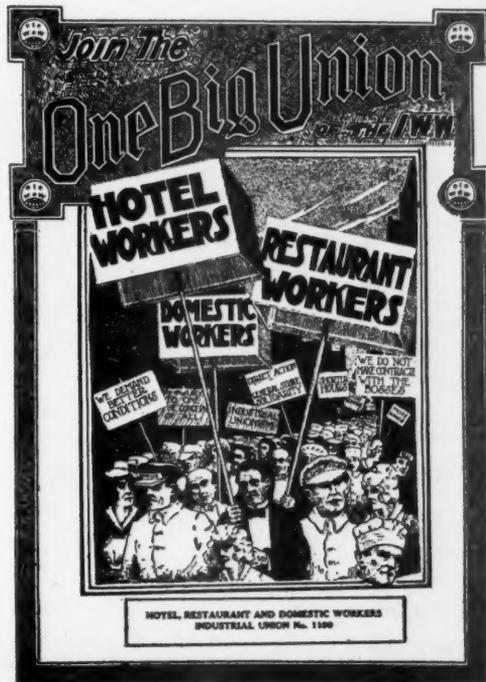
Acting General Secretary-Treasurer

SUMMARY OF DISBURSEMENTS.

May, 1919

Office Expenses:	
Rent .....	\$ 250.00
Light and heat .....	45.66
Wages .....	1,005.50
Supplies and stationery .....	375.00
Telegraph and telephone .....	108.59
Postage .....	68.91
Express and parcel post .....	84.92
Water Coupons .....	8.50
Towel and window service .....	5.00

Sweeping compound .....	1.80
Bank Exchange .....	6.94
Cartoon work and lettering of charters .....	5.25
Carefare .....	.30
Repairs and typewriter rentals to be distributed among papers and def.....	28.00
	<b>\$1,994.37</b>
Auto delivery service to be distributed against papers .....	\$ 179.69
Rubber Stamps and seal acct. to be distributed .....	10.50
Bail Funds turned over .....	1,630.00
Convention expense .....	1,855.63
<b>General Defense:</b>	
Wages .....	309.25
Supplies for use of attorneys .....	84.91
Telephone and telegraph service for attorneys .....	62.19
Counsel fees and expense .....	708.50
Statutory fees for release of Leavenworth prisoners .....	100.00
Expense in Deportation and Naturalization cases .....	16.85
Moving furniture from Vanderveer's office .....	6.00
Jack Gaveel, acct. Wichita case .....	25.00
Abstracting bail property .....	2.00
Photographic appeal exhibits .....	8.80
F. H. Moore, expense in Wichita case .....	101.90
Premium on commercial bond for Chas. Krieger .....	225.00
J. Gresbach, acct. Wichita case .....	20.00
(Fare) Rose Knuti, Asst. Audit. Def. books .....	7.00
50 Sacramento pictures .....	10.00
Check returned .....	5.00
	<b>\$1,692.40</b>
Relief disbursements .....	1,373.20



**Throop Street Hall, Account of Joint Union Work:**

Rent .....	\$ 100.00
Light and heat .....	10.67
Advance Acct. of Deposit .....	15.00
Literature, Liberator .....	12.00
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	\$137.67

**General Recruiting Union:**

Light April bill .....	\$ 24.88
Wages, bookkeeper .....	111.00
Wages and mileage acct. conv. ....	95.63
Supplies .....	256.50
Bundle orders .....	301.74
Literature .....	27.00
Initiations and dues for Ind. Unions ..	245.00
J. Gaveel care Throop St. Hall .....	12.00
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	\$1,073.75

**Organizing Expenses:**

Wages .....	\$ 93.00
Mileage .....	35.97
Expenses .....	37.28
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	\$166.25

**Organizing supplies:**

Due Sstamps .....	\$ 33.75
Gen. Org. Stamps .....	39.50
C. W. Relief Stamps .....	25.25
Miscellaneous supplies .....	64.05
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	\$162.55

Literature .....	\$ 313.65
Disburs. to Unions, acct. Deposits, etc. ....	1,052.17
Disbursements to publications, wages, printing, etc. ....	4451.11
Advances for Organization and Defense, not distributed .....	914.81
General Executive Board, wages .....	453.90
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Total Disbursements .....	\$17,461.65

**RECAPITULATION**

Cash on hand May 1, 1919 .....	\$ 6,060.69
Total receipts for May, 1919 .....	16,669.38
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	\$22,730.07
Total disbursements for May, 1919 .....	\$17,461.65
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Cash on hand June 1st, 1919 .....	\$5,268.42

**STATEMENT SHOWING CONDITION OF PUBLICATIONS.****On June 1st, 1919****New Solidarity.**

Deficit on May 1st, 1919 .....	\$2,828.40
Expenditures	
Wages .....	261.75
Printing .....	761.61
Cuts for April and May .....	101.36
Express and postage .....	19.60
Office supplies .....	1.35
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Total .....	\$3,974.07
Receipts for May .....	1,157.89
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Deficit on June 1st, 1919 .....	\$2,816.18

**One Big Union Monthly.**

Deficit on May 1, 1919 .....	\$ 467.90
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	188.25
Printing .....	776.87
Cpts and supplies .....	81.01
Express and postage .....	29.19
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Total deficit .....	\$1,543.22
Receipts for May .....	462.93
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Deficit on June 1st, 1919 .....	\$1,080.29

**Italian Paper.**

Deficit on May 1st, 1919 .....	\$1,708.52
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	108.00
Printing two issues .....	157.85
Cuts and supplies .....	7.92
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Total deficit .....	\$1,982.29
Receipts for May .....	735.31
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Deficit on June 1st, 1919 .....	\$1,246.98

**Swedish Paper.**

Deficit on May 1st, 1919 .....	\$ 924.65
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	\$ 155.00
Printing .....	276.02
Express and postage .....	31.00
Cuts .....	4.90
Machine rental .....	5.00
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Total .....	\$1,396.57
Receipts for May .....	422.29
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Deficit on June 1st, 1919 .....	\$974.28

**Spanish Paper.**

Deficit on May 1st, 1919 .....	\$ 953.12
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	105.00
Printing .....	129.70
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Total .....	\$1,187.82
Receipts for May, 1919 .....	176.18
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Deficit on June 1, 1919 .....	\$1,011.64

**Lithuanian Paper.**

Deficit on account of cuts .....	\$ 3.40
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**Hungarian Paper.**

Credit balance, May 1, 1919 .....	\$ 38.13
Loss Cuts and supplies .....	3.35
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Credit Balance June 1, 1919 .....	\$34.78

**Bulgarian Paper.**

Credit balance, May 1, 1919 .....	\$ 434.84
Receipts for May .....	454.65
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Total credit .....	\$892.49
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	161.00
Printing .....	255.10
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Credit balance June 1, 1919 .....	\$476.39

**Jewish Paper.**

Credit balance, May 1, 1919 .....	\$ 64.40
Receipts for May .....	317.53
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Total credit .....	\$381.93

Expenditures:	
Wages .....	99.00
Printing one issue .....	63.73
Cuts and postage .....	45.38
Machine rental .....	3.50
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Credit balance, June 1, 1919 .....	\$211.61
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	170.32

**Russian Paper.**

Credit balance, May 1, 1919 .....	\$ 19.59
Receipts for May .....	796.45
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Total credit .....	\$ 816.04
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	\$ 129.50
Printing .....	451.70
Cuts and Postage .....	40.82
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	\$622.02

Credit balance, June 1, 1919 .....	194.02
Net deficit on publications to date .....	6,257.26

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