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DEGRADATION

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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.

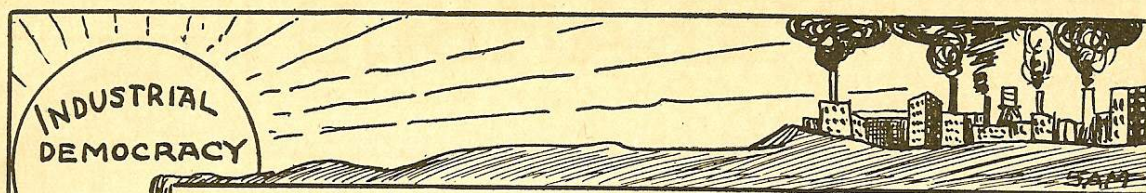
We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the 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."

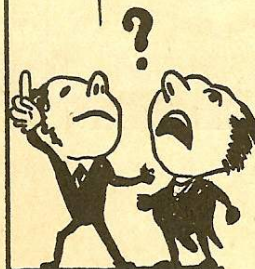
It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure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

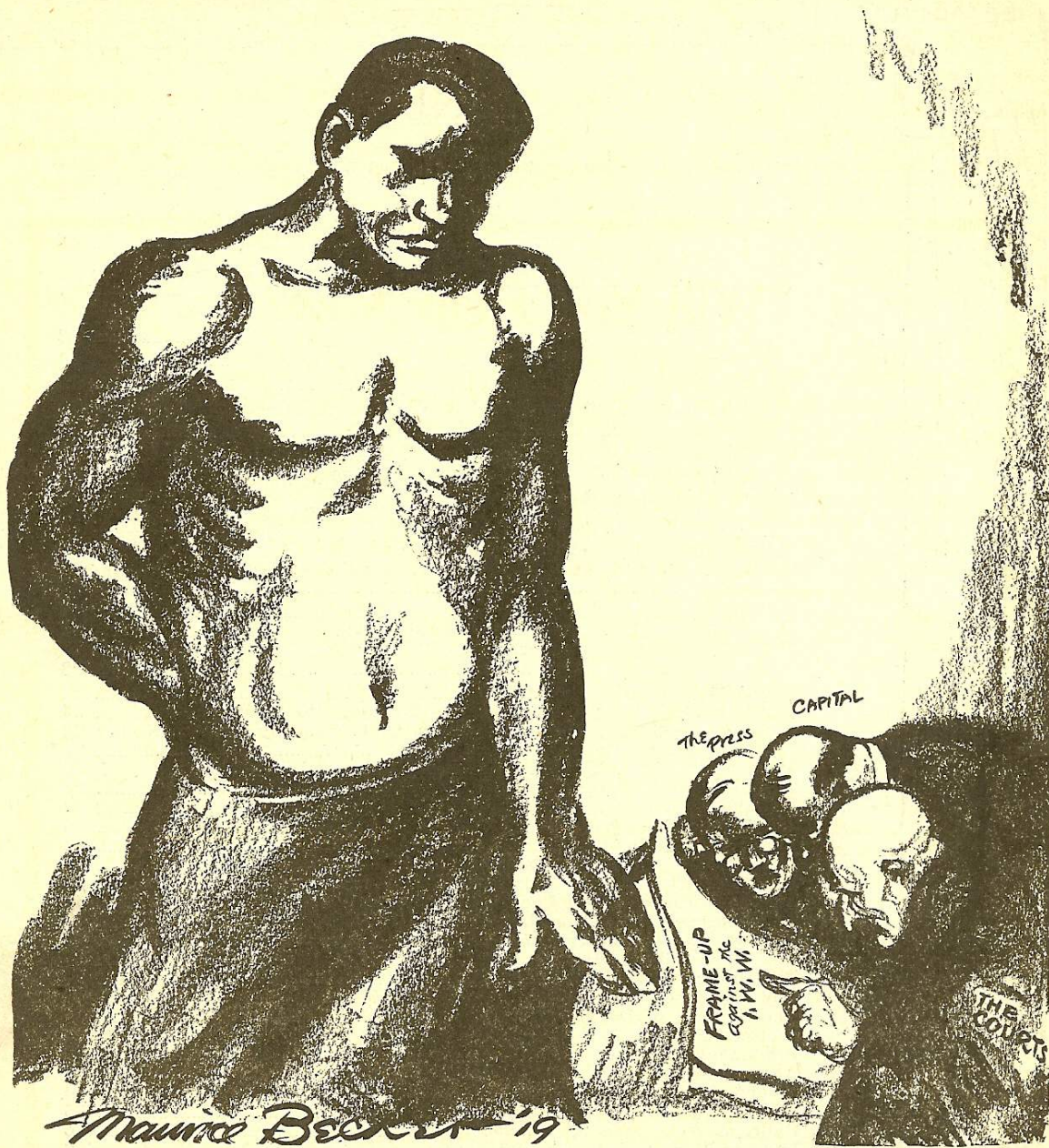




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LABOR READY TO CRUSH THE CONSPIRACY

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

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Will You Help Now?

Another member of the Industrial Workers of the World has been murdered. Wesley Everest was lynched at Centralia, Washington. He was hung to a bridge, the body riddled with bullets. The corpse was afterwards cut down and by the murderers dragged back to the jail and thrown in among the many fellow workers who had been imprisoned after the raid on the I. W. W. hall. Four of them under an armed guard were escorted with the body of their dead fellow worker out into a yard where they were compelled to dig a grave and bury the dead.

Fellow Worker Everest, the murdered man, was an overseas veteran. He fought for the United States of America against the Imperial German government. When he returned from the war he took up his membership in the Industrial Workers of the World, beginning again the battle against the lumber trusts of the Northwest.

When the I. W. W. hall was raided several of the aggressors were killed, but this in no way justified the un-American, unlawful, inhuman murder of their comrade who had fought with them in the trenches of Flanders.

The Centralia outrage was followed by many others all over the country. Halls were raided, furniture destroyed, literature confiscated, and it is reported that over a thousand men have been arrested—that is, thrown into prison without warrant and denied the privilege of seeing friends or lawyers.

We urge you to demand with us a government investigation of the many raids against the Industrial Workers of the World and the unlawful manner in which they were conducted.

If the I. W. W. is guilty of any offense against the law, charges should be preferred against us, and as every man is entitled to a fair trial, we should be accorded such a trial in the halls of any tribunal. If the I. W. W. is guilty we are open to the condemnation of the civilized world. If assassins and destroyers of human life, property, and human rights are marauding in uniform all of the people should know.

The Industrial Workers of the World court a full and careful investigation. A campaign has been started to raise \$100,000.00 defense funds. This sum is needed now, as extraordinary efforts will be made to fasten some crime upon the organization or some of its members. We will try to guarantee every member as good a defense as possible. To do this we will require your help. Send checks, money orders or cash to the General Defense Committee, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

WM. D. HAYWOOD, Secretary-Treasurer.

Break the Conspiracy

When I was leaving the Leavenworth penitentiary, under bond of \$15,000, having served eleven months of a twenty-year sentence, with a \$20,000 fine hanging over me, a fellow convict, not a fellow worker, said to me, "Put on the soft pedal, Bill." My reply was that the soft pedal never got a man into the penitentiary and, likewise, it would never get a man out. My efforts on the outside would be to liberate my fellow workers from this and other prisons.

To open the jail doors I knew it would require publicity, and much of it, of a different kind than the people have ever read or heard of before. Sentiments must be changed. The truth must be told. The workers must be made to understand that the imprisoned members of the Industrial Workers of the World were the victims of the blackest and most vicious conspiracy ever conceived in the minds of men.

It was the purpose of the employing class, the so-called business element, to crush the I. W. W., to tear it out by the roots. To do this they used, and are still using, their political henchmen and the overwhelming power of the venal press.

For many years past the I. W. W. has been under the constant surveillance of that branch of government termed the Department of Justice. The never-closing eyes of many detective agencies have been continually upon us. Police departments have been ever alert watching the I. W. W. for infractions of the law.

The mystic, magic letters, I. W. W., have, by the newspapers, been associated with all manner of heinous crime, charging us with things that the membership of the organization never dreamed of—much less committed.

These fearful things were harped upon by august senators of the upper house; an erstwhile western governor, the elongated, bald-headed Thomas of Colorado, ranted and fumed about the I. W. W. conniving and thriving on German gold. Unconsciously, perhaps, the senator of the Centennial state became a party to the base conspiracy, but his prattling and infantile assertions were refuted by government witnesses upon the stand as bank experts and accountants testified that the books of the I. W. W. were kept in excellent shape and not a trace of German gold was to be found.

Miserable stories were circulated about the poisoning of blooded breeds of cattle, of putting ground glass in foodstuffs. Such fearful crimes, if perpetrated, could have

only been the acts of the insane, but were written by vicious brain reporters and published by the daily papers, either charged directly to or in some way connected with the I. W. W. Nothing was too vile or reprehensible for these white livered pencil pushers to charge against the I. W. W. There was no way to refute their infamous villainous lies that they so malignantly told about us. The daily press, then as now, was closed to the truth.

Treacherous labor fakirs, like Gompers and his ilk, countenanced the brutal assaults and pernicious persecution upon the membership of the I. W. W., not because they thought we were guilty of the offenses as charged, but because forsooth they regard the I. W. W. as a rival organization. These A. F. of L. officials are contemptible tools of the employing class. They have now shown their polluted hands to the general membership and their traitorous official days with labor unions are numbered.

It was in such an atmosphere, generated by slanderous tongued, malicious, story telling, lying politicians, at a time when the war fever had overheated the blood of the nation, when the people were not in a normal state of mind, that hundreds of members of the I. W. W. were forced to trial. The inevitable result was conviction, as one of the jurors said to our counsel, "If your names had been on the list, you would have gone to the Leavenworth penitentiary with the rest." It was to this federal penitentiary that we of the Chicago group of the I. W. W. came to serve long terms of imprisonment. Ninety-three of us, mostly young, strong men, and not a criminal among the number.

Later came the Sacramento trial. The men who stood before the bar of justice in the Capitol city of the Golden state decided that any kind of defense was worse than useless, so they adopted the resolution of "Silence." No man uttered a word during the progress of this remarkable trial. All of the "Silent Defenders" were convicted and they too were sent to the Leavenworth penitentiary.

During these strenuous days many hundreds of members of the I. W. W. were jailed, arrested without warrant, and held without charge. Thousands were drafted, more were held for investigation and deportation, while others were driven from pillar to post. Free America had become surcharged with the virulent spirit of blackest Russia under the regime of Czar Nicholas before the coming of the revolution

that is now offering cheer and comfort to the workers of the world.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the I. W. W. was crippled. The Department of Justice had shaken the organization as a bull dog shakes an empty sack.

We are appealing the Chicago and Sacramento cases. The financial cost will be tremendous, but we are determined to give normal and rational minded judges an opportunity to review the meager evidence against us. We urge you to be alert and open-minded. The decision in these cases are of as much importance to you as to the men in prison or to those of us who will have to go back to prison if these cases are not reversed.

Watch the trials of the I. W. W. in Michigan, Nebraska, California, Washington, and Oregon, which are now on, and the Kansas trial of the forty-two men which begins at Kansas City, Kansas, December 1, 1919. These men have been confined for over two years in some of the vilest jails

of the country. The Sedgwick county jail, a revolving contraption, has recently been condemned. Here these men were held while indictments were framed and quashed, until now, after two years' imprisonment, they are to go to trial under the third indictment. "Their only crime is loyalty to the working class." Will you be loyal to yourself and to them? It is all they ask. All that any of us ask is a square deal. This we are going to have from now on. Our backs are against the wall. We have been robbed, looted, and persecuted by the profiteers until it is time to call a halt. This conspiracy against the Industrial Workers of the World and the working class generally must be broken. We do not ask you to help if it hurts you, but assure you it will hurt you worse later if you don't help now.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

Wm D Haywood
Secretary



CERTAINLY WE ARE NOT "AGIN THE GOVERNMENT"

Capitalism Run Mad

Capitalism has evidently set out for the impossible task of exterminating "radicalism." For the last two years great numbers of people have been killed and thousands have been put in jail for from 1 to 20 years or more, simply because they are enemies of capitalist rule. It was then explained as repressive acts in connection with the war. But the war is now over and there is no let-up in the persecution. True, all the fellow workers accused of "criminal syndicalism" in the state of Washington have been acquitted by the juries in three successive trials in Seattle, Spokane and Colfax, but arrests by the score have been made in California in the last few months on the same absurd charge. A dozen have recently been arrested in Scotts Bluff, Neb., and another dozen in Omaha, Neb. Several men have been put in jail in Denver, Colo. But this seems to have been only the prelude to a perfect carnival of madness. In the last few days a perfect storm of persecution has broken loose. Mass arrests have been made among the members of The Communist Party, The Communist Labor Party and the Russian Workers Union. Some papers state that as many as 2,500 of these "Reds" have been arrested in the various cities of the country, but the number really held is a few hundred, among them being the well-known Irish labor leader Jim Larkin. Most of these are held for deportation, being considered dangerous to the continued existence of the U. S. Government.

Simultaneously comes the news of a new concerted attack on the I. W. W. in the West. The events in the West seem to cluster around the tragedy in Centralia, Wash., where parading soldiers in uniform sought to raid the I. W. W. hall, with the result that 4 soldiers were killed and 3 wounded, one I. W. W. man being lynched in the same connection. By spreading the false report that the I. W. W. made an attack upon the parade and killed without notice, it was hoped the sentiment was wrought up sufficiently to allow of further violence against us. As a result we have heard of raids on the headquarters in Seattle and Tacoma and Portland and other western cities as well as the arrest of hundreds of fellow workers. Taking advantage of the good wind, the governor of Nebraska has issued an order to arrest all I. W. W. men to be found in that state. There is reason to suppose that we have not seen the end of it yet. The capitalist world has lost its reason. It has gone stark mad. In

its madness it imagines that it can put down the aspirations of the workers for a chance to live and to be free.

The attack upon the I. W. W. and the radicals generally is made under the cover of the stars and stripes and in the much abused name of capitalism, in order to work on the feelings of the American people. But everyone knows that the attack comes from the same profiteers who are now holding up the American people with high prices and plundering them. Everybody knows that their patriotism is only a sham, and that the real reason is that they wish to try to stamp out real organization among the workers. They have neither shame nor honor, and they will do anything for profit. Furthermore it is unquestionable that the same profiteer capitalists have made up their mind to get control of all the human agencies by whose aid they can build up a capitalist dictatorship and lock the chains of wage slavery forever on the workers.

Their desperateness is equally plain from the stand they are taking on the steel strike and the coal strike. In regard to the innumerable violations of the law and the constitution resorted to by the steel capitalists and their tools inside and outside the government, the officials are taking an indifferent stand. All these violations are tolerated, if not openly encouraged and participated in by the authorities. In the coal strike the supine government has through one of its judges issued an injunction against the officers of the United Mine Workers prohibiting them from in any way encouraging the strike of the 425,000 coal miners, prohibiting the payment of strike benefits and, finally compelling the officers to order the strikers back to work, under the pretense that the strike is "illegal." But the men continue to strike.

Truly, capitalism is on the verge of mental collapse. Such absurd measures could not be resorted to by men in their full senses.

This is a time when all the cool and wise heads of the country should get together, in order to devise a method by which a social calamity could be averted. The workers on their part are giving all their efforts in that direction, by suggesting and struggling for an adjustment that would give the poor mass a chance to live. Especially is the I. W. W. active in propagating a new social order that would solve the whole question.

But the capitalist class, and that immense horde that have prostituted themselves to

it, as well as the ignorant and misled, are uniting their forces in the carrying out of a policy that is making things worse every day and speeding on a complete disaster that will upset everything and cause untold suffering.

Society has come to a pass where the people are no longer able to pay the immense rent, interest and profit that the capitalist class is trying to collect from them. They cannot pay and live at the same time. But the people will live. They will have to stop paying. The proper thing for the capitalist class to do in these days is to make up their mind that capitalism is about to wind up its affairs and that a new system must be inaugurated. Man is bigger than the property he has created.

The wisest thing the capitalists could do would be to voluntarily surrender the ownership and control, by means of which they are collecting rent, interest and profit, and turn the country over to the people, organized industrially. Sooner or later it will

have to come to that. It is the only solution. To resist the efforts to bring about this solution is insanity.

The capitalist class is now criminally insane. It is raving mad. It is a positive danger to mankind at large. The people should get together and put an end to its rule before it has a chance to do much more harm.

We, the workers, are the sane, hard-working people. On our shoulders rests the responsibility for supplying all mankind with what it needs, and we are willing and anxious to do it. But we are being prevented from doing it by the greedy capitalist class, which only wants to produce in order to increase its own wealth.

Looking at it impartially, everybody will admit that whoever is running society at the present time is making a terrible mess of it. And it is the money-mad capitalist class that is running it and preventing the people from taking control. The capitalist class must go.

The "American Legion" a Revolutionary Body

As we are writing the so-called "American Legion" is holding its convention in Minneapolis, Minn.

It is apparent from the program they have mapped out that they propose to install themselves into American public life as a ruling factor alongside and above the legally constituted authorities. In fact, it may be set down that they are cautiously and under the mask of patriotism gathering all the forces that are opposed to the fundamental principles of liberty, supposed to be safe-guarded by the constitution and inherent in American institutions. They are setting themselves up as censors and guardians of such bodies of the people in this country as do not unqualifiedly endorse the doctrines promulgated by the secret and invisible government which has its seat in Wall street. It is time that all Americans who really value liberty and wish to maintain it also gather their forces to combat them.

These people have every advantage at the present time. Just as it has happened that advancing troops drive before them prisoners of war or defenseless women and children, daring the enemy to fire, so these people are trafficking in the fact that they have once worn the uniform or been overseas, and are wrapping themselves in the American flag, posing as the only true-blue patriots and as 100 per cent Americans, daring anybody to attack them. Any one who does attack them runs the risk of be-

ing denounced as a desecrator of the flag, as an enemy to the country and as a traitor.

Under the cover of the flag and in the guise of patriots they are trying to take the American people by surprise and rush them into surrendering their liberties to this legion and to the parties that they represent. But we shall try to analyze these "patriots," minus the flag and minus their uniform.

First, their claim that they represent the American people is false. Even all the men in uniform, whether they approve of the American Legion or not, do not represent the American people. Those subject to draft were only about one tenth of the population, and of these only about one half ever wore the uniform, and only part of these ever saw service over seas. The nineteen twentieths of the American population, we are sure, are not willing to accept the guardianship of the one twentieth that were forced to put on the uniform, whether they wanted to or not.

Besides there is this to be noted, that the American Legion will find it difficult to prove that they even represent the 5 million men who had to put on the uniform. We believe that a considerable portion of the drafted men will have nothing to do with the program drafted by the Legion. Of those that actually have allowed their names to go on their roster a majority are doing so under a misconception. They join it simply as an analogy to the G. A. R., or

with the hope of some material or social advantages to be gained. We are sure, if the matter were properly explained to these men and submitted to a referendum, they would not vote in favor of the dangerous program adopted by the Legion. When they discover that it aims at the very heart of American liberties, they will become terrified and turn it down.

The American Legion assumes its guardianship under false pretense. The American Legion is properly speaking only an adjunct to the machinery of "Patriotic Leagues" (such as the "National Security League," the "American Protective League," the "American Anti-Anarchist Association," the "Inter-Racial League," etc.) started by the profiteers and their supporters in the various walks of life.

As prompters behind it, and as members of it, stand members of the firm of J. Pierpont Morgan and every other capitalist aggregation, and a good deal of its inspiration is directly derived from the seditious organization called the "Knights of Columbus." As a result their program is essentially one of hostility to the aspirations of the working class and aims at circumscribing the liberty of people in general, by inaugurating a system of suppression of ideas and movements which conflict with the plans of the profiteers and their henchmen.

The Legion is constituting itself as a National Ku-Klux Loyalty League or a National Vigilante movement, which is going

to be a real danger to the people. Draped in the Stars and Stripes these Ku-Klux Vigilantes are going to initiate a system of oppression against the citizens, carrying out the orders and suggestions of the secret and invisible government mentioned. They will oppress and terrorize not only private individuals, but they will also terrorize the regularly constituted authorities, making themselves an extra-legal body for the enforcement of the will of their masters.

While there can be no objection raised to a national association of the ex-service men on a legitimate and non-partisan basis, there is every reason to be alarmed at this Legion. It is intended as a tool of autocracy and will be so used. If the American people allow these men to go too far, they will soon have reason to regret it. It is the forerunner of a capitalist autocracy based on military dictatorship.

We should not allow ourselves to be deceived by their present scrupulous observance of republican forms and democratic manners. When Augustus abolished the Roman republic, now close to 2,000 years ago, and made himself world dictator as the representative of the Roman ruling class, he also scrupulously retained all the forms of the republic, but abolished liberty completely. Everything points to similar action by the American capitalist class today, and the American Legion is one of the chief instruments to that end.

Wake up, you American lovers of liberty, before it is too late!

Don't Mourn — Organize!

Joseph Hillstrom's last message to the workers before he was legally murdered on the 19th of November, 1915, in Salt Lake City, was: "Don't mourn—organize!" For that reason we shall not devote any space to this tragedy except to repeat his greeting.

For the same reason we shall simply remind our readers that it was on November 5th, 1916, that at least five of our fellow workers were foully murdered by the tools of the master class in Everett, Wash. These fellow workers were Hugo Gerlot, John Looney, Gustave Johnson, Abe Rabinowitz and Felix Baran. Please note that the murderers of these men are all well known to the authorities, and that they still are unpunished.

To our martyr calendar for November we can now add the name of Fellow Worker Wesley Everest, who was lynched in Centralia, Wash., on the 11th of November, by

a mob of lumber trust patriots, who first wanted to mob and raid our hall in that city. And that is not the end of that tragedy. During the raiding of the hall 4 of the raiding soldiers were killed and three were wounded. The danger now is that the kept press will make raiding a patriotic act and that our 16 fellow workers in jail in this connection will be held to answer for murder. Then we will have more to remember and more to mourn. But through it all rings the advice of Joe Hill: "Don't mourn—organize!"

The revolution in Finland is not over yet. Late advices inform us that in some places in Finland the White and the English forces are fleeing before the Red forces. The post office has become so disorganized that friends of ours in Finland are advising not to send any money at the present time to Finland.

"The Sherman Service, Inc."

To readers of the Chicago papers the name "Sherman Service, Inc." is well known since the firm was raided by the police the other day. But we have reason to believe that little publicity has been given to this nasty affair outside of Chicago, and the case is being hushed up here too, for that matter. The case is, however, of such great importance to the working class, that we feel justified in giving it world-wide publicity by treating it in *The One Big Union Monthly*.

The name of the firm "Sherman Service, Inc." used to be "The Sherman Detective Agency." It is a concern occupying large offices in Chicago and employing a great number of "operatives," and it has branch offices in six or seven other cities. They call themselves "industrial engineers and conciliators" and boast of having "installed their service" with an immense number of respectable firms, and even display a letter of commendation for their services from General Haig of the British army. They are consequently to be classed in the 100 per cent American and "patriotic" group.

But now to our story.

According to the press, an "operative" of this very respectable and patriotic concern some time in the early part of October went to Secretary Nockels of the Chicago Federation of Labor and confessed to him that the firm he was working for was supplying all the rioting, window smashing, tire puncturing and brick-bat hurling in the strike zone of the steel industry round Chicago. This was startling news, and Nockels did what every other man would have done, he reported the thing to State Attorney Hoyne of Chicago, who asked that publication should be withheld while investigation was made. It appears that Attorney Hoyne took the matter up with the military authorities and with Washington, but finally Secretary Nockels had to threaten with publication unless steps were taken against this concern. Under these circumstances Attorney Hoyne sent 50 police and deputies, who raided the Sherman offices as completely as ever an I. W. W. office was raided.

We may surmise that the authorities had pretty good evidence to take such a step.

Now, then, what is the significance of this matter?

It means simply this, that by accident we have caught a glimpse of the criminal terrorist machine which the capitalist class maintains in this country to browbeat the

working class, to undermine liberty and to pervert law and order and, finally, to make a revolution.

This is not the only "firm" of its kind. On the contrary, there are several such firms, which "install" their service in the workshops, mines and mills throughout the country. Of course, it would not do for highly respectable Judge Gary to openly have a department of provocation and thuggery as a part of the steel trust. Nor would it do for saintly Rockefeller to directly stand as sponsor for the staff of gunmen and perjurers that swarm in every establishment of his, and in every locality where he has the power, as for instance in Tulsa and the Kansas oilfields. Nor can any other "respectable" profiteer and member of patriotic leagues openly admit that they are co-operating with and employing this criminal element, ex-convicts and thugs, for the purpose of breaking the law and terrorizing the people, but they do it just the same.

If the authorities were to continue their investigation and follow up all the clues they gain through the raid against the Sherman Service, Inc., they could lift up the whole network of iniquity that enmeshes the American people. They would find the clue to the race riots, they would discover the perpetrators of the acts of "sabotage" and "criminal syndicalism" blamed on the I. W. W., they would trace the murderers of Frank Little and they would know the source of all the strike-disturbances which are used as a pretext for calling in the police or the soldiers. It would be proven that our most respectable profiteers and captains of industry are themselves criminals, but who do not do the dirty work themselves, as long as they have the money with which to hire other criminals to do it for them.

No doubt these firms have also installed their "service" in the labor unions. Here in Chicago the unions are full of gunmen, as events of the last year prove, for instance in connection with the plumbers union and the building laborers' union.

If the American people knew all these things, perhaps their attitude towards the I. W. W. would be quite different. But we know that as soon as the investigation begins to drag in the names of the big capitalists of the country it will come to a sudden end. The investigators themselves are under the thumb of the very same capitalists.



THE I. W. W. LOOMED BIG AT THE INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

The Industrial Conference

"Why rattle the bones of the dead," somebody might say. What is the use of spilling another word on that mishappen conference, that by President Wilson's order met in Washington in October as a worthy preliminary to the International Industrial Conference now in session in accordance with the peace treaty? We all know that Gompers and the craft union leaders lost out on "collective bargaining," and that they now find it hard to find a reason for their own continued existence. We all know that the capitalist class is feeling so strong, that they do not think it necessary any longer to divide the power with the craft union leaders. We all know that "the public" is a sham. And, finally, we all know that if the capitalists go into conference with the representatives of labor it is with the purpose of strengthening their grip on the throat of the working class.

But there is one thing that we wish to call attention to, and that is that the three magic letters I. W. W. occurred very often in the press reports. It is plain that the I. W. W. loomed big at the conference even though it was not represented. Gompers used it time and again as a bogey with which to scare the capitalists into acceptance of his terms. He warned them time and again that not to share the world power with the craft union leaders by giving them official recognition would mean that the I. W. W. would get control of the workers. These leaders made their offer to control the workers for them, for the preservation of capitalism, and for the suppression of radicalism, but the offer was repudiated. Evidently the capitalists were convinced that Gompers could not deliver the goods. They did not think he would be able to stave off the final triumph of our program. They decided to go it alone, depending on their other agencies, the government, the legislative bodies, the judiciary, the police, the kept press, the pulpit, the patriotic societies, the American Legion, their gunmen,

and their general stranglehold on the people.

All the three groups felt and knew that what the world now imperatively needs is a rational system of production and distribution that would solve all the difficulties, and all three of them knew that there is no program that offers such a solution except the I. W. W. program, but none of them was willing to sacrifice their own interests for the welfare of all.

They all three came there for a division of the spoils, that is for a division of the products of labor, but they fell out on the "divvy."

This conference was supposed to have contained the best brains that the president could gather together for handling the question of solving the social problem. But this august body made a terrible mess of it. The means adopted for solving it, that is, "collective bargaining," was tabled indefinitely. The question now before the house of the people is again as before:

Resolved, that the social question cannot be solved except by abolishing private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution and by organizing all the people industrially, so as to supply ourselves with new organs of production and distribution.

The floor is still open for discussion on this resolution.

While discussing we may note that the cracking and the rumbling sounds heard from every side are the symptoms of the collapse of capitalism, for which reason discussion should be made brief and to the point, in order that we may take some action along the lines of the resolution before the house of capitalism tumbles down over our heads, burying us in its ruins.

If the Industrial Conference has done no other good, it has demonstrated that the leading men of capitalism are unable to solve the social problem, and that the problem will have to be solved by the workers alone.

The Stupendous Influence of the I. W. W.

There is something about the growth of the I. W. W. that should make even its worst enemies stop and think. There is evidently something about our principles that makes it irresistible and unconquerable. How else will you explain the fact that when thousands of us are put in jail it has no tendency to stop our growth? As a rule people stand in terror of jail and are

ashamed to associate with people who have been sentenced to jail. But by the way people are coming to our ranks it rather seems that people are anxious to break into jail instead of being afraid of it, and to judge from the correspondence we receive and from the articles written about us in numerous labor papers there is a great mass of people who are not at all afraid

of acknowledging acquaintance with these I. W. W. jailbirds. On the contrary, thousands of letters contain contributions in money and bonds to help secure the release of these prisoners and to help defend them. And every time one of them is released and appears on the public platform, people turn out by the thousands, fill the biggest halls available, and greet the released men as heroes and champions of wronged humanity.

Speaking of the growth of our influence we need hardly repeat the now well known facts that the workers of western Canada and of Australia have in mass adopted our principles in the course of this year. Close upon these significant events came the news that the three fragments into which the Socialist Party was split endorsed industrial unionism, while two of them rather outspokenly favored the I. W. W.

Later we were able to state that the increase in our own membership in the course of the 12 months Sept. 1, 1918, to Sept. 1, 1919, was about 50,000. Now we are able to inform our readers that the growth of the last 3 months has been unprecedented. Lumber workers, miners, construction workers, marine transport workers and many other unions report many thousands of new members. We are getting a footing in fields that we have never been able to touch before, such as the printing industry and building construction. Carpenters and painters are joining us by the thousands. On Nov. 9th delegates of 8 independent unions in different industries, representing something like 250,000 workers, met in New York City and took the first steps for an affiliation with the I. W. W.—in spite of jails and persecution. And let us not forget that the Negro workers of the U. S. are organizing on the basis of our program.

But the influence of our principles is not limited to the English speaking people in America and Australia. Other races and countries are enthusiastically taking up our program and proudly announcing that they are with the I. W. W. Thus in Mexico our movement has taken form and been laid out on a national basis. In South America, where the labor movement always has been in sympathy with us, the workers are going one step further and have started organizing as an I. W. W. In Buenos Ayres there is already an organization of 2,800 marine transport workers in such an organization.

Furthermore it is to be noted that practically all the old trade unions on this continent prove to be honey-combed with friends of the I. W. W.

Over in Europe it is the same story. The

rebuilding of production and distribution in Russia is said to be largely based on our principles. At last report there were about 3,500,000 industrial workers organized in industrial unions for the carrying on of production and distribution. The Russian people are taking possession of the industries through their industrial unions.

In Italy "The Italian Syndicalist Union," 300,000 strong, is forging ahead along the same lines as the I. W. W. In Spain our adherents are to be numbered by the hundreds of thousands. In France the proposition has recently been made in the organ of the Communist Party, "L'Internationale Communiste," to start reorganizing the French working class on our program, in opposition to the C. G. T. In England there is a separate organization of the I. W. W. that is advancing rapidly, while the influence on the old trade unions is very noticeable in their changed attitude of late toward "direct action." In Scandinavia the Syndicalists have for years been in accord with our program, and of late, organizations have sprung up in Sweden and Norway that are directly affiliated with us. But the biggest surprise of the year we received from Germany. At least two separate calls have been issued by the German workers to organize exactly as the I. W. W. The recently formed "Freie Arbeiter Union" is also a federation of industrial unions that endorse our principles. And, finally, from distant, unknown Greece we are receiving news that the One Big Union is the aim of all the organized workers of that country.

Putting it all together we may state that the I. W. W. seed is now scattered over the world in such a manner that it is absolutely impossible for the capitalist class to exterminate our ideas. With equanimity we can face the worst persecution in one place after another, and we need not fear that by incarcerating or killing a few thousands of us they will kill our organization. Our ideas are understood by millions of the world's workers, and that means that we have that many agitators and educators. We may now cheerfully look forward to the organizing of a new society on the ruins of capitalism within a very few years, even though murderous capitalism takes the lives of some of our fellows.

There is really something uncanny about our growth, that an outsider will find hard to understand. Our principles are so exceedingly simple that the outsider at first sight may not be duly impressed with them. They are all expressed in our preamble: industrial organization of the workers for temporary improvements under capitalism,

and for taking over production when capitalism has ceased to function satisfactorily, and "An Injury to One is an Injury to All." That is all there is to it. But in these simple thoughts there is embodied a spiritual and intellectual power that sets the downtrodden workers' blood boiling and make him ready to go through fire and water for the I. W. W. This simple gospel is the sal-

vation of his soul and gives him courage to face jail and death without flinching.

Through those simple principles the workers have caught a glimpse of heaven on earth. After that nothing can stop them. They have got a new faith and they are ready to die for it. This is what explains the stupendous influence of the I. W. W.

The Industrial Encyclopedia

In the November issue of the One Big Union Monthly there was an article by the editor entitled "The I. W. W. Needs an Industrial Encyclopedia."

This seems to have been the right word spoken at the right moment. In the few days that have elapsed the editor has received a big package of letters commending the idea in the most enthusiastic terms. Still more, the Agricultural Workers' I. U. No. 400, at its convention in Sioux City, Ia., Nov. 3-8, made an appropriation for the purpose, of \$500 as a starter for the "Bureau of Industrial Research" that we proposed for handling this work.

Letters from members of the G. E. B. inform us that the matter will be taken in hand at their next meeting.

The idea of an "Industrial Encyclopedia" has been objected to by one writer. But, really, it is not an encyclopedia of the usual kind that we proposed but a series of independent industrial union handbooks, which together would form what we could call an "Industrial Encyclopedia," in order to get a brief collective name for the work.

To do the work right, the proposed "Bureau of Industrial Research" should start out with a sufficient working force and sufficient resources to plan for a great number of handbooks at the same time. To write one at a time would make it necessary to wade through the same statistical material several times, when, in fact, the figures and the data could be gotten for practically all the industries at once. This on the other hand will be a very big job, and if only one man were to handle it, he would not be able to make very rapid progress. Some of the figures would be apt to be out of date by the time the work was nearing completion.

The proper way to start work would, in our opinion, be to select a capable director for the Bureau and allow him to choose his staff of assistants, among whom he could divide up the work after it had once been surveyed and planned.

There are already a number of engineers (mining and electrical) and statisticians who have voluntarily offered their services or their advice. The editor takes this opportunity to thank them for their prompt

response to this important call. Having no time to answer all the letters at the present time, we wish to state that the whole matter will be laid before the General Executive Board at their first meeting, and the letters will then be answered. We hope the writers will keep the matter in mind and favor us with all the suggestions they can. We also hope to hear from many more on this subject.

In the meantime it would be well for all unions of the I. W. W. and other bodies, **even those not now belonging to the I. W. W.**, to take the matter up, in order to secure the funds necessary for the undertaking. The scale on which the work can be started depends on the funds made available at the general office for the purpose. The 500 dollars donated by No. 400 is a good starter.

Remember it is a question of teaching the 40 million American workers all about the administration of their own industries, in order to make them able to take over production and distribution when that becomes necessary. Let us not get caught like the Russian, Hungarian and German workers, who did not have this preparatory work done. Without the knowledge to be contained in the proposed handbooks, the workers can do little or nothing. With that knowledge, the new society is apt to become a rather smooth-running affair from the start.

NOTICE

We are in urgent need of back copies of the One Big Union Monthly for March, April and May. We are constantly receiving orders for back copies from those who wish to have complete sets. For this reason we request all secretaries or bundle order agents who have any of these copies on hand to immediately send them in. We also request those of our readers who would be willing to surrender their copies of these issues to send us name and address, and we will send stamps in payment for same, in order to obtain them. Address all communications to

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY,
1001 West Madison st., Chicago, Ill.

When the Chickens Come Home to Roost

"We are living in our own time as best we can, but our lives are just a passing instant to the continuity of civilization and the progress of the world, and what matters it if you and I are placed in jail because we have attempted to uphold the principles of freedom and justice and democracy?"

"It is better that we should have our own self-respect and hand down to the generations yet to come the principles of freedom and the worthiness to battle for freedom than to die after an inglorious life."

Who said these words?

Was it Socrates before emptying the poison, or was it Hypatia before the flesh was scraped from her bones with clamshells, or was it Savonarola or Johann Huss or Giordano Bruno or Abraham Lincoln or Eugene Debs or any one of the thousand and one I. W. W. martyrs of the present day?

No, these words were spoken recently at a dinner given to delegates of the International Federation of Trade Unions in

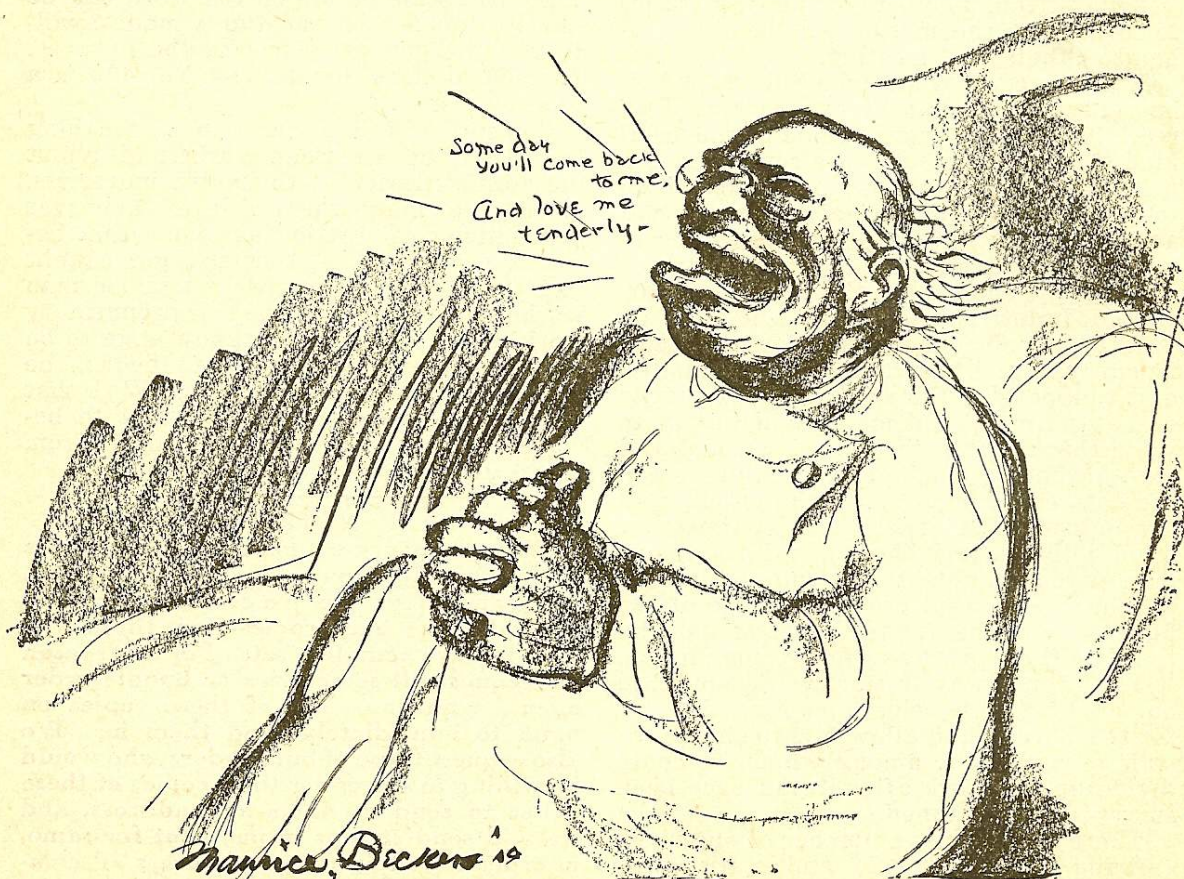
Washington, D. C., by—SAMUEL GOMPERS.

Was it merely the result of a good dinner or are the chickens coming home to roost?

Has Gompers in his old age finally discovered that the friendliness of the capitalist class all these years was only a mask hiding the desire to enslave the workers by the aid of the labor leaders, or are he and his collaborators discovering that their jobs are about to end?

Is Gompers disappointed over the setback he received at "The Industrial Conference" on "Collective Bargaining" and shocked at the rebuff of the labor leaders by the steel trust and non-plussed by the injunction against the coal strike, finding himself swindled by his capitalist friends, or is he merely playing to the gallery to postpone the collapse of his machine and of craft unionism?

These are questions which the near future will answer.



"GOMPERS SANG THE SWAN SONG OF THE INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE."—From Capitalist Press

Open Letter to the American Congress

The I. W. W. Demands Investigation

Out in the Northwest there has been a tragedy which has shaken the nation. At Centralia, Wash., it has unloosed a saturnalia of horror which is beyond description. Throughout the state of Washington it has been a signal for mob ferocity and lawlessness which has made life a terror for thousands of victims. It has packed jails with innocent men. It has enabled a gang of uniformed hoodlums to usurp every power of state. They have destroyed property, ravished civil rights, abolished every constitutional safeguard of citizenship. Under a cloak of patriotism they have attempted to exterminate a whole labor organization. They have shut the mouth of every man who has attempted to protest. They have become judge and jury and executioner, and in their hands all Washington today is like a black pogrom of terror.

How much do you know of all this?

For the newspapers tell us nothing—and they tell you nothing! From the first shooting on Armistice Day the solid press of the country has wilfully distorted the whole situation. In a struggle where there were plainly two sides, they have printed one side and maligned the other. They have glorified the thugs as “American heroes.” They have stigmatized the victims as “dirty Reds.” They have used every twisted incident as propaganda to exhort their readers to go and do likewise. And in Centralia itself a mob of men were thrown around the town to prevent a word from trickling out.

One newspaper tried to print the truth. It was not an I. W. W. paper. It was the Seattle Daily Union Record, owned by the A. F. of L. It announced that it had investigated the Centralia outrage and that in its next issue it would print the suppressed truth. But before this next issue could appear the hoodlums stopped the paper and threw its editors in jail. And today the Union Record stands silent and suppressed.

We want, and you want, THE TRUTH. In this Centralia horror we haven't had the truth. Somebody has stopped it. There is something that somebody is hushing up. There are burning facts which guilty hoodlums are trying to conceal. Will you help us to uncover them?

There are a few facts which HAVE escaped through the censorship. They are eloquent of the true situation. The I. W. W. wishes to call your attention to them.

First—The four hoodlums who were shot

at Centralia were shot while breaking the law. At the coroner's jury it was plainly brought out that they halted their parade in front of the I. W. W. headquarters and charged the door, thus bringing upon themselves the penalty which they suffered.

Second—This would mean that the men who fired the shots were unmistakably within the law, for even in capitalist courts a man is accorded the right to shoot in self-defense when an intruder breaks into his property.

Third—But after this, others of the uniformed thugs seized Wesley Everetts, an I. W. W. and an overseas veteran, and murdered him by lynching. They desecrated his body, dragged it back to the jail where other I. W. W.'s were imprisoned, and threw it there. Then they forced their prisoners to dig a grave for Everetts on a vacant lot and bury him. It was thus that “American heroes” obeyed their law and observed the justice of their country!

Fourth—They seized every known I. W. W. in Centralia and without due process of the law, threw them into jail. And four of our members now lie in that jail charged with murder and about to be tried in these “impartial courts.”

Fifth—They showed their love for justice by seizing the I. W. W. attorney and throwing him into jail also, in order that the I. W. W. might have no defender and that these crimes might be covered up. When Attorney Pierce was sent from Seattle to defend them he was escorted back to the train and driven out of Centralia.

Sixth—Working hand in hand with the anti-union elements throughout the state, the hoodlums have made this an occasion to spread similar terrorism all over Washington. And the result is that liberty lies broken and ravished throughout the lumber country and democracy has been replaced by the rule of the mob and the gunman.

These few facts we DO KNOW. And we know that behind them lie a multitude more—a red scroll of horror which is filled with the names of our fellow workers. But the lying, prostituted press has concealed it all and has sought to kindle mob passion all over the country by screaming wild, distorted lies.

The I. W. W. knows the hand that is striking us in the Northwest. We know who is the power whose might can close to us the pages of the nation's press. We know the secret evil force which is risking even civil war in order to destroy the I.

W. W. in the northwest. It is our old enemy. **IT IS THE LUMBER TRUST!**

We make this charge. And we put it up to you, the American Congress. Yours is the duty to uphold the constitution of this country. Out in Washington state it has been trampled under murderous feet. Will you join with the newspapers and white-wash them?

We of the I. W. W. demand an investigation. We demand that the government make a sweeping, impartial inquiry into the Centralia case. We demand they send investigators there to sift out the responsibility.

You **MUST** act. Uniformed thugs have put your government into contempt. They have throttle democracy. Already one innocent man in Centralia has died a ghastly death. And four more are to be tried for

their lives. The hoodlums are attempting to provoke the union men into revolt. Will the Federal government stand idle?

Our own hands are clean. It is not we who have censored the truth. In fourteen years of existence the I. W. W. has never needed to conceal anything. We don't now. We know our members and we know that they are innocent. And we court an investigation. Innocent men may be railroaded. Clean, straightforward American men and women may be the victims of foul mobs. Under the darkness of censorship any crime may be perpetrated. We are demanding that you lift the veil. Let the government investigate; then the truth will be known—**AND WE WILL KNOW WHO IS GUILTY!**

General Defense Committee of the I. W. W.
Wm. D. Haywood, Sec'y.

Civil War in Printerdom

By DONALD M. CROCKER

In the midst of vast nationwide strikes which hold at bay the vital industries of coal and steel, and involve many hundred thousand workers, it is easy to underestimate the revolutionary significance of the New York printers' rebellion, which for a month past has paralyzed the book and periodical output of the city where more of this work is done than in the rest of the country put together. Yet nowhere in this distracted hour is there to be found a more ominous portent of the sudden awakening of class consciousness among American workers and of the swift, certain doom of the old craft-unionism than this magnificent demonstration of solidarity by 18,000 printing trade workers in the metropolis.

When Is a Strike Not a Strike?

For the extraordinary feature of this strike is that by craft union standards it is not a strike at all. On the part of one group, the pressroom workers, it is a lockout of members of "unrecognized" organizations; and on the part of the compositor group, a "vacation"—a new term in the nomenclature of class warfare. The 18,000 rebels, 95 per cent of their crafts, are braving not alone the power of the employers, but their own international organizations, which are putting forth every effort to break their strike, and have behind them the whole force of the A. F. of L. machine, and, even worse, the shameful scabbery of their fellow workers in other divisions of the same industry, who not only failed to respond to the call for action but are doing their dirtiest to help beat the insurgents back to submission. In a word, it is a civil war in printerdom between the old union concepts and the new; a civil war which can hardly fail to spread soon from coast to coast; a civil war which, whatever the immediate outcome, can mean nothing else than the complete disruption and destruction of several of the most powerful and reactionary organizations in American trade unionism.

The news from New York is well nigh unbelievable to anyone who knows these printing workers for what only yesterday they were—the most craft-bound, snobbish and conservative of "labor aristocrats." Now their strike literature abounds in references to One Big Union, denunciations of the whole idea of A. F. of L.-ism, and aspirations for workers' control of industry. Their most influential leaders avow in private that they are consciously directing the thoughts and desires of the mass straight toward the I. W. W. On the picket line, unsupported by strike benefits, without outside help from any source, these printers and pressmen, but lately held apart by craft separation and mutual distrust, are learning the lesson of solidarity. And they will never forget the lesson.

Who are these workers who, on November 1st, entered the second month of their spontaneous "illegal" mass strike with ranks unbroken?

Labor Aristocrats

The typographical union is heir of a line of journeymen's societies, guilds and unions which reaches clear back to the invention of printing. The ancient origin of the printer's trade society is attested by the survival to this day of certain quaint reminders of a ritualistic past (such as the use of the word "chapel" for the shop organization, for instance). New York Typographical Union traces an unbroken history from the early years of the nineteenth century. (Horace Greeley, the famous editor, was the first president, when he was a youthful journeyman printer.) The process of typesetting varied little from the day of Gutenberg, who invented it in the 15th century, to that of Mergenthaler, who perfected the first practicable machine about 30 years ago. It is a process requiring skill, speed and a long apprenticeship. The compositor came honestly by his feeling of superiority to other workmen. He achieved all that a highly organized craft union could get for

him long before the members of any other labor group. He won the rights of collective bargaining, of the closed shop, of a limited voice in the conditions of his toil. The international union obtained the universal 8-hour day when that was regarded as a radical innovation in industry. And so, it was natural that the printers should regard themselves as aristocrats of labor. The utterances of their representative leaders, the columns of their journals have always sounded the note of aloofness from less favored workers; glorification of their own craft achievements and reluctance to share them with others. And ever they sang the praises of their safe and sane policies and rejoiced that their employers and capitalist opinion in general thought so well of them.

Coffins and Crutches

The typographical union amassed a great treasury. It pays a handsome death benefit. It has established an old age pension. It maintains a magnificent sanitarium for the care of sick members. As a "coffin and crutch society" it has few equals.

The other unions—pressmen, etc.—followed closely in the footsteps of the typographers, copying their benefit features and their conservative policies. Although loosely affiliated in an Allied Printing Trades Council, that fact never prevented the unions from joyfully scabbing upon one another on every possible occasion. The sacredness of the contract and the identity of interest of employer and employee were the cornerstones of their edifice.

So here behold, up to a short while ago, a group of labor organizations which dwelt in the A. F. of L. heaven. All that Sammy Gompers points out as the ultimate goal of bliss for well behaved unionists was theirs. The closed shop; collective bargaining; contracts; arbitration; "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work"; the respect and esteem of their masters; big treasuries and benefits galore—all were theirs. Surely so privileged a caste of upper servants would never listen to the siren song of radicalism. And indeed for a long, long time it seemed that they never would.

A Deadly Trade

For all his "aristocracy," the printing craftsman has an unwholesome, even deadly, trade. Despite all precaution, the fumes of boiling lead and the divers acids and chemicals inseparable from all the processes of a printing plant take their inevitable toll of mortality. It is the high speed and intense concentration of attention and energy required which, however, is above all injurious. Nervous ailments and tuberculosis are recognized occupational diseases of the crafts. The palatial sanatoria maintained by the unions never have lacked a long waiting list of applicants for admission.

Anyone who knows the work of a linotype operator or a press feeder, to take only two instances from this much subdivided industrial process, should realize that more than four hours a day at such tasks cannot fail to be deleterious to mental and physical health.

When, during the abnormal inflation of prices

that began with the outbreak of the European war, and the attendant shortage of surplus labor, unskilled and unorganized workmen received large wage increases, the printers, fettered to their long-time contracts, found themselves helpless while they beheld the purchasing power of their pay envelopes dwindling toward the starvation level. They did receive some scanty increases during the 1914-1919 period, but only by dint of abject begging. Their standard of living descended to and beneath the level of the unskilled proletariat. Then, too, they witnessed more aggressive labor unions, composed largely of workers whom they had affected to despise as "foreigners" and inferior in skill, capturing the 44-hour, and even the 40-hour, week. With a true instinct, the rapidly growing insurgent element within the printing trades recognized shorter hours as the vital issue that must not be compromised.

First Lesson in Solidarity

Early last spring, for the first time in their history, thirteen printing craft groups in New York presented a united front to the employers. They issued an ultimatum, demanding the 44-hour week and a \$14 wage increase to be effective October 1st. (Simultaneously similar action was attempted in other cities, including Chicago, but was rendered abortive by typical craft union treachery and distrust.)

The employers, amazed at the unheard of effrontery and determined spirit on the part of their hitherto tractable slaves, turned immediately to their sure source of help, the international union officials. These latter too were alarmed. United action by the craftsmen was a new and dangerous departure—dangerous to their piecards. It even contained the germ of that frightful heresy, industrial unionism.

So the international officers of all the printing trades unions promptly held an "informal conference" with the employers, after which they blandly announced that it had been agreed to postpone discussion of the 44-hour week until 1921!

Graft and Treason

At just about this time an ugly scandal arose within the pressmen's unions. The international officers and board of directors were accused of misappropriating upwards of \$100,000 from the funds entrusted them. An investigation revealed that vast sums had been taken from the unions' treasury and invested in a company owned by George Berry, the president, other officers, and their relatives. These officers failing to clear themselves, over 30 locals, representing 68 per cent of the total membership, voted to refuse to pay per capita into the international treasury until the charges should be disposed of one way or the other. New York locals (23 and 51) were included among the protestants.

When the treason of the international officers in selling out the 44-hour movement was announced to the New Yorkers, there was an uproar of wrath that must have made those corrupt and despicable skates shake in their shoes. Later some of the

weaker brethren bowed their backs to the lash from long habit and consented even to be used as scabs, but the pressroom and composing room workers (a large numerical preponderance in the industry) hurled defiance both at the bosses and their international officials and vowed to stand together for 44 hours or fight on October 1st.

Then came President Berry to New York to visit vengeance on his insubordinate vassals who had committed the double offense of refusing to pay dues to enrich the private pockets of himself and his pals and kinsfolk, and of setting at naught his mandate against the 44-hour movement. In close co-operation with the bosses, he attempted to "re-organize" the two seceding locals. He opened a recruiting agency for his proposed scab union. Its failure was complete. Just SIX poor creatures rallied to his "loyal" and "regular" local!

Then the employees and their man Berry tried coercion. Selecting one shop as a test case, on September 6th, they ordered all pressmen and feeders to join the new scab "union." The result was a strike, tying up the entire plant. Manifestly the rebels were not to be daunted. And the fateful October 1st approached.

The Lockout

Twenty-four hours before that date the employers launched their grand coup. Without warning, there were posted in all the union pressrooms notices to the effect that henceforth no workmen would be hired who were not in good standing with the American Federation of Labor! Being interpreted, that was to say that the pressmen and feeders, being members of seceding unions, were locked out until they had made submission to their alleged embezzler President Berry. (Such solicitude for A. F. of L. regularity on the part of the capitalist class is respectfully commended to the notice of Hon. E. H. Gary!)

Well, the pressroom boys made no submission. As one man, they went out onto the street, 10,000 strong!

Meanwhile, what of "Big Six," the typographical union?

They, too, howled with rage when news of the attempted hamstringing of the 44-hour cause came. Their international president Marsden Scott (an ex-president of "Big Six," by the way) prudently kept away from the stormy meetings that were held, and consorted exclusively with his masters, the bosses. But Scott wielded the familiar threat, "Strike and I'll revoke your charter," and the ranks wavered. This threat to the craft unionist is as terrifying almost as the threat of excommunication by Holy Church in medieval times. It means not only deprivation of "coffin and crutch" benefits, but that a member from an outlawed local cannot obtain work in any "loyal" jurisdiction. So "Big Six" did not strike.

Playing Hide and Seek

What they did do was deliciously ridiculous, a true "reductio ad absurdum" of that supreme absurdity, craft unionism. On word of the pressroom

lockout, they (First) met as a local and voted not to strike; (Second) went somewhere else (the very same men) and voted to TAKE A VACATION; (Third) went "on vacation" October 1st, 4,000 strong in the first few days, and after thirty days 95 per cent of them were "vacationing"; (Fourth) in formal union session, ordered themselves back to work; (Fifth) in informal association, refused to go.

A class struggle is a tragic thing at best. It means hungry babies, worried wives, debt, privation, broken homes and blighted lives. Let us the more be grateful for the New York printers for injecting an element of comedy into the situation by supplying the spectacle of a picket line manned half by men who are locked out because their masters love the A. F. of L. so dearly, and half by men who are taking a vacation which they themselves in regular business session assembled, have solemnly disapproved!

The first week of October saw the industry paralyzed. One hundred and fifty publications suspended. The book output ceased.

Union Strikebreaking

October 7th, the board of governors of the International Printing Trades Council, composed of the officers of five international unions, convened at Washington. They condemned the strike, gave their "full approval" to the employers for refusing the 44-hour demand, declared the issue to be "the maintenance of true American trades union principles and against the Bolshevik," and threatened to withdraw the union label from any shop conceding the strikers' demands.

Two days later the executive council of the A. F. of L. officially condemned the strike. Soon afterward the A. F. of L. machine ordered the Central Federated Union of New York to expel the rebel locals or itself be outlawed. To date the C. F. U. has defied this order.

The photo-engravers, stereotypers, electrotypers and bookbinders are scabbing. They are obeying the orders of their international officers to refuse to handle work for plants which yield to the strikers. Withal, the insurgents had imposed their terms upon 130 shops by October 24th.

Typographical and pressroom unions in many other cities are standing by the strikers and defying their internationals. They have refused to handle work from New York. How steadfast they will stick, if the struggle is prolonged, is of course problematical. One thing is sure, the conflict cannot long be localized in one city.

The international union officials have thrown all discretion and decency to the winds in their frantic endeavors to beat the workers to their knees. Berry in his scabherding crusade did not scruple to use the Manhattan Detective Agency, a notorious fink organization. Scott gives hysterical interviews to the capitalist press denouncing the strikers, one of which winds up with the outburst, "The Huns and Bolsheviks are at the gate. They shall not pass," said Huns and Bolsheviks of course being the men

who have supported him in lazy affluence for years. W. W. Barrett, vice-president of the international typographical union, is quoted in the Ben Franklin Monthly, official organ of the employing printers of Chicago, as gloating over the prospective sufferings of the strikers and saying that when their rents become due in November, they will come to their senses. The contemptible electrotypers and bindery workers, at the command of their officers, have walked out of shops which settled with the strikers. Here is indeed the spectacle of craft unionism destroying itself in one great industry. None of the thinking men who are directing the revolt believes the old organizations can possibly survive. The cry for the One Big Union is incessantly raised in the columns of the strike bulletins. Is it possible that the most hopelessly reactionary workers of all are to step into the very forefront of the march toward industrial freedom? It would almost seem so.

Typeless Magazines

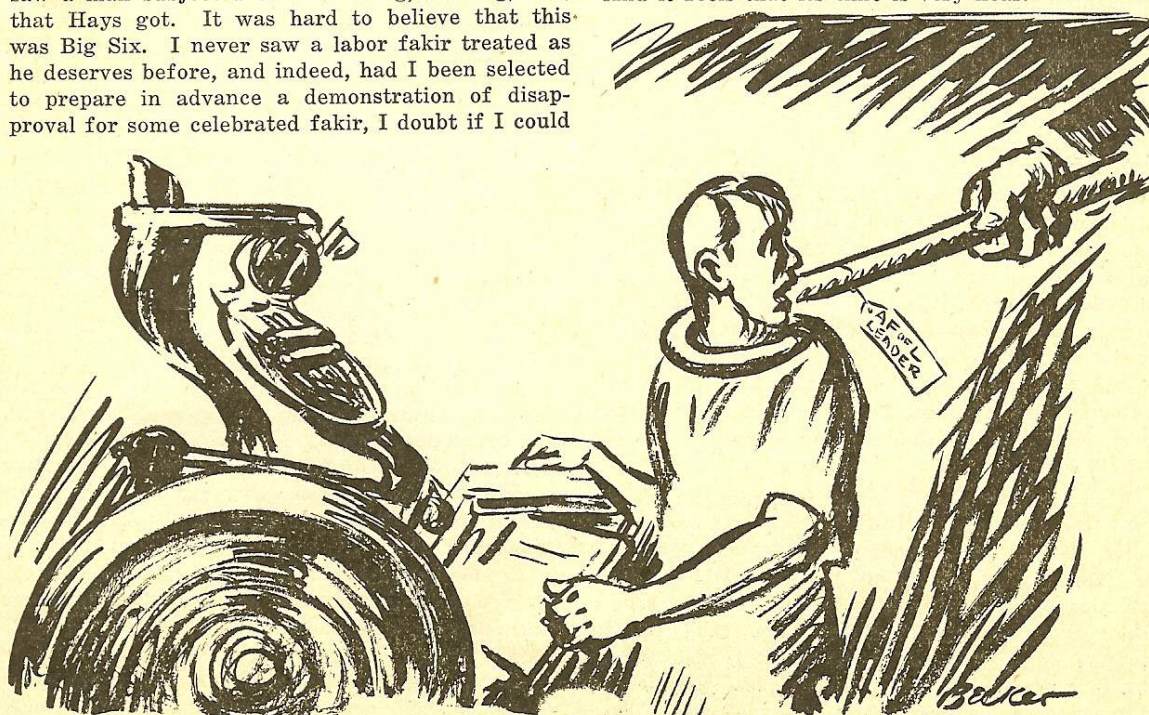
One by-product of the strike is the appearance of a magazine produced without type composition, by means of photo-engraving pages of typewritten copy. If this process should prove generally practicable, it might mean the sudden sliding of the typesetting craftsmen down into the ranks of the unskilled proletariat. It is noteworthy that the first imitator of this new process was that arch-enemy of labor, the late Harrison Grey Otis' Los Angeles Times.

On November 2nd, Hays, the secretary-treasurer of the typographical union, was the first of the international heads who had the temerity to attend a meeting of the rebel printers. An eye-witness thus describes the scene: "I never saw a man subjected to the hissing, booing, etc., that Hays got. It was hard to believe that this was Big Six. I never saw a labor fakir treated as he deserves before, and indeed, had I been selected to prepare in advance a demonstration of disapproval for some celebrated fakir, I doubt if I could

have approximated the Hays reception by half. It was epochal. Enthusiasm for our allies, the pressmen and feeders, knew no bounds, at every suggestion from Hays that we forsake them and go to arbitration. 'No!' 'Back to Indianapolis!' 'How much do you draw from the bosses?'—etc. I never enjoyed a show so well in my life."

The November issue of the strikers' bulletin comes out flat-footedly for One Big Industrial Union. Mention of the I. W. W. in the pressmen's and feeders' meetings is greeted with cheers. The radical Hebrew unions of the city have rushed a loan of \$100,000 to the aid of the insurgents, and meantime it has been disclosed that the desperate international heads are intriguing on the bosses' behalf for the printing of New York magazines in a Southern city. And thus stands the battle at the end of the first week in November.

Can the strikers win their immediate struggle? In the writer's opinion, no. The rank and file are not yet sufficiently class conscious and the odds against them are too heavy. What they will win from temporary defeat is something bigger—INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. The I. W. W. is present in this strike (in the person of the members of Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 1200) as it is in the coal strike and the steel strike and as it will be present in every industrial conflict in this country henceforth until the coming of the Red Dawn. The I. W. W. printers are on the picket line with their craft union fellow workers, sharing their hardships, constantly advocating the only effective classwar tactics, constantly pointing to the glorious goal toward which those tactics should aim. The I. W. W. is there, abiding its time. And it feels that its time is very near.



DOUBLY ENSLAVED

To the Unorganized Workers in the Printing Industry

By DONALD M. CROCKER

A Leaflet Issued by Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 1200

You are as helpless at the mercy of your employers as was the Negro slave in the South under the overseer's lash. If you are half way intelligent, you KNOW you are a slave. You have not a word to say as to the conditions under which you work. You labor as many hours as the boss dictates for whatever wages he is willing to give. Obey or starve is your alternative. When you apply for a job, you have to cringe before the foreman or superintendent. If he chooses he can subject you to an insulting inquisition about your past history and private affairs before he hires you. You have absolutely no security on your job. You can be turned out into the street at a moment's notice, without any given cause, at the mere whim of your "superior." You have the humiliating consciousness that you are selling yourselves cheaper than other men and women engaged in the same kind of work. Sometimes the boss throws you a favor as one throws a bone to a dog—a bonus, a Christmas present, some "welfare" or "benefit" stuff—in order to keep you contented.

Well, if you ARE contented, this leaflet is not meant for you. It is only written for workers with character and selfrespect enough to resent the conditions to which they are subjected and to aspire to something better. We know there are among the unorganized employes in the printing industry many with intelligence and ability equal to the union members. It is to these we are appealing.

There is very likely a good reason why you are not a member of the organization of your craft. The unions are not over anxious for new members. It is as hard to break into some of these "job trusts" as into any other close corporation. Maybe you are unable to meet the (purposely) difficult apprenticeship conditions. Perhaps you cannot afford the exorbitant initiation fees. Many of you have tried in vain to get union cards. The unions refuse you and then call you "rats" and "scabs" because you are compelled to work in non-union shops in order to live.

And then perhaps you are not especially pleased with the idea of paying heavy dues in order to support a tribe of lazy officials on big salaries. We cannot blame you.

There is certainly not much to attract an intelligent worker to the printing craft unions. For years their officials have been growing fat and the rank and file growing lean. Ugly graft scandals like that affecting the international officers of the pressmen's union are cropping up all the time. And that is not the worst of it. All these international unions are playing the bosses's game against the workers who support them with their hard-earned cash. They

are the greatest strikebreakers ever. When union men go on a strike, which the international union hierarchy chooses to regard as "unauthorized," it orders them back to work under threat of revoking their charter and filling their jobs with strike-breakers. A whole book could be filled with such cases. They are happening all the time. You don't feel like contributing your scanty dollars to keep a gang of fakers who will sell you out at the first opportunity. No wonder.

But the trouble with the craft unions goes deeper than the fact that their officials are rotten. Craft unions DIVIDE the workers instead of uniting them. Divided they are bound to fall.

There are about twenty-five separate unions in our industry. They make separate contracts with the employers. The contracts all expire at different times. Consequently every one of these unions binds itself by contract to stay at work even if any or all the others are on strike. In plain language, they pledge themselves to SCAB on their fellow workers! Lately the union electrotypers of Chicago went on strike. All the other printing craft unions stayed at work. They tried to camouflage their scabbery by extending sympathy and assessing themselves to support the strikers. But the electrotypers' strike was lost. Of course it was.

Right now, in New York City, ten thousand pressmen and press feeders are locked out because they have manhood enough to defy both their bosses and the international union officials. The official Judases of all the printing craft unions are bending their efforts to beat these fellow workers into submission. The typographical union members have gone on an "unauthorized" strike in sympathy with the pressroom men, but have been outlawed for so doing by their organization machine. This is not unionism. Let us call it by its right name—DIS-UNIONISM!

Well, we are not asking you unorganized workers to hook up with any of these obsolete, crooked outfits. There is a new union in the printing and publishing industry, and here are a few salient facts about it:

(1) It includes every worker in any way connected with the industry—all composing room, pressroom, bindery, office, foundry, mailing and distribution employes, etc.—one for all and all for one. We have in our union members of every one of the craft organizations, besides multitudes of the hitherto unorganized.

(2) No qualifications for membership except that you are a bona fide wage earner in the industry. Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled enter on an equal basis.

(3) No high salaried officials. The union pays its officials and agents the same wage they would