

men, shop and carmen, signal maintainers, etc., would belong to the Railroad Workers' Industrial Union, No. 600 of the I. W. W. If the section men went out on strike, every one employed in the railroad industry would go out too, because they would all belong to the same Industrial Union, in this case No. 600.

There would be no chance of any so-called leaders trying to double-cross the workers by putting off and evading the main issue and trying to keep in the good graces of the capitalists by selling out the workers. No cheap labor politicians could offer the workers "arbitration," give them a stone instead of bread, because the workers would have no need of such parasites, being able to force their demands by virtue of their inherent strength in their organizations.

The late shopmen's strike offers as good an example as any in regard to what would have occurred had it been conducted under the tactics evolved from the industrial experiences of the I. W. W. Let us suppose that the machinists, members of No. 600 of the I. W. W., had presented wage demands that were turned down, and had voted a strike. Then in this particular case all other crafts in the same industry (railroad) belonging to the same Industrial Union No. 600, would stand back of the machinists, and if they struck, all would go out, firemen, switchmen, section men, shopmen, etc., in fact the whole particular industry affected would go out on strike until the demands were complied with.

Then we would have a strike that would do for the workers what the craft unions by reason of their basic structure would be unable to do: win the demands of the worker.

Compare these efficient methods of the I. W. W. with the slow, disheartening, cumbersome and dangerous (to the worker) tactics of the craft unions. Could there be anything more disrupting of organization than to see a body of men go out on strike and lose because another body of their fellows in the same industry refuse to go out for the reason that they belong to different craft unions? Not so with the I. W. W.!

With the consciousness of class solidarity, the workers organized according to industry under the banner of the I. W. W. would present an invincible front to the enemies of organized labor.

The only thing the exploiters fear is the organization of the workers *along industrial lines*, they are not afraid of the craft unions because the craft unions will help lose the strike and bring discouragement to its members. The capitalist is not afraid where his enemies are *divided* as in the case of craft unionism, because he knows that he can pit one against another, and so he works to that end, giving way a little to this craft in order that he may crush that one. *But what he does fear is the education and organization of the workers on an industrial basis*, because he knows that the moment that the workers are organized in the One Big Union such as is planned by

the I. W. W. he is lost, because then the workers will have the power to *enforce any demand they choose*.

A favorite weapon of the employers, which is also used as a decoy, is the contract. Now the wage slave has, as an individual, a perfect right to sell himself to his master, but the highest principles of humanity forbid his selling his class to the same power. A contract may for the time being benefit the ones in whose favor it is drawn, but in the end it defeats the very purpose for which a union is formed, by withholding help just at the very time when it is needed.

It is an old game of the exploiters to play one set of workers against another, with a view of causing the collapse of both, so that at the supreme moment suspicion, hatred and distrust play a prominent part in breaking up what otherwise might have been a union for the workers.

The I. W. W. as an organization enters into no contract or agreement with any company or employer, as they recognize the futility of such action at all times.

The I. W. W. is organized along industrial lines to overthrow the present economic system, and has found that the only way in which this desirable end can be brought about is for all of us to organize, regardless of craft, creed, or color, and to pool our labor power, so that at the most proper time by withdrawing our labor power from the industrial field the collapse of the present system will ensue, if the collapse does not come before we are ready.

It is well for us to remember that we are robbed right on the job and not up in some legislative hall where, so we are told, all industrial wrongs will be righted by those most competent to do the righting. The only judge of what is just and right regarding commensurate pay for his labor is the worker; he is doing the work and knows what he wants, and he doesn't need some lily-fingered politician to advise him regarding hours of work or rates of pay, because the worker knows that he can't get what he wants by voting.

When we recognize that it is our labor power that is making all the profit for the capitalist class, and that it is through our lack of correct organization that we are in this position, and when we educate ourselves along the lines necessary to a proper appreciation of our part in the class struggle, then we will be able, without further time or trouble, to appropriate that which rightfully belongs to us.

We, as workers, have nothing to do with political parties, because a political party is unable to function as an industrial force capable of supplying the needs of the workers.

For the worker to expect the political party to free him from his industrial slavery is about the same thing as expecting a locomotive to run itself simply because there are certain orders directed toward its running, but there must be action on the part of those who are directly connected with the engine and who understand the proper functioning of it.

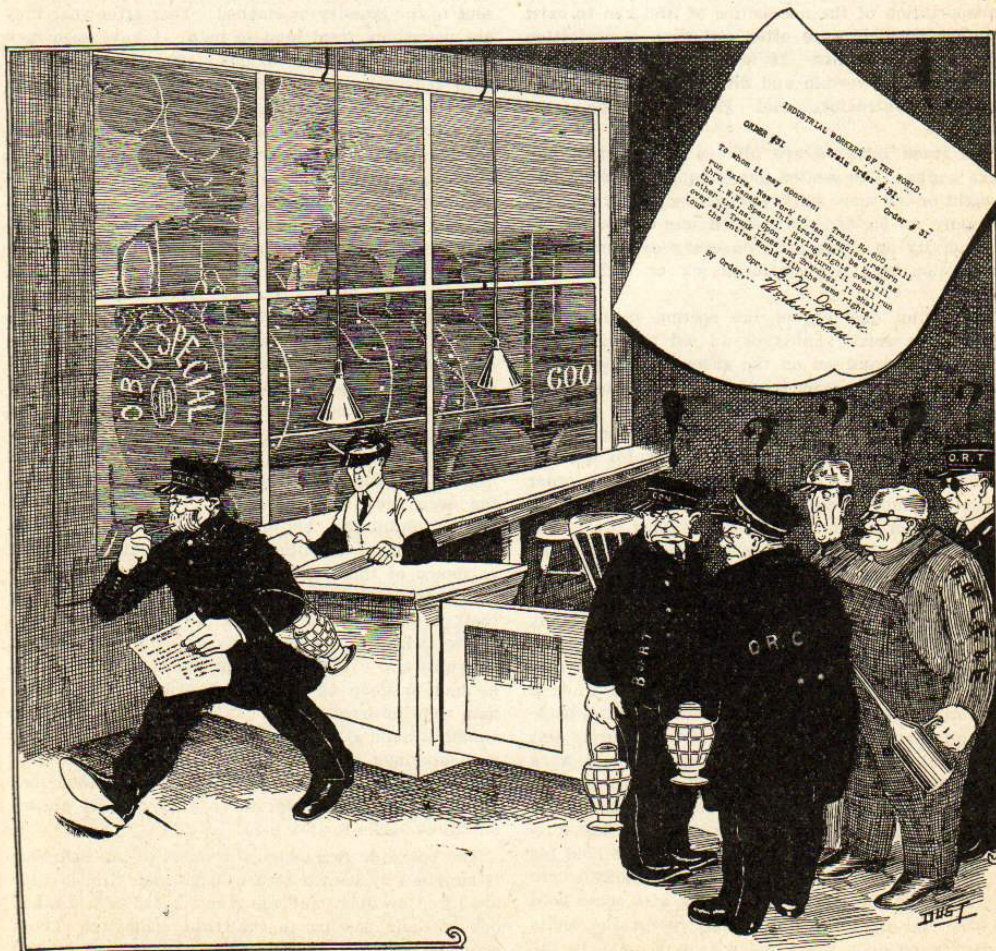
If it were voted upon on election day by the workers that they should receive a higher wage, and they were unorganized industrially, do you think they would get it? Neither do I. So then let us keep out of the political field and stay away from the cheap politicians who lead us away from the main issue, and unite under the banner of the I. W. W. The I. W. W. cares nothing for politics and has learned through experience that the only way the worker can benefit himself is by organizing in the union of his class with his fellow-workers.

We can't help ourselves by organizing into several little craft unions where high initiation fees and heavy assessments are the rule and where the workers are fighting each other, but by lining up in the Industrial Workers of the World, an organization founded by workers, for workers, and where efforts towards educating and organizing the workers are

going forward with remarkable rapidity. Remember the I. W. W. and its principles are found all over the world, and that it is becoming clearer every day to the intelligent worker that it is the only union that offers a way out of our present terrible system of Capitalism. Join us now, you need us, we need you!

Now is the opportune time to join, for the craft unions have shown that they are incapable of handling the present industrial situation by reason of their inherent defects, and everywhere the workers are turning to the I. W. W. with its sound principle of Industrial Unions and definite program regarding the battle waged between labor and capital.

The I. W. W. is for all workers for all time, regardless of color, creed, or craft, so get in line and join us now!



ONE BIG UNION OF RAILROAD WORKERS

## The Life of a Railroad Trackman

By a Trackman.

One of the blackest pages in the history of the American railroads contains the story of the track laborer. It is a tale of almost unbelievable degradation and misery. The railroads have often been compared to arteries through which the life of a nation pulsates, and it is a well known fact that an efficient transportation system is the greatest asset of a modern people, but the men whose labor made the marvelously quick development of a continent possible, have been the lowest paid and the most inhumanly exploited of all the workers in the country. In our age of electricity and steamheat, of spacious dwellings and all the modern conveniences for those who neither toil nor spin, but live on the sweat and blood of those who carry on the productive labor of society, in this wonderful age of progress the men whose toil safeguards the life of the passengers as well as the transportation of the necessities of life, had to exist in hovels, which were often not even a protection against the elements. It is a story of graft and exploitation, of vermin and filth, of stomach-robbing boarding contractors and ghoulish employment sharks.

The track laborers are divided into section and extra gangs. The section gangs consist of from two to eight or ten men, while the extra gangs often have as many as 60 and 70 men in one camp. There is generally an extra gang on every division, while the section men are stationed six or eight miles apart.

The living quarters of the section men consist mostly of a small shanty or an old box car taken off the trucks and set on the ground. At some sections the laborers can board at the section boss's house, but in most places the men have to do their own cooking. With six or eight men trying to cook their meals on one stove it is necessary for some to get up as early as 4 o'clock in the morning in order to get a chance to cook their breakfast. On the sections on deserts and in mountain regions it is sometimes hard to get bread from the nearest town, and not very many stoves found on sections can be used for baking. Some of the foreign-born section men bake their bread in holes in the ground, while many live on baking powder biscuits and hot cakes. The life of a section man is not an easy one even now under the eight hours a day system, but when a day's work consisted of ten long hours of hard, back-breaking labor on the track his existence surely was a miserable one. When times were hard and work scarce the section men often had to turn part of their scanty earnings over to the foreman, who would pass the money on to the roadmaster, but the foreman also had to come across if he wanted to hold his job. As the story goes there were divisions where only a section foreman with a pretty wife could hold his position providing he did not resent the visits of certain officials while the wife was alone in the section house.

Bad as conditions are on the sections, in the extra gangs it is still worse. Although the eight-hour day is in effect, the scarcity of labor in certain districts and the incessant agitation of the members of the I. W. W. on the jobs, have brought about a few changes, but the extra gangs today are still in a deplorable condition. The camps consist of strings of old and dilapidated box cars with leaky roofs and broken floors with big cracks in the walls partly filled with rags and old paper. Some of the cars are fitted up as kitchen and "dining" cars, while others are turned into bunk cars. From ten to sixteen men have to make their homes in cars which are often so low that a tall man cannot stand up straight. There are no baths, no washrooms, and in many camps not even a toilet. In the eastern part of the country blankets are furnished, but they are never sent to the laundry or cleaned. Year after year they are passed on from man to man. I have seen men in those camps in the various stages of consumption, with venereal diseases, with the marks of syphilis in their faces, but when they left camp their blankets were turned over to somebody else. Lice and other vermin were always plentiful. Before the Government took over the railroads and abolished all Sunday work, there was no such thing as Sunday in an extra gang. The work went on day after day, with no rest and no recreation. This also helped to a great extent to increase the filth and the swarms of vermin in the camps. If a man laid off a day to wash his clothes he would run chances of going into the hole on his board and commissary bill. In the summer time a man could take an empty coal oil can and go out after supper and "boil up," as this process of delousing is called in the camps. He would build a fire out in the open and boil his clothes and so destroy his "live stock" and for a night or two he would be able to sleep undisturbed. But in the winter time the deep snow and the scarcity of firewood would often prohibit the "boiling up" and the ever-increasing swarms of vermin would make the miserable existence of those men still more unbearable. The railroads of the west never furnished bedding on their extra gangs and some did not even furnish straw ticks or straw. If a man did not pack a mattress and a bundle of blankets around with him he had to sleep on the bare boards. And many a man slept on bare boards. In Northern Pacific extra gangs at Sand Point, Idaho, in January, 1919, I have seen six men in a bunk car sleeping on the hard boards with nothing under them or over them but three gunny sacks. Not three gunny sacks apiece, but three sacks for six men.

The board on extra gangs on most of the railroads is supplied by contractors. Cooks and kitchen help are hired by them, and the men's board bill is taken out of their pay by the railroad company. Those boarding contractors are in the business for all the money they can make out of it, and, of course, the

stomachs of the workers have to suffer. Half decayed meat, wormy fruit and adulterated food and substitutes are daily on the bill of fare. Although there are several of those stomach-robbing concerns, like Brogan & White, Miller, the Western Commissary Company, Fogg Bros., Grier, and other notorious outfits, the food is very much alike. Some seem to have an inexhaustible supply of "gut and liver," while others make a specialty of "lawnmowers and gate-lifters" (cowslips and pig snouts). As the conditions in those camps are fairly well known amongst the migratory workers, they will only "ship out" to an extra gang when they can't find anything else. The railroad companies furnish free transportation, and while some companies conduct their own employment offices, most of the jobs have to be bought from the sharks. Their fees vary with the conditions of the times. The more unemployed the higher the fee. The miserable life of a worker in those camps makes it almost impossible for a man to stay for any length of time. A week or two is about the average. And this is what makes it so hard to organize those outfits. Many of the old timers, who have been forced to live this life of degradation for many years have degenerated to such an extent that they don't seem to care about cleanliness any more and they are indifferent towards the educational campaign of the I. W. W. But in spite of all there are more and more trackmen coming into the I. W. W. every day, and there have been some fine showings of solidarity in some of the extra gangs of the Northwest. There is

really no opposition toward the movement in those gangs, only indifference. Men who have been driven from pillar to post all their lives and have lost all faith in humanity, are hard to convince that the I. W. W. is not some kind of a graft, but their only hope of delivery from a dreary, miserable existence. But slowly they are beginning to see that the only way to break up the unholy trinity of grafting officials, stomach-robbing boarding contractors and fatbelled employment sharks is to organize in the One Big Union of all who toil. Only through organizing and organizing right, will the track laborer ever be able to do away with the intolerable conditions which have made millions of dollars for the employment sharks and other highly respectable citizens who were in on the deal. For the rottener the camps the shorter the time men would be able to stay, and the money would roll into the tills of the employment sharks in a steady stream to be split up with the men who were responsible for the bad conditions in the camps.

Trackmen, wake up! Organize into Railroad Workers' Industrial Union 600 of the I. W. W. and let us speed the day when all workers on the railroads will be enabled to live on clean, wholesome food and have the comforts and recreations of human beings.

(This article will immediately be issued as a leaflet by No. 600. Procure some and spread them. Send in your orders at one for a bundle to C. N. Ogden 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.)

## When Earth's Last Conflict is Ended

Kuttings from Kipling.

By Douglas Robson.

When Earth's last conflict has ended and the guns  
are all thrown aside,  
When the oldest kingdoms have vanished, and the  
youngest tyrant has died,  
We shall rest, and faith we shall need it, then start  
with a purpose true  
The sons and daughters of Labor to build up the  
world anew.  
And those who were sad shall be happy and those  
who were starved shall be fed;  
They shall labor no more for a pittance, nor envy  
the lot of the dead;  
They shall feel real pleasure in working, no longer  
shall Mammon rule;  
They shall work for an age or an hour, but always  
be paid in full.  
And only our actions shall praise us and only our  
actions shall blame,  
And no man shall enslave his brother or live off his  
sister's shame;  
But each shall have joy in the working and each of  
us do what he can  
To make the world peaceful and happy to the ultimate  
Triumph of man.

## The Cellmate

By Raymond Corder.

Of course I guess it wasn't right  
To take them hams an' things;  
I broke the law an' all o' that,  
An' got what breakin' brings—  
But I had to feed my wife an' kids  
Ahungerin' at home;  
I couldn't find a job at all  
No matter whar I'd roam;  
Well, I get kinda desprit when  
I found the' was no work—  
I saw that box-car on the track,  
An' I give the door a jerk;  
I seen them hams and bacon there  
An' then I thought, "Well now,  
Just one or two will pull us through  
Till I find work somehow."  
That's why I'm cell-mates here with you  
An' numbered ten-o-ten;  
I had to feed my wife an' kids,  
That's why I'm in the "pen."

## The Fundamental Principles of the I. W. W.

By C. E. Payne.

*What is the I. W. W.?*

The I. W. W. (The Industrial Workers of the World) is an organization of wage workers in every line of industry.

*What is the purpose of the I. W. W.?*

The purpose of the I. W. W. is to constantly raise the standard of living of the wage workers, and eventually to abolish the wage system and establish in its place the co-operative commonwealth of free workers, or industrial communism.

*What is to be accomplished by raising the standard of living of the wage workers?*

Raising the standard of living of the working class will mean at the same time increasing the general intelligence of the individual workers, and this intelligence will work to the safety and comfort of the entire human race by abolishing the wage system.

*What is the wage system?*

The wage system is the method by which the owners of industry induce those who do not own industry to perform the necessary labor to operate that industry.

*Why should the wage system be abolished?*

The wage system should be abolished because it is a form of slavery, and all slavery has the result of degrading a large part of the human race to provide glory and pleasure for a few.

*What is the co-operative commonwealth or industrial communism?*

The co-operative commonwealth or industrial communism is a system of common ownership of the earth and all it contains, the co-operative production from the earth's resources of the things each worker desires, and the taking by each worker of the value of his individual efforts while in co-operation with his fellow workers.

*What will be the logical result of Capitalism if left to its own development?*

The logical result of capitalist development will be that the capitalists will grow constantly more arrogant and drive the wage workers into a constantly more and more degraded position, both relatively and actually. It will then be an actual condition of slavery.

*How can the wage system be abolished?*

The wage system can be abolished by the workers consciously organizing for that purpose and setting up the co-operative commonwealth in its place.

*Is there any alternative between the co-operative commonwealth and a system of slavery for the working class?*

If the working class cannot develop an industrial organization strong enough and intelligent enough to abolish the wage system and set up the co-operative commonwealth in its place, they may in desperation, for the purpose of defeating slavery, overthrow civilization and cause the human race to revert to savagery.

*Why will the capitalist system, if left to its own*

*development, drive the working class into slavery or the human race into savagery?*

The capitalist system is maintained to furnish profits to the owners of industry. Profits are obtained from the sale of goods. There is a limit to the amount of goods the world can absorb at a profit. When that limit is reached, those who are not needed in the production of goods must remain unemployed. Unemployment under the wage system means no income, no wages, with the result that those who are unemployed have nothing with which to purchase food, clothing and shelter. The number of unemployed steadily increases, and in their effort to obtain wages they reduce the amount of wages they agree to accept in return for labor that is profitable to the employer. This reduces the amount of wages the entire working class must accept, thereby reducing the standard of living of all.

Some of the working class will resist this tendency of reducing the standard of living, while at the same time the owners of industry, the employers, will resist the attempts of the workers to raise the standard of living. The conflict of these two tendencies is what is known as the class struggle. In the class struggle if the employers are able to gain the upper hand the working class will be driven into slavery in order that they may not again be able to attack the master class to the reduction of profits. If the working class should gain the upper hand without a definite organization formed for the purpose of maintaining civilization and carrying on its orderly functions, there would be no directing and compelling force to keep industry running to feed, clothe and shelter the people. This would result in a new struggle, not against the owning class to raise the standard of living, but a mutual struggle within the working class for the barest necessities of life. As this struggle within the working class grew more fierce, it would draw a constantly larger number of workers from production into the fratricidal struggle for the constantly diminishing amount of goods produced, resulting in the numbers of people being reduced by starvation and war to the point where peace could only be resumed because of the growing distances between the different warring gangs. This condition would be a direct return to savagery, resulting in the necessity of again performing long hours of labor for a meager subsistence according to the most primitive standard, and by the most primitive methods.

*How can the calamity of driving the working class into slavery or the human race into savagery be avoided?*

The advantages of civilization may be saved and slavery for the working class avoided by an organization of the working class for the purpose of taking charge of the industries and operating them for the

purpose of feeding, clothing and sheltering the people, without profit to any individuals or groups.

*How should this organization be formed?*

An organization within the working class for the definite object of carrying on industrial production on a co-operative basis and preserving the advantages of civilization must be formed on industrial lines.

*What is meant by "industrial lines?"*

By the term, "forming an organization of the workers on industrial lines," is meant that those who work in an industry shall form an organization on the lines of that industry, and that there shall be but one organization in that industry, but with the organizations in the different industries forming their respective parts of one general industrial organization.

*What may be accomplished by an industrial organization?*

An industrial organization may bring two results: The first result will be that of giving a feeling of power and confidence in themselves to the workers in their everyday efforts, to obtain a constantly increasing standard of living, which will of itself help to increase the standard of living and make its obtaining an easier matter.

The second result will be that of giving the workers a practical experience in organization along industrial lines and an ability to work co-operatively, so that as soon as industrial organization has been effected in all lines of industry these industrial organizations of workers may take over and operate the different industries without allowing them to break down, and with the least possible friction.

*What would be the greatest cause of friction in keeping the industries running between the present capitalistic production and the coming industrial communism?*

The greatest cause of friction, and likely the only serious one, in keeping the industries in operation would be the capitalists themselves. The reason they would cause this friction would be because they are now receiving large unearned increments called profits from the ownership of the industries and they would not want this taken from them. To prevent the transfer of ownership from individuals for purposes of exploitation of the workers, to ownership by the workers collectively for the purpose of producing goods for use by the workers themselves, the present owners may be expected to oppose every obstacle possible, even to the point of destroying the industries to keep them from being taken by the workers.

*What will be the method of payment for labor when the wage system is abolished?*

The method of payment for labor when the wage system has been abolished and the co-operative commonwealth has been established will be by a system of exchange entitling the worker to receive the goods he wants in exchange for the goods he has produced, according to the labor time involved in the production of each, but with no profit to an owner who does no productive labor.

*What is included in "the labor time involved in production?"*

The different items included in the labor time necessary to produce an article are the work of planning its production, the cost of preparations, the work of superintending, the work of accounting, the physical labor of those directly engaged in the production, the labor time of those required to repair machinery, the setting aside of an amount necessary to renew machines when they are worn out and the allotting of the necessities of life to those who are too young, too old or otherwise unable to perform productive labor.

*In what way will the exchange of goods on the basis of labor time involved in their production be different from the present wage system?*

Under the present wage system all amounts necessary to balance the labor time involved in production are charged against each industry. In addition to this, there is a further amount set off to pay rent, interest and profit, each of which items in turn pays its own profits, so that there is a large class which is drawing an unearned increment from the industries. The exchange of goods according to the labor time involved in their production would be a gain in two ways: First, it would give to the actual producers of the goods the amount that is now absorbed by the capitalists in the form of rent, interest and profit. Second, it would cause those who are now absorbing this unearned increment to enter into the actual production of goods—of wealth—and thus add to the total amount and per capita amount of production by any portion of the human race which has adopted this system. The wage system, Capitalism, makes for a constant lowering of the standard of civilization with its logical end in slavery or savagery. The cooperative commonwealth, the exchange of goods on the basis of the labor time involved in their production, makes for the highest form of civilization, ending in the necessary leisure and intelligence to perfect the human race.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL SYNDICALIST CONGRESS POSTPONED

The Syndicalists of Scandinavia and Holland had taken the initiative in calling the syndicalist and I. W. W. organizations of the world to an International Congress in Amsterdam on Aug. 5, 1919, to take place immediately after the international Trade Union Congress, in which Gompers played a prominent roll. Our congress had to be postponed, however, as the delegates chosen by the various countries were refused passports by the Dutch consular authorities. Whether the Dutch capitalist government did this trick of its own accord or after pressure had been brought to bear by Gompers and his friends is not stated. Perhaps there was a little of both. The I. W. W. had not elected any delegate, but merely sent a cablegram promising cooperation.

This action of the capitalist class in preventing us from meeting speaks for itself. It requires no comments.

## The Importation of Ideas in the Labor Movement

By John Sandgren.

The spread of civilization originally depended upon the export of ideas. It is nowadays generally conceded that Egypt is the country of the birth of civilization and that the Egyptian people made practically all the inventions in use to about a hundred years ago, and consequently is at the bottom of the whole of our civilization. Not only inventions, however, but also thoughts and ideas were exported from Egypt to all the countries of the earth, in greater or smaller extent, and formed the framework of their so-called civilization both for good and evil. For this reason there is no objection to be made to the export and import of ideas, provided it is conducive to progress and not to retrogression.

Barbarians and savages are to this very day very quick to import ideas from other countries and there is nothing bad, nothing derogatory to say about this, except when they import things that are of no use to them. The lower they are on the ladder of civilization, the less discernment they possess in regard to what should be imported. The negro of the Kamerun imports stove pipe hats and cuffs and Prince Albert coats, such as are worn by Lord Chamberlain and the Prince of Wales, but which to him are only a ridiculous appendage. The women of the whole world import the ideas of their exterior adornment from Paris or London, such as high heels, skirts as narrow as a trouser's leg, powder and face paint, etc., and a good deal of the world's men, not only import the ideas on which their clothing is built but their whole life of thoughts and ideas from foreign countries. The American "four hundred" seek as far as possible to ape the English, even to the extent of coquettishly dropping their h's, and in the radical world it is considered *comme il faut* to show off with imported ideas. Some people finally become so enamored in everything foreign that they despise what is native and domestic.

We have been lead to write this introduction by observing the numerous attempts at importation of foreign forms of organization for the Labor Movement to America, regardless of their fitness for American conditions.

### *Importation of Social-Democracy from Germany.*

First there came the German Social Democrats with their German Socialism and their political ambition, grown as a natural product out of German soil and German conditions and manured by German oppression. With an almost ridiculous conceit these know-it-alls tried to obtain recognition of their monopoly of truth in regard to the Labor Movement. Now German Political Socialism, after thirty years of experimentation or more, proved to be unsuitable for American soil where there has been political democracy since time immemorial, and now we can safely say that this importation has no more chance in this country.

### *Anarchism from Russia.*

Then came out of the soil of Russian Autocracy

the anarchist ideas, and its apostles traveled through the country and pointed their finger at everybody who did not immediately agree with them, and called them stupid, notwithstanding the fact that this imported current of ideas was as little suited to pioneer life on the American prairie and the wild west as a newly starched and ironed cuff on the ankle of a Kamerun negro.

### *Syndicalism from France.*

Then came with immigrants from France, Italy and Spain, the purely syndicalist current of ideas. If we were living in France, Italy or Spain, it would be the most natural thing in the world to be a syndicalist after their pattern. European syndicalism answers excellently to the industrial, economic and historic conditions of their countries and is in sweet consonance with the spirit of the people. But if we transplant their form of organization to America and try to fit this garment on the limbs of the American industrial giant it will fit him about as well as a lady's corset would fit a Jersey-Duroc hog.

### *Craft Unionism from England.*

The most important importation in this line, however, is the craft union idea and the craft union movement. It was imported from England as a counter poison against the native and more dangerous Knights of Labor. Seldom has the danger of importing foreign ideas proved itself so plainly as in this case. It was a most fateful mistake of the American working class to ever appropriate this craft union strait-jacket to their rapidly growing industrial body. It was suited for the conditions of production corresponding to the conditions of private capitalism in Europe forty or fifty years ago, but lacked every justification in this country at the time when production was already passing over into the industrial stage. As a result of this mistake, we see at the present time, the amazing spectacle of a strike in the steel industry which, as one of the leaders asserts, really consists of twenty-four separate strikes by as many craft union internationals, in an industry where craft lines for all productive purposes have been completely abolished. The craft union principle fits American industrialism about as well as a birch-handled water-power hammer from a Swedish iron smithy would fit in an American rolling mill.

When all these imported ideas have proved themselves impossible for American conditions, one would have reason to believe and hope that these enthusiastic importers would quit importing and try a native, domestic product, but their repeated failures with importations for the last few decades, do not seem to have deterred them a bit.

### *Soviet from Russia.*

No sooner had the Bolsheviki made their revolution in Russia and introduced a Soviet government before the importers of ideas, not only in America, but in many other countries, almost run us over and

trampled us down in the frenzied attempt to force upon us the Russian Soviets. This was about a year ago. Now the storm has abated. The importation of this idea was a very clumsy attempt at doing violence to the intelligence of the working class of other countries. The Soviet is an institution which has its roots in the history of the Russian people since time immemorial, and is the most natural thing in the world for the Russian people to adopt. But any attempt to force these Soviets upon other peoples and extinguish their own particular institutions is bound to be a failure. The would-be importers of Sovietism made the great mistake to believe that the Russian Revolution succeeded as far as it did by virtue of these Soviets, and that all that other peoples had to do was to import the Soviet form of government and the great job of the ages was done. But the fact is that the Russian Revolution succeeded, not because the Russians had their Soviets, but because the economic conditions were ripe for it and because the great majority of the Russian people really wanted a revolution. When it had smashed the social organs built up by autocracy, there remained no other basic social element but the old Soviet, and it was nothing but natural that the Russian people should take this, their own institution, as a basis of the society of the people. To try to force the Soviet institutions on the American people which had its origin from all the corners of the earth, and which has an evolution and a history completely different from Russia's, and industrial conditions of an entirely different kind, would be almost as absurd as taking the Soviet or corresponding institution of the Zulu-Kaffirs or the Matabeles and try to jam the steel trust or the oil trust into them. The Soviet agitation has now almost stopped. People are recuperating from revolutionary hysterics and are getting their social bearings.

#### *Shop-Stewardism from England.*

But no sooner had the Soviet agitation begun to subside, before our importers of ideas were ready with a new experiment which is equally, if not more absurd. We mean the agitation for the shop-steward system from England.

As every sober and thinking worker knows, the English workers introduced the shop-steward system during the years of the war, as an emergency measure to complete and supplement the unwieldy craft union system. Divided as they were into sectional unions, or craft union internationals, they were deprived of all possibility of co-operation in the shop or at the place of work, exactly as now during the steel strike in America only temporary co-operation between the twenty-four craft union internationals, outside the workshop, has been established for strike purposes. As we have already pointed out, it is not an industrial strike, but twenty-four contemporaneous craft union strikes. Well, the English workers were compelled to undertake something in order to resist the capitalist class in spite of being hampered with craft unionism, and they invented this primitive substitute for industrial organization which gave them a

semblance of a possibility for industrial co-operation. They were in the same position as the farmer, a long way from home, when one of the wheels of the wagon breaks down. He loads the broken wheel on the wagon and puts a plank under the axle and thus slowly but safely brings his load home. The shop-steward system is the plank under the broken-down wagon of craft unionism. The shop-steward system is not a free-standing institution, suitable for taking over and running the industries. It is only a modern patch on an old garment, making a patch work of the whole, which, it is true, served its purpose to a certain extent in the hour of need. It saved the life of the dear old craft unions and coffin societies which the English workers in their blindness are trying to drag with them into the new society. Neither the craft unions separately, nor the shop-steward system separately, nor both together, are suitable as organs of production in the new society. For that purpose is required a One Big Union of Industrial Unions.

Our enthusiastic importers were, of course, immediately on the ground and wanted to import the shop-steward system to America. This patch work was only intended to save the craft unions and to serve as a superstructure on same, this system suited the English workers admirably in the hour of need, but we believe that the English workers would laugh themselves half to death if they found out that there really are people who seriously propose to make this emergency invention the basis of a new society. Just as the farmer in question would probably split his sides laughing if he saw his neighbors take the sound wheels off their wagons and substitute them with a plank.

It reminds us of the good old times. The courtiers saw the king was limping around on two canes, dragging one leg behind him. To his surprise the king soon saw the whole court and visitors from far away parts of the country leaning over two canes and miserably dragging one leg behind them. Surprised, the king called to one of his chamberlains and asked for an explanation of this cripple-epidemy. The chamberlain had to admit that the court and the aristocracy had adopted this method of walking because they thought it the only proper way to walk in the same manner as the king did. "Such fools," the king said, "I am limping and supporting myself on two canes only because I fell off the horse and hurt myself during the last boar hunt."

The American importers of ideas are of the same kind as these foolish courtiers. The English workers were unable to drag themselves ahead because they were sick with "craft-unionitis." For this reason they leaned on the canes of the shop-steward system, and with the aid of these canes they could move and drag their sick craft union leg with them.

The American importers who hate and despise everything that in native American, now all want to acquire craft-unionitis, in order to get occasion to

use the canes and the crutches of the shop-steward system, and thus be "up-to-date."

*Why These Importations-*

How shall we explain this stubbornness to import foreign forms and methods, when there are in existence domestic forms and methods which have grown out of American soil and American conditions just as naturally as the craft unions grew out of European soil, just as naturally as the Soviet grew out of Russian soil, just as naturally as syndicalism grew out of south European soil, and just as naturally as the shop-steward system grew out of the war conditions in England.

In our opinion this strange phenomenon is due to the fact that the great mass of organizable workers in America are foreigners or people of foreign origin, people who only with exceptions have gained enough knowledge of the English language, or sufficient vision of American conditions to really understand what America is and what it means. This explains how the Knights of Labor came to succumb when they tried to experiment themselves into a form of organization which better corresponded to purely American conditions than the form imported from Europe. And this explains why the Industrial Union idea has had such a desperate struggle before it finally went "over the top." This also explains why the same importers, even after they had in principle accepted the idea of Industrial Unionism, insist on pasting such outlandish excretions as the Soviet and the shop-steward system onto it.

*Native Product the Only Suitable One.*

The American working class, or the small part of it organized into the I. W. W., has propagated and developed the idea of industrial organization and brought it to such a shape that it is being adopted almost without change by countries with the same

industrial development, and it is perfectly able to complete the building of it with the material at hand now in our industrial society. It does not need to import exotic institutions, adapted to other conditions and other peoples.

That Canada and Australia should import the idea from us is entirely natural, for the difference between these three countries in industrial respect is little or nothing, only that Canada and Australia are perhaps half a dozen years behind America, tramping in its industrial footsteps. It is only natural that this purely American form of organization fits them also. It probably will fit other countries, too, as they are coming up from the rear along the path of industrial evolution, following one another in Indian file.

Let us quit importing everything that is of no use to us. We have lots to learn from the Russians in regard to proletarian solidarity and self-sacrificing service to the revolution; we have lots to learn from the South European workers in regard to direct action and democracy in the labor movement; we have lots to learn from the English in regard to stubborn resistance against all attempts to deprive them of their liberty, but we have little or nothing to learn from all of them, in regard to the best form of organization for American conditions. This form we have to think out ourselves, develop and adjust to the conditions as we meet them. To import a form suitable for other conditions is like importing Islam or Buddhism on the religious field into this country.

The I. W. W. is the correct expression of the form needed here in America, for it strives to build One Big Union of all the workers, commencing with One Big Union in the individual workshop and place of work, and continuing up to the top of society, so that it organically unites all the productive forces into one productive-distributive unit that will eventually comprise the whole world.

## The I. W. W. Needs an Industrial Encyclopedia

By John Sandgren.

We are constantly reiterating to the workers: "Organize into Industrial Unions by means of which you will not only be able to unite on a common battle-front in every industry, but also to take over the industry, using your Industrial Union as the new organ of production."

This is the "One Big Union Idea" which is now sweeping over the world. Hundreds of thousands are joining the One Big Union in the various countries as a token of their unqualified endorsement of this general principle, but we are not satisfied. We are not progressing in the direction of our goal with the speed that is necessary in order that we may be able to take over production and the whole responsibility for the smooth running of human society when capitalism collapses.

This collapse of capitalism appears to be so imminent, so close upon our heels, that the whole

structure may be expected to tumble down over our heads most any moment. The gigantic strikes taking place in every country, one after the other, signify a state of affairs that is very disquieting to anyone with a spark of a sense of social responsibility.

It is simply dreadful to contemplate what would happen if these strikes for some unforeseen reason should break out into a general social conflagration which would stop all the wheels of industry, or nearly all, and throw the world's hundreds of millions of humans into almost inextricable disorder, with no guiding principle for reconstruction and restoration of order and system, without which human society cannot exist.

"But," you will say, "have we not got the One Big Union of Producers as our guiding principle; is not that enough?"

Yes, we have, but as a matter of fact, the One Big Union is as yet little more than a "glittering generality" to an insignificant number of workers.

Here in this country there are close to forty million people in "gainful occupations." Of these we have taken in about 50,000 new members in the I. W. W. from Sept. 1, 1918, to Sept. 1, 1919. How long would it take to organize the forty millions or to teach them Industrial Unionism at this rate?

What means have we of reaching these millions and teaching them? Is there not every probability that the guiding hand of the capitalist master will become paralyzed and drop the reins and allow society to run away and go to smash long before we become strong enough to take up the reins?

It is imperative that we quickly devise some means of reaching the mass of workers, placing the means in their hands to maintain social order and continue production when capitalism goes helplessly on the rocks. If we would save ourselves and survive, we have to save the whole working class.

You may say we are doing the best we can; we are preaching Industrial Organization by word of mouth, through a score of I. W. W. papers and magazines and dozens of books and pamphlets.

The writer maintains that we are not doing the best we can. We could do much more, and we must do it.

Practically everything we say and write is along general lines, very little of anything along special lines. We have formulated the theory of Industrial Unionism, but we have only to a limited extent carried it out in practice.

Very often workers from various industries come to our general headquarters telling us that there is a strong sentiment for One Big Union in their industry and that the workers would like to have further information on the subject. We may be able to furnish a speaker, or we may not. He may understand the industry, or he may not. We show the inquirer our booklets and our papers, but we must with embarrassment admit to ourselves that there is little in them that would serve as a practical guide for the workers in fitting themselves to take over and run their industry.

Time and again the writer has felt the absolute and urgent necessity of carrying our theory more into practical detail if we want to educate ourselves and our Fellow Workers into taking over and running the industries.

*This urgent necessity could in our opinion best be met by publishing special Industrial Union Handbooks for each industry.*

The I. W. W. has now under preparation an "I. W. W. Handbook," which will probably be out by the first of the year. This handbook will fill a long felt need. It will be written in the simplest possible language and serve as an A B C book for the worker. It will introduce him to the labor movement, giving him a survey of the whole field and show him in a general way that industrial organization is the only way of saving society and civilization. So far, so

good. But there this general handbook must stop. It cannot go into practical details for each industry, for it would then have to grow from a handbook into an industrial encyclopedia covering many bookshelves.

It is such an industrial encyclopedia that the I. W. W. now needs and must have, an encyclopedia consisting of several hundreds of handbooks, each one covering a separate industry.

By issuing such a series of handbooks we would be able to say to the workers of every industry: "Come to us for information. We are able to tell you how to organize your industry so that you will be able to take it over and weather the coming storm."

To begin with we should elaborate and publish handbooks for the basic industries, for agriculture, forestry, coal mining, metal mining, the foodstuffs, the shoe and clothing industry, general construction industry, and all branches of public service, continuing with handbooks for, for instance, the steel industry, the auto industry, the electrical industry, transportation, and so on to the end of the line.

These handbooks should not, of course, contain such information as is given in industrial and technical schools to any great extent. There are already technical handbooks for that purpose.

What our Industrial Union handbooks should contain would be along this line:

1st. An introduction referring to the above-mentioned I. W. W. Handbook and giving a general review of our plan of economic reconstruction of society, pointing out the necessity of industrial organization for the taking over of production. This introduction could be nearly the same in all handbooks.

2nd. A general description of the particular industry in question, a drawing of its technical boundary lines and a survey of the closely related industries by means of which it connects with general production.

3rd. A geographical and statistical survey of the industry with tables, giving number, name, location of plants, number employed, quantity and quality of output.

4th. Present state of ownership and management, giving list of owners, principal stockholders and managers.

5th. A study of raw materials, quality and quantity, and where and how they are obtained.

6th. Disposition of the product, quantity and quality needed, best manner of distribution, where plants should be logically located.

7th. Present state of organization of the workers, in that industry as well as in the country in general showing danger of lack of organization, futility of craft organization and necessity of industrial organization.

8th. Giving complete description of Industrial Union needed in the industry, its branches, districts and councils, stating where they ought to be located and how they ought to function.

9th. Giving relationship to other industrial unions.

10th. Giving advice as to how to go about spreading this handbook to all the workers in the industry and building up the organization, suggesting committees and by-laws needed.

11th. The preamble and constitution of the I. W. W. and address of the Industrial Union office.

12th. A stirring appeal to the workers to wake up to a realization of the responsibility resting on them to take over their line of production to save themselves and their fellowmen from social destruction by doing their share in building up a society of industrial communism.

The above are only extemporaneous suggestions, calculated to give a general idea of the outline of each handbook. For many industries perhaps a somewhat different plan would have to be adopted. A handbook of this kind would perhaps cover from 100 to 200 pages and sell at 25-50 cents. The writer is absolutely confident that the workers of every industry would fight for the possession of such a handbook, because it gives a picture of himself and his relations to his fellowmen, his hopes and possibilities in life. It would raise him from a hypnotized, isolated, hopeless drudge without a rational aim in life to a consciousness of world citizenship, self respect and social responsibility.

There would be as many such handbooks needed as there are producers, that is in this country about forty millions of them.

Is the I. W. W. able to tackle such a tremendous undertaking? The writer maintains that it is. Sev-

eral of its industrial unions now have funds on hand to undertake it. The sale of the handbook would quickly bring the money back and make it possible to issue new editions until every worker has a copy.

The thing to do is to immediately engage a man of learning, or several, a capable writer, who can study and handle statistics and who has a good general insight into American industrial life. He must of course, be in sympathy with our aims. There are scores of such men available, men who would find the happiness of their lives in just such work. And we are able to pay them and support them while they are doing it for us. Anyhow, it will mean only a temporary outlay, as the money expended will rapidly come back. At our first opportunity we should establish a special "Bureau of industrial research" for this purpose under the supervision of the right kind of man.

As soon as possible we should extend this work beyond the basic industries and cover every field of human activity, thus bringing the gospel of industrial organization and the new society to every worker in the land.

The writer, therefore, makes the suggestion that everyone of our industrial unions, at its next convention, take up the matter of issuing such a handbook for their industry and that they pledge the general office financial support for the issuing of such handbooks for one industry after another.

Thus we are guarding against the imminent danger of a social calamity of terrible proportions and making this country "safe for Industrial Communism and Industrial Democracy."

## The Story of the I. W. W. By Harold Lord Varney

### THE DRIVE FOR MEMBERSHIP.

#### Chapter 9.

A whirlwind drive for membership was continued throughout the Pennsylvania district. Through the steel towns, among the miners, in the big cities, meetings were held and locals were formed. Joseph Schmidt and Joseph J. Ettor traversed the state together, the one speaking in Lithuanian and Polish, the other in English.

In March, 1910, a terrible strike broke out in the steel mills of Bethlehem. Here men were working ten and twelve-hour shifts for wages that ran the scale from 12½ to 27 cents per hour. The wretchedness of the steel slaves of Bethlehem defies description. The city was practically controlled by Charles M. Schwab, the mill owner. His 10,000 employees were the sole workers.

The I. A. of M. took charge of the strike from the beginning. But it was palpably incompetent to manage it. The majority of the strikers were unskilled workers and Slavic in race. When I. W. W. representatives arrived they were welcomed by the A. F. of L. leaders, who hoped to reap the benefit of their work. A great meeting was called for the foreign

workmen. Schmidt and Ettor, both mere boys, carried the audience by storm. The foreign workers came out of the mills almost to a man. Then the I. W. W. method of mass picketing was installed. For a time it seemed as though Bethlehem was going to be another I. W. W. strike.

But dissension soon arose. The A. F. of L. leaders, fearing that they would lose control, began to discredit the organizers of the I. W. W., and the latter having no meeting place, were unable to reach the strikers in reply. The A. F. of L. won out and Schmidt and Ettor were debarred from the strike. But this was the undoing of the I. A. of M. Having nothing to offer the unskilled workers, they soon saw the enthusiasm dying down. The general A. F. of L. organization gave them comparatively no financial aid and, although the strike dragged on for several weeks, they were eventually starved into submission. Since that day the workers of Bethlehem have never made another attempt to break the iron grip of the open shop.

In working the Pennsylvania district the I. W. W. developed an international system of propaganda. The industrial centers in the east teem with foreign workers. In order to reach every race, a team of

organizers would be sent out, each speaking a different language. Thus the race handicap was completely overcome.

These tactics were very successfully employed in the Scranton coal district. This district, the largest anthracite producer in the United States, had begun to break away from the U. M. W. of A. at about this time. The miners were sick of the contract system and were suspicious of the U. M. W. of A. leaders. The nucleus of an I. W. W. organization was created here which, with many alternate ups and downs, has persisted to this day. The I. W. W. has maintained organizers in Scranton almost continuously since 1910 in anticipation of the next great anthracite strike.

The employing class were not idle at this juncture. They fought the I. W. W. every step of the way. Their heaviest attack was at Newcastle. Here the new I. W. W. organ, *Solidarity*, was attaining an alarming circulation. The *Newcastle Free Press*, a Socialist Party paper, had also become outspoken in its advocacy of Industrial Unionism. The strike of the tin plate workers was still raging and these two papers were becoming the nucleus of all organizing activity in the district. With the adeptness with which the ruling class always bends the law to its purposes, an old, obsolete statute requiring the publication of the names of the owners of all newspapers was excavated and used against these two papers. The editorial staffs of both papers were hauled into court and tried on this statute. They were found guilty and fined \$100 and costs. The managers of the *Free Press* appealed their case, but the I. W. W. decided to go to jail and serve the fine. The victims of this free press fight were McCarty, Stirton, Williams, Jacobs, Fix and Moore. While they were imprisoned *Solidarity* still continued to appear, Grover H. Perry, a young Newcastle member, stepping forward to take the place of the previous editors. If anything, this persecution gave the paper just the prestige which it desired. It has been consistently true that every persecution which has sought to destroy the I. W. W. has been the very instrument of its growth. Other charges were later pressed against the steadfast *Solidarity* "bunch," but they continued the fight and weathered the storm. The struggle which it cost to keep this weekly paper alive during those early days is a vivid story of suffering and grit. Only the buoying faith of a great ideal could have pulled it through and enabled it to survive.

On November 21, 1910, another I. W. W. strike broke out in the east, this time in Brooklyn, N. Y. Here, the shoe workers, who had long been organized in the A. F. of L., had become disgusted with the infamous contract system which that union imposed. A campaign in behalf of the I. W. W. was waged among them by Joe Ettor. It resulted in the formation of Shoe Workers' Industrial Union, No. 118 of the I. W. W. Organization was but the preliminary to a bitter strike. The A. F. of L., claiming that they regarded themselves as bound by their contracts, im-

ported union men to scab upon the strikers. The struggle was fought hard on both sides. It is estimated that over \$200,000 was spent by the employers' association to prevent the I. W. W. from winning the strike. In the face of a united opposition, from both employers and craft unionists, the outlook became hopeless for the I. W. W. and the strike was called off. Some slight concessions were wrung from the employers, but the I. W. W. was unable to hold its membership among the workers. A sad aftermath of the strike was the conviction of Vincent Buccafiori, one of the strike leaders, who was sentenced to ten years in Sing Sing for shooting a foreman in self defense. The Brooklyn shoe strike was not important, but it served to spread the reputation of the I. W. W. in the east.

In the meantime the class struggle in the west was unabated. After Spokane, many other brief but bitter fights were waged in the western states. The migratory workers of Washington, Oregon and Montana were saturated with I. W. W. sentiment. Efforts were made to extend the zone of influence into California. The migratory element in California differs somewhat from that of the states further north. It is less militant. Considerable headway was made, however.

One of the centers of propaganda in California was Fresno. Here, at the very center of the great fruit belt, the agricultural workers began to line up in great numbers. The employers and city officials became alarmed. Of course, the method of propaganda in Fresno was street meetings. Just as in Spokane, the city officials determined to crush the organization by denying it freedom of speech. Street meetings were forbidden, leading members were arrested or warned out of town. Speakers were pulled off from the box.

The I. W. W. retaliated by calling a free speech fight. This fight began October 16, 1909, and it lasted until March 8 of the following year. Calls were sent broadcast over the country for volunteers who would go to jail. And they came. From Seattle, from Portland, from Denver and St. Louis and from all the California locals, men poured in to Fresno to fight for free speech. A tent was set up outside the city limits where all the recruits were received and instructed before they entered the city. No lawyers were employed. When a group of men were brought into court, some rough-clad member would step forward out of the group and surprise the court by putting forward a cultured and masterful defense. Or else, the members would all agree to show their contempt for court procedure by refusing to utter a word. For three months 85 men lay in the jail, obstinate in their refusal to compromise the case. Dignified judges and lawyers were helpless to act. Never before had they seen such men, men who seemed to scoff at the legal penalties which other men cringe before; men who welcomed a jail and smiled through their suffering.

In the early spring word came to Fresno that 200 men had mustered at Sacramento, 200 miles away,

and were about to march on Fresno. These reinforcements were largely composed of veterans from Spokane. A chill of fear spurred the city officials to quick action. They endeavored to treat with some leader of the I. W. W. To their surprise, they were greeted with the strident reply, "We are all leaders!" A committee of citizens visited the prisoners. After unsuccessfully angling for a compromise, they at last reached an agreement. The I. W. W. won every point. The men were released from jail and the work of propaganda proceeded throughout the San Joaquin valley.

Another rather serious handicap to organization in California was presented by the A. F. of L. Although the leaders of that organization had always been cold to every appeal of the unskilled and migratory workers, they could not view the advance of the I. W. W. without alarm. In order to offset it, a convention was called by Andrew Fureseth and Olaf Tveitmoe, two of the California leaders of the A. F. of L. and a new organization of unskilled workers, the United Laborers, was launched and affiliated with the A. F. of L. This organization made very little headway, but it allowed itself to be used to deadlock many of the organizing attempts of the I. W. W. In the north the A. F. of L. invaded the lumber industry also. Before the I. W. W. appeared upon the scene the lumber worker was scorned as an "unorganizable hobo." The success of the N. I. U. of F. & L. W. roused the A. F. of L. to emulation. An International Union of Shingle Weavers was formed and began a strenuous campaign to organize the millmen. They were moderately successful and in the future lumber struggles in Washington this union was a consistent foe of the I. W. W.

The Fifth Convention of the I. W. W. had passed in 1910 without any noteworthy changes. St. John had been re-elected General Secretary, and Trautmann General Organizer. At the Sixth Convention, in 1911, the delegates were equally harmonious. It seemed as though a new spirit had gripped the union since the impossibilist element had been eliminated. The perpetual wranglings of the first three years were no longer heard. The only rivalries which now arose, were rivalries of sacrifice and competitions of achievement.

A small element of anarchists had been dissatisfied that the Fourth Convention did not definitely commit the organization to an anti-political stand. Neutrality on the political issue, they asserted, was not sufficient. But the bulk of the membership were not disposed to take an official anti-political position. At the Sixth Convention a motion of that nature was voted down without comment. This was the last occasion on which a political issue has been raised in an I. W. W. convention. The first rumblings of the coming controversy over decentralization were also heard at this convention, but no serious disagreement was reached. Vincent St. John and James P. Thompson were elected as the general officers for the year 1912-13.

Many of the anarchist element were drawn away from the I. W. W. shortly after this convention, by the Foster incident. This incident was extremely valuable as a means of clarifying the mind of the movement and hence is worth recounting. At the International Labor Conference held in Budapest, August 10, 1911, the I. W. W. sought recognition as the official labor movement of America, on a par with the A. F. of L. William Z. Foster, one of the Pacific coast organizers of the I. W. W., was sent to Budapest as a representative. Of course the A. F. of L. combatted the proposed move with all of its influence and, although the Confederation General du Travail of France championed the I. W. W., the convention voted not to seat Foster. On his return trip Foster had occasion to study the form and tactics of the revolutionary C. G. T. and he soon became convinced that its methods were superior to those of the I. W. W. Returning to America, he began a strenuous propaganda for the revision of the organization upon the basis of European syndicalism.

The difference is a radical one. In France, the revolutionary unions have never formed an independent organization. Instead they have entered the existing craft unions, and in many cases have gained control of them. Consequently, in 1911, when Foster was in France he found the C. G. T. almost entirely controlled by the revolutionists. Hence, he argued, the I. W. W. members should do the same in the United States. Instead of forming a rival union, they should support the A. F. of L. and "bore from within."

It was true that this was the method of syndicalism in nearly every European country. In France, in England, in Italy, the syndicalist organizations were mere propaganda leagues whose membership was restricted to trade union card holders. Foster falsely reasoned then that such should be the tactics of the American syndicalists, the I. W. W. In reality there has never been any official connection between the I. W. W. and the European syndicalist organizations. The I. W. W. claims to stand apart, it has an international jurisdiction of its own and, although it has never attempted to do so, its principles would even permit of the formation of I. W. W. administrations in countries where the syndicalists are in control of the craft unions. The I. W. W. has always claimed to be a step in advance of the syndicalists. The basic ideals of syndicalism are anarchistic; the basic ideals of the I. W. W. socialistic. Syndicalism is the intellectual offspring of Bakunin; the I. W. W. of Marx.

This is well demonstrated in the form which the I. W. W. has assumed. The European syndicalists are not fundamentally opposed to craft unionism. They have often displayed a strong predilection for industrial autonomy rather than for industrial solidarity. The syndicalist ideal is a labor movement which is a federation of autonomous groups; in the I. W. W. local and industrial autonomy is completely superseded. The tendency of the I. W. W. is toward higher and higher centralization. In this respect of

form the I. W. W. is more closely akin to the German than to the French labor movement.

As stated in a previous chapter, the I. W. W. is the child of American conditions. It found industry centralized and trustified by a peculiarly American mode of production, therefore, it shaped itself in a corresponding mold. In France industry is decentralized and skill is still a factor; therefore the C. G. T. has assumed a craft form. It is as futile to build an American labor movement upon the premise of French conditions, as it would have been for a French union to have shaped itself to American peculiarities.

The only element in the I. W. W. which responded to Foster's propaganda was a small faction of anarchists. This group had always been opposed to the centralized power of the General Office. In the early part of 1912 they followed Foster out of the I. W. W. They were not numerous. They numbered probably less than a hundred. Leaving the I. W. W., they formed the Syndicalist League of North America. This league never grew. Despite desperate efforts by Tom Mooney among the molders and Foster and Dezettel among Chicago building trades, the net result of their attempt was failure. The organization dropped to pieces and most of its members, instead of converting the conservatives to revolutionary unionism, became themselves the victims of their new environment and degenerated into the mold of conservative unionists.

An influence which began to give the I. W. W. considerable strength at this time, was the support of a considerable group of left wing Socialist. Simons, Sherman and the group of Socialist Party members who had been so much in evidence during the first year, had lost their interest in revolutionary unionism, as soon as it slipped from their control. The succeeding years of the I. W. W. were so dismal that few Socialists were attracted by what seemed to be a doomed experiment. But the new vitality which had evidenced itself at McKees Rocks and Spokane, began to attract the interest of another large group of Socialist Party members. This minority, known as the "Reds," were ready to give their support to any experiment in direct action which seemed to promise fruitful results. William D. Haywood, who had been only intermittently active in the I. W. W. since the first year, now began to loom large as a candidate for the leadership in the Socialist Party. At the party referendum in 1911, Haywood was elected a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. Gifted as he was with the strongest personality in the American labor movement, Haywood soon became a power in the party. Many believed that he would become the candidate for president in 1912. Haywood never failed to throw the weight of his influence in favor of the I. W. W. whenever chance presented itself. Many of the "Reds" took out cards in the I. W. W. Others spoke favorably of it in the party.

Of course the A. F. of L. element, which has al-

ways been dominant in the Socialist Party, resented this move. A bitter controversy was soon engendered which hinged largely about the respective merits of the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. But, regardless of future developments, the influence of Haywood among the Socialists was peculiarly fortunate at this moment, when the I. W. W. stood upon the threshold of the greatest struggle of its career.

The opening of 1912 was a landmark and a turning point for the I. W. W. It seemed as though all the work of the previous years was but a preparation for the events that were to come. At this point we will pause for a brief resumé.

Roughly speaking, the I. W. W. had passed through three periods. The first period was the period of Sherman's presidency. The net result of the first year was failure. Success was doomed by the lack of a unified aim and tactics.

The second period, from 1906-08, was the period of S. L. P. control. What little strength yet remained from the first controversy, was now almost annihilated by the second. Vagueness and division stifled all prospect of growth.

The real beginning of the I. W. W. dates from the beginning of the third period. Its policy became clear and *unmistakable*. It avoided the Scylla of politics and it was equally preserved from the Charybdis of anarchism. Its tactics took form. It found the real following which had been waiting for its call. The I. W. W. of 1912 had ceased to be the playground of factions. It had taken on an identity and individuality of its own. Its members no longer thought of themselves as Socialists, as S. L. Ps. or as Anarchists, but as I. W. Ws. The organization had become a distinct and exclusive grouping in the labor movement.

The result was something more than a union. The very boldness of its ideal and its methods was the magnet which drew together the bravest spirits of the labor movement. All those workers, whose veins were charged with the red blood of fearless action, felt drawn by the deeds of the I. W. W.

Strengthened by such a following, the I. W. W. had become the greatest dynamic force in the American revolutionary movement. It was greater than a union. It fought not only for shorter hours and greater wages; it supplemented its economic activity by a form of political activity. It had struggled for the right of free press in Newcastle. It had battled for free speech in Spokane and Fresno. It threw itself into the field and waged war for every need of the workers.

By the beginning of 1912 the place of the I. W. W. in the labor movement was firmly fixed. But, to the general public, it was yet unknown. The winning tactics of the organization had never yet been applied upon a scale large enough to attract national interest. It needed the publicity of a first class struggle to vindicate these tactics beyond dispute. This publicity was given by the Lawrence strike.

## THE LUMBERJACK

By D. S. Dietz

It was a labor picnic. A crowd, packed within a circle, the radius of which was equal to the distance a strong voice would carry, was listening to the speeches. During the speaking the whole body of picnickers was very quiet. Those who could not get within hearing distance were scattered about in twos and threes; also, in other small groups of varying sizes, all talking earnestly in subdued tones. From the viewpoint of organizations, the crowd was mixed.

I noticed a strong built and reasonably well dressed man whose tanned face indicated his work was of the great outdoors; he was seated alone, contemplating the picnic scene. I approached, seated myself beside him, and vouchsafed: "Well, some picnic!"

"Yes, some picnic," he said, hesitatingly, "but," he continued earnestly and rapidly, "they don't seem to get to any point of understanding. One reason is, the world is too damn full of proposals. Smooth words and smiles are always fish bait. The great body of workers seem to be looking for something to swallow; but I guess the politicians will have to do more than spit on the bait this time. I can see a change since ten years ago. Workers are not so quick to open their mouths at every word that sparkles, nor to smiles that lie. That is the sign that they will get to a point of common understanding. I don't believe in speech-making myself. I believe in doing it. You see, the lumber barons, preachers and politicians did not come one day with nice words and smiles, sheets, pillows and baths for us in the camps. Oh, no! We demanded them and organized to enforce the demands; then we had the better conditions and the smiles, while they had the scowls. That's what we call revolutionary. Turning the thing around, reversing it; instead of asking the masters or their politicians for anything, we make demands, then do all we can to enforce them. Labor's got to quit the defensive and take the offensive. If labor don't, there'll be another thirty million of us shot and starved to death because of the intrigue of the masters and politicians. Always individual leadership has led, periodically, to wholesale slaughter."

At that moment I flashed my card, whereupon he smiled, then remarked, disappointedly:

"Well, I guess I'm wasting my time talking to you. The 'Wobblies' all understand. I don't need to explain to you."

Frankly, I was interested and wanted him to continue; therefore I ventured thus: "Tell me, Fellow Worker, in your own way, how best to organize for the final overthrow of the masters."

"Hell's fire! Just the same way we organize to get the logs out. Get an engineer to blue print the road which is to lead into the timber. We got that. That is the 'Preamble.' Then get the road staked out. That's the 'Constitution.' Now, we grade the

road and lay the ties and steel, which is establishing the main lines of communication. We're doing that. Then we run in car loads of 'rigging,' put up 'high leads,' having great numbers of guy lines. Let us call the spar-trees central points and the guy lines lesser lines of communication. Why, the 'Wobblies' are putting up spar-trees all over the continent! A logging camp is a miniature industrial world. If you are going to reorganize the world, do it on the job. The masters run the world by organizing the job their way. We'll organize the job our way for ourselves. We are 80 per cent of the people. All that is necessary is for the 80 per cent to get sense enough to realize that we should produce for use, not for swag. The 80 per cent already know how to handle the job. We are naturally social. When we cast out political hypocrisy we will at once become communistic. Then we shall throw a 'choker' around Wall street, another about the hallowed statue of liberty and give the engineer the highball. That's all. Just merely say so, when the rigging is all set."

About this time the speaking of the day finished, amidst great applause. The dancing, Dutch auctions, general bustle and laughter began simultaneously. The logger and myself also arose. At parting, he admonished as follows:

"As fast as you meet those A. F. of L. members, tell them that the workers for centuries have met with periodical slaughter because of leaders. Cut the leaders."

## The Traffic Flags

By O. A. Kennedy.

Red flags, flapping in the wind,  
What do the North winds say?

The North winds are chill winds,  
From Russia's steppes they blow;  
They sing shrill songs of liberty,  
And tyrants' overthrow.

Red flags, flaunting in the street,  
What do the East winds say?

The East winds are fair winds,  
They bring good news to all;  
From many a coast and hinterland  
They bear the comrades' call.

Red flags, gleaming in the sun,  
What do the South winds say?

The South winds are soft winds,  
They waft from Mexico;  
And Argentina calls to us  
Cross summer zones aglow.

Red flags, standing there on guard.

What do the West winds say?

The West winds are bold winds,  
They sweep in from the sea,  
And whosoever breathes of them  
Shall fight for liberty.

## A Letter to the Editor

Dallas, Tex., Oct. 5, 1919.

Dear Editor: I am glad to see you are insisting on articles dealing with the economics of industry for, unless I am greatly mistaken, the day is not far distant when the workers, whether they will or not, will be FORCED to take over the operation and management of the industries. I agree with Nearing that a panic meaning the literal collapse of Capitalism is impending in the United States; this despite all the feverish activity now going on in the markets.

I note that one fellow worker recently stated that the workers were not interested in the price of Packard cars, but my guess is that they are, and vitally so, for the reason that all labor wasted on the production of luxuries for the kept classes is just so much bread, clothing and shelter TAKEN AWAY from the workers.

I note further than some of the fellow workers are holding that there is no such thing as "The Public," but there IS; the error they are falling into is simply this: In Capitalist society there are TWO Publics—the Public of the Workers, and that of the Bourgeoisie, and we must, necessarily, appeal of the Working Class Public to defend the working class interests and prisoners. This is true, or we would not need to publish papers and magazines, nor to put out speakers. It is true that the Capitalists know what we are after, just as we know what they are after, but the MASSES don't, and the Capitalists are working overtime to keep them from ever knowing what Industrial Democracy means.

This reminds me that I disagree with your use of the term "Industrial Communism," for it was we who first popularized the term "Industrial Democracy," this to distinguish the final aim of the I. W. W. from State Socialism and, by so doing, not only "talked American," but put the Capitalists, the Craftists and the State-Godders on the defensive; we compelled them to drop the use of the British and German languages in the United States and, as soon as they were forced to do this, the workers began to "catch on," and now it is being insisted that we again quit "talking American" and go to talking Russian. Unless I am greatly mistaken, Lenin would be among the first to condemn us for this.

I enclose you a clipping from a local paper giving an account of Governor Robertson's (of Oklahoma) wholehearted endorsement of the mobbing of Senator Reed at Ardmore in that state. You will note that that super-patriot and revolution obsquatulator, Ole Hanson of Seattle, also spoke likewise. The day before the local papers quoted Robertson as saying, "If it were an I. W. W. going over the country speaking against the government of the United States the Republicans would favor giving him the same treatment as that accorded Senator

James A. Reed." And so they would. But, how soon legalized illegality is coming home to roost!

Also the local papers have been full of the recent "race war" at Elaine, Arkansas, only the later dispatches tell that it is like all the rest of the "race wars" I've seen in Dixie, at the bottom a struggle between landlords and tenants. In this "race war" several WHITE men have been arrested, and the dispatches state that a "committee of seven prominent business men," that is to say, a committee of landlords and credit merchants, have assumed the power to inquire into the trouble and fix the blame for the rioting, and as usual, and as a matter of course, these gentlemen are themselves in nowise to blame; they never are, for the PROLETARIAT CAN DO NO WRONG.

This is the third Union of Tenant Farmers to be broken up in this manner, the others being the Farmers' and Laborers' Protective Association of West Texas and the Working Class Union of Oklahoma, against both of which the Espionage Law was used.

I said in the beginning that the "Democratic" party, or rather the forces back of it, would attempt to use the war to extend the "Solid South" over the entire nation, as I said that Gompersism would attempt to use it to destroy the I. W. W., and I'm beginning to think I was "some" prophet.

But despite it all the Workers still persist in trying to organize for Industrial and Agricultural Freedom, and this is the only hopeful thing in this country today, for the Workers alone can save society from chaos.

Your for the liberty of man, woman and child, regardless of creed, race or color.

Covington Ami.

(Editor's Note—In regard to the use of the terms "Industrial Communism" and "Industrial Democracy," we wish to repeat what we said in a previous number of this magazine, namely, that Industrial Communism refers to the system of ownership in the society for which we strive, while Industrial Democracy refers to the system of management. The two of them complete one another as brief descriptions of the new society. Industrial Communism is the sixth of the evolutionary stages of property, these being Primitive Communism, Family Collectivism, Feudalism, Private Capitalism, Collective Capitalism and Industrial Communism. The term is no importation from Russia. The writer has used it for years long before the Russian Communists were heard of. It will be found in an article of his in the tenth anniversary number of *Solidarity* (1915) and also as a title of a book, called "From Primitive to Industrial Communism," written in Swedish in 1911 and published by the Swedish Syndicalists, 1914. The expression is being universally adopted by syndicalists of Northern Europe as a convenient term by which to describe the system of ownership for which we strive. Recently Fellow Worker Harold Lord Varney has written a pamphlet called "Industrial Communism—The I. W. W.," in which he demonstrates the fitness of the term as a brief summary of our program from the standpoint mentioned.)

Any fellow workers knowing the whereabouts of Fellow Worker Henry Pierce communicate with Charles Pierce, Oroville, Wash. Important.—Central Prop. Comm., Seattle Branches. (Seal.)

## I. W. W. IN MEXICO

The newly formed Communist Party in Mexico has taken the initiative in gathering the existing labor organizations in Mexico into a common organization on the lines of the I. W. W.

The following are excerpts from their manifesto on this question:

7. We strongly endorse the organization known as the "I. W. W.," or Industrial Workers of the World, as offering the most practicable and constructive means of uniting the workers and preparing them for the task of taking control of industry. We regard the One Big Union a indispensable if the working class is to gain the power necessary to own and direct the factories, mines, land and resources of the world. For this reason we denounce the American Federation of Labor and similar organizations which divide the workers into separate craft unions with conflicting interests, and we oppose all compromise with these organizations or their representatives. Believing Industrial Unionism the most important branch of Revolutionary Communist tactics, we urge all members of the Communist Party to become members of industrial unions, preferable the I. W. W., and all members of

industrial unions to become members of the Communist Party, so that the dual forms of activity may be efficiently co-ordinated.

b) Industrial organization of the masses by formation of a Mexican branch of the I. W. W. with headquarters in Mexico City and local unions in all parts of the republic in accordance with the constitution of the I. W. W. These unions to be used as weapons of the working class for securing temporary gains in wages and working conditions, for forcing important concessions from the capitalists and capitalistic governments and for eventually establishing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Existing Unions and syndicates to be changed, when ever possible, to conform to the rules of the I. W. W., so that they may affiliate with that organization. Strikes, boycotts and sabotage to be used for immediate benefits and more particularly as practice that will be valuable when the time comes for the general strike.

c) Constant and intelligent co-operation between the Communist Party and the industrial unions of Mexico and the Communist Parties and industrial unions of other countries.

### PRINTERS OF MEXICO CITY ORGANIZE IN THE I. W. W.

You will be interested to know that the printers in Mexico City are planning to organize an industrial union. They had a craft union up to a few months ago, but internal troubles split it up. Since then all their activities have been discontinued. The reactionary element evidently will do nothing further, which is a source of gratification, while the radical element will be the organizers of the new industrial union. They are waiting for the arrival of the literature from your headquarters and will probably organize a day or two after it comes as an I. W. W. union. Several other industrial unions will be organized here soon.—Linn A. E. Gale.

### ATTENTION, MEMBERS OF NO. 480!

Fellow Workers:

All members of Furniture Workers' Industrial Union No. 480 are urged to communicate with the secretary-treasurer, Gust Anderson, 1715 Twelfth avenue, Rockford, Ill., at once, and take out credentials.

Fellow Workers, if you want to see the end of capitalism and the advent of industrial democracy, you must do your utmost to spread the propaganda of industrial unionism and to organize your fellow workers on the job. The secretary and organization committee of your union are anxious to make No. 480 a factor in the struggle for industrial supremacy of the workers. Get in touch with them and co-operate with them in any way you can.

Yours for industrial solidarity,

Thos. Whitehead, Gen. Secy.-Treas.

### WHAT SEATTLE DOES WITH OLD PAPERS

"The copies for June which we gave away were fairly well placed," writes Fellow Worker Speakman of Seattle, "some of them going from house to house in the residence district and others were taken out to Woodland Park on Sundays and scattered among the crowds. We had a house to house canvass yesterday and covered a large portion of the working class districts of the city and got rid of five or six thousand old papers, some of which had been accumulating at the plant where the Industrial Worker is printed, and some bundles of Solidarity which had been held by the express people until too late to sell. You can use this for publication if you like, also let Fellow Worker Payne have same, and possibly the membership in other parts of the country will go and do likewise. A committee from the recruiting union here mapped the city out in routes and made cards which were used by the distributors."

Do thou likewise!

### THE RUSSIAN I. W. W. PAPER

(All I. W. W. Locals and Agents Take Notice)

Golos Truzenika, the I. W. W. paper in Russian, which has hitherto been a weekly paper, will from now on be issued three times a week. Subscription price, 1 year, \$5; six months, \$2.75; three months, \$1.50; single copies, 3 cents.

I. W. W.'s magazine in Russian, *Trudovaja Misl*, will be continued as a monthly. Subscription price, one year, \$2; single copies, 15 cents.

## The German I. W. W. Paper

On the last page of the One Big Union Monthly is found a list of twenty-one I. W. W. publications. They all deserve to be treated as if they were written in your own language. They all have the same purpose to serve, namely, to enlighten the workers on the greatest of world issues of all times, i. e., on industrial organization for the purpose of enabling the people to come into their own by taking over the means of production and distribution and operating them.

But there is one of the papers to which we want to call special attention at this time and that is the German I. W. W. paper, *Der Klassenkampf* (The Class Struggle.)

We do not want to single it out from the other twenty-one publications, but we want to point out the particular importance of this paper. There is no foreign language spoken so extensively in the United States as the German language. It is estimated that it is spoken by four to five millions of people. German speaking workers are found in every industry, in every line of occupation, and for this reason this paper has perhaps greater possibilities than any other foreign language paper of the I. W. W. We would not be a bit surprised to soon find it with a larger circulation than any other I. W. W. paper, provided it is given the right kind of support at the start.

Until this year the German speaking workers have been represented in the I. W. W. only by a few scattered individuals, the large mass of German speaking workers being identified with the craft union movement and the movement of political socialism.

The experience of late years seems to have brought about a change. The German speaking workers are beginning to see that industrial unionism offers the only solution of the social problem.

Let us grasp the opportunity and lead this sentiment into furrows where it will be effective and productive of lasting good for the American workers. This can be done only by molding this sentiment into an acceptance of I. W. W. principles as the correct expression of world industrial unionism.

Thus it becomes the duty of every I. W. W. local and every I. W. W. member to do everything in their power to build up this paper as well as the others, and especially is this the duty of the German speaking members of the I. W. W.

The paper is new. It needs funds to cover the initial expenses and the current expenses while it is building up a circulation. It needs cash contributions, it needs subscribers and it needs bundle orders. Let us all see to it that this important paper gets started right. After that it will take care of itself.

Address "Der Klassenkampf," 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

## Raising of the Dues

### The Stand of Minneapolis

Minneapolis, Minn., Oct. 6, 1919.

To all Fellow Workers in the I. W. W.:

There has been a referendum ballot issued by the G. E. B. calling for a raise of dues from fifty cents to \$1. The importance of this ballot has been called to our attention by the Paterson Branch of Textile Workers' Industrial Union No. 1,000. The referendum ballot is a proposed amendment to the constitution. In Article 10 of the constitution it clearly states:

"Section I. Proposed amendments to the constitution shall be in the hands of the general secretary-treasurer and printed in the official publication at least two months before the assembling of the convention."

"Section II. All proposed amendments to the constitution and by-laws shall clearly state the article, section and paragraph to which the amendment applies. New articles and sections shall be so stated. Each clause to be amended shall be on a separate sheet."

The twelfth convention of the I. W. W., held in Chicago in May of this year, decided upon a universal dues of 50 cents after considering all phases of the subject. Furthermore, when the referendum on the subject was submitted to the membership the resolution on universal initiation fee and dues was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Now the membership of Minneapolis have given the question of injury to the I. W. W. as a whole (through this action) considerable thought and discussion on the subject led to the adoption of the following motion.

"Moved and seconded that the members of the Minneapolis branch go on record in favor of declaring the referendum (calling for a raise of dues) null and void. Carried."

It was also moved and seconded and carried: "That we send to all branches of the I. W. W. a communication notifying them of our action."

We ask all branches and individual members not only to consider the welfare of their respective unions, but also to remember that the entire organization and its influence with the workers is a big thing.

We believe that it is possible to find a better medium through which to raise funds than increasing the dues.

Please bring this before your branch at its next meeting and let the G. E. B. and our branch know what you have done.

### JOINT RESOLUTION COMMITTEE.

Tom Doyle, Wm. Gorham, Frank H. Bohanon.

Address all communications to

ALBERT ANZ,

14 So. First St., Minneapolis, Minn.

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

Bulletin No. 20.

1001 West Madison St.,  
Chicago, Ill.  
October 10, 1919.

### Fellow Workers:

Owing to the fact that officials of No. 600 are elected for a period of one year only and that the present term is almost up, this office, after consultation with organization committee members has decided to put out a call for nominees for the organization committee members and secretary-treasurer, the organization committee to consist of five members, chairman included. The by-laws of No. 600 state that the candidate for secretary-treasurer must be a member in good standing at least two years, six months of which has been in the R. R. W. I. U. No. 500. All candidates for organization committee must be members in good standing at least one year, six months of which shall have been in the R. R. W. I. U. No. 600. Nominations will close November 10, 1919. Be sure to get your nominee's name and card number, also his address, to this office by that time.

Organization work is increasing very rapidly. Over 250 new members were initiated by No. 600 in September. Many new delegates have been placed on the job in various parts of the country. The sentiment is growing stronger day by day. The time is ripe for action as the railroad workers are asking for information about the O. B. U. form of organization and we need thousands of delegates to help us inform the railroad workers about the O. B. U. Each and every member should make it a point to become a job delegate. The job delegate system is the backbone of the organization, consequently the more job delegates, the stronger the backbone. If you are anxious to get better working conditions and more of the good things of life, call or write for credentials and supplies today, and organize your fellow workers that are working alongside of you, and then you will have a chance to get better working conditions. Do not wait for "George" to do it. If you do, you will never get it, for "George" is waiting for you. We fell short of the 500 members in September, now let us see if we cannot complete that number, over 500, in October. Let each member put his shoulder to the wheel and put No. 600 "over the top."

**MEMBERS TAKE NOTICE!** A stool pigeon who is working in the employ of the railroad company at Little Falls, Minn., is posing as a job delegate and has a red card and organizers' credentials. We cannot get the card number nor the number of the credentials, but he is just using this to get close to the workers so that he can SAP them up—so, be careful when going through Little Falls. Any member who can get the number of his card or the number of his credentials, please send same to this office so that we can advertise same.

We have the bosses worrying here in Bloomington, Ill. They sure are getting desperate for information. They are trying awfully hard to find out something about the strength of the O. B. U. here. They have had several expert investigators on the job trying to get this information for them. These experts have secured a list of names of members in Bloomington and they gave the number as 970. It surprises us that they did not find more than this number, and they will be very much surprised when they find out that this figure is only a small portion of the members in Bloomington. The superintendent of the C. & A. Ry. is running around in circles trying to get information. The more circles he makes, the more muddled he becomes. He is going to keep on running and the workers in Bloomington are determined that he shall run square into a pair of overalls. The greatest trouble we have is to keep supplied with literature. Whenever we get a supply on hand, it seems to be gone before we can turn around. Please double our orders of papers and magazines. All the delegates and members here are working hard to make this an I. W. W. town in a very short time. The only talk you can hear in this town is about the O. B. U. or the I. W. W. Everyone is talking on the subject. The sentiment is awfully strong in all industries here. Keep your eyes on Bloomington, for we will soon have a solid organized town.  
(Signed) Delegate No. X-1001.

This issue of the O. B. U. Monthly Magazine contains two very good articles on the railroad situation by old railroad men. One is headed "The life of a Trackman," written by an old time track man. The other is regarding the situation in the shops and the railroads in general and is written by a railroad machinist. There are also some other very good articles. — How many O. B. U. Monthly Magazines can you use? Send in your order at once, for these go like "hot cakes."

The sentiment is growing strong along the Western Pacific, from Elko to Wendover. Many delegates are needed in this section of the country. Members desiring credentials can get same by writing to this office, giving their name and address, also card number.

Trainmen working out of Whitefish, Montana, unload all but red-card men. They sympathize with the I. W. W., but will not join unless they can see where they will get immediate returns. They do not want to do any of the fighting themselves, because it is easier to let "George" do it. They do not know that by their taking out a card and getting busy that it will help to abolish Child Slavery, cut the working hours and eventually would be the full product of their toil. The "Big Four" is after the O. B. U. hard in and around Whitefish. Delegates

here declare that all members of No. 400, No. 500, No. 573, and other Industrial Unions must have at least one Railroad Magazine Stamp in their book to ride on their trains. All these Delegates are supplied with these stamps. Members desiring to ride their trains can get these stamps from these Delegates.

The Railroad Magazine Stamp which is in the field selling at 50c each is not sold for the purpose of putting out a magazine, but it is used for the purpose of giving away free literature among the railroad men, also to create a fund to be used to place Organizers on the railroads. There has been some misunderstanding about this stamp, but hope this will clear up the misunderstanding. Members can get a supply of them by writing to the main office of No. 600.

Just chartered a Branch of No. 600 in the Twin Cities. Members are working hard trying to build up same, also to get a hall. Have not been able to get a location as yet. Watch the papers and Bulletin for location of same.

The Railroad Workers around Toledo, Ohio, think the O. B. U. is a good idea but are so much afraid of their bosses they will not line up. I guess they expect Industrial Democracy to be served to them on a "silver platter." Some day they will realize that if they are to get anything they will have to go after it themselves and not let "George" do it all.

#### Relief and Defense.

Fred Meyers of Portland, charged with Criminal Syndicalism, date set for trial October 23, 1919. Attorney Pierce will defend the case.

Charles A. Stewart, Yakima, a No. 600 Delegate, was critically injured by a notorious gunman, known as "Boston Whitey." Fellow Worker Stewart asked him if he had a card, also told him not to let any of the Fellow Workers catch him boot-legging, then this character stabbed Fellow Worker Stewart in the right lung. Fellow Worker Stewart is in bad condition. Anyone going thru Yakima can see him at St. Elizabeth's Hospital.

Fifteen members arrested at Scott's Bluff, Nebr., charged with Criminal Syndicalism. No date set for trial as yet.

Jury has been secured for Spokane cases. Same consists of eight women and four men. The first witness for the State has been called. The thirteen defendants admitted they were members of the I. W. W. and believe firmly in its principles. Several hundred men holding educational meetings every night in Spokane. This case is getting quite a bit of publicity there thru this means.

Sixteen men, fourteen of whom are I. W. W.s, were arrested in Los Angeles by secret indictment of the Grand Jury. Attorney Cleary is acting as legal adviser in this case.

M. De Wall has just been released on bond of \$500 for ninety days' time. He has been held in deportation station at New York City for about a year and almost another year in other deportation camps. His health is broken and it will take some time for him to regain his strength. He sends

hearty greetings to all Fellow Workers and expresses a desire to get back on the job again for the O. B. U.

The Wichita case was granted a change of venue from Wichita to Kansas City, Kansas. Date of trial set for December 1, 1919. Judge Pollack states the case must be tried at that time.

#### Job News.

The T. & O. C. Ry. needs men bad at Bucyrus, Ohio. They are working four engine crews there, also an extra road man to do extra work between Toledo and Bucyrus, with a Toledo layover. Section men are needed at Bucyrus. 43 cents per hour, bunk house in fair condition. No cook furnished. This is a good place for a delegate who speaks Bulgarian. Many Bulgarians on the job.

The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul bridge gang at Cedar Falls, Wash., job just started. 52 cents per hour and up, eight hour day. Board \$1.20 per day. The slaves on this job still carry own bedding. Delegates should visit these jobs. Colored extra gangs at Rockdale, Dorris and Noble, Wash. Wages 40 cents per hour, eight hour day, board \$7.50 per week. The board is absolutely rotten and the cars are full of bedbugs and lice. The men on these jobs are shipped from Chicago in carloads and are cheated out of some of their measley little wages by rotten bosses. They are ripe for organization in the O. B. U. but are mostly broke. Quite a few are lining up. This is an exceptionally good place for live delegates of No. 600.

Brakemen wanted on the C. M. and St. P. at Othello and Malden, Wash. Firemen wanted at Glendive, Mont., on the N. P. Ry. Good place for beginners as the Company prefers students. Experienced and student firemen wanted on the Milwaukee Ry. at Aberdeen, S. D. Mostly all the engines are equipped with mechanical stokers and is a good job.

The Pennsylvania Ry. still needs machinists and helpers at Olean, N. Y.

Extra gang located one mile east of Sunnyside, Wash., on the N. P. Ry. The foreman is fair to work under. The old straw boss was a red-card man but on the morning of the 22nd of September he told a worker to go and see the paymaster, so the crew struck and consequently Solidarity won out with a new boss. Thirtyfive red-card men on the job. The grub was also rotten, so at the same time they made a request for better grub and a new cook and all demands were granted. We have decided that we want better things on the job and not in the City, or in the halls and a vote was carried unanimously that we go on record to take a rest on October 8th for the release of all class-war prisoners. So come on, all you No. 600 members, and show where you stand.

(Signed) Delegate No. X-195.

We have just been informed by a member that there was a great number of Railroad men between Billings and Glendive, Mon., on the N. P. Ry. that want to line up in the O. B. U. in the worst way.

Delegates going this way should look the situation over, also members going that way should immediately get supplies and credentials and line up these workers. Remember we want to go well over that 500 mark this month, and we also should have over 500 new delegates this month, so—get busy, Fellow Workers.

(Signed) Card No. 442819.

The following cards are held at the office:

Chas. Mercier, 408529; Frank Hockenbeary, 279-867; Wm. McLean, 280621; John Stewart, 301395; Alfred Dietze, 187; Arthur Smith, 315490; Fred Johnson, 280819; Wm. M. Rickard, 271221.

These cards may be secured by writing to the main office of No. 600 at Chicago. Also card of Fellow Worker Ed. Bailey, initiated by Delegate E-338, a member of No. 600, can secure his card by writing to George Dutton, No. 1731 Market Street, Denver, Colo.

All members are requested to send in facts and news pertaining to their jobs. Job news is what makes a live Bulletin.

Just off the press three designs of stickerettes. One is a new one which deals with present situation on the railroads. Send in your order for a supply of them today. All delegates who can use small bundles of papers each week should write this office and have their names posted on the mailing list. State the number that you can use, also in what language you desire them.

All aboard for the No. 600 special.

Call or write for credentials and supplies today.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours for the Big Drive in No. 600

Geo. Apt,

Ch'man, G. O. C. No. 600

C. N. Ogden,

Sec.-Treas., R. R. W. I.

U. No. 600

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

#### SUMMARY RECEIPTS

184 initiation .....	\$ 368.00
Dues .....	445.50
Relief .....	45.00
Organization .....	10.00
Defense .....	47.50
Railroad Magazine Stamps .....	73.50
Donations, Relief and Defense .....	9.25
Buttons, pins and duplicate cards .....	8.50
Literature, card cases, etc. ....	24.68
Papers and magazines B. O. ....	49.90
Papers and magazines, Subs. ....	3.00
Branch charters .....	10.00
Credit Branch and delegates accounts ..	107.29
Ind. Union No. 8 initiations .....	20.00
Dues .....	5.50
Ind. Union No. 300, Initiations .....	2.00
Dues .....	2.00
Ind. Union No. 400, Initiations .....	82.00
Dues .....	101.50
Ind. Union No. 500, Initiations .....	4.00
Dues .....	14.50
Ind. Union No. 573, Initiation .....	20.00
Dues .....	36.00
Ind. Union No. 800, Initiations .....	14.00
Dues .....	15.00

Total summary receipts .....\$1,518.62

#### SUMMARY EXPENDITURES

10 A. F. of L. cards exchanged .....	\$ 20.00
B. O. Papers and Magazines .....	75.40
Supplies returned by delegates .....	3.00
Wages and Com. to Del. and Br. Sec'ys....	181.55
Mileage .....	10.35
Main office, wages .....	140.00
Rent, heat and light .....	27.00
Stationery and fixtures .....	53.65
Postage, express and wires .....	39.78
Printing .....	53.55
Allowance to I. U. acct. ....	128.75
Charge I. U. ....	5.00
Charge Del. and Br. acc'ts. ....	190.25

\$ 928.28

#### RECAPITULATION

Total receipts, September .....	\$1,518.62
Balance cash on hand, Sept. 1 .....	458.65
Grand total receipts .....	\$1,977.27
Total expenditures .....	928.28

Balance cash on hand, Oct. 1 .....\$1,048.99

With best wishes,

Yours for the O. B. U.,

C. N. OGDEN,

Sec. Treas. No. 600.

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

Bulletin issued by the Gen. Org. Committee,  
October 6, 1919.

Fellow Workers:

The G. O. C. meeting started October 1st. All delegates were present.

Quite a bit of correspondence was sent to us, but as the Lusk Committee raided the office on June 22th, the communications received prior to this date were not available, as they seized them, and so far are still investigating them. They believe that an organization that receives communications from the four corners of the world in regards to organizing the marine workers in the One Big Union should be investigated in the interest of the Master Class.

Received a few communications from Seattle, and if other branches on the west coast had done the same, we would have been helped considerably. What

any committee in the I. W. W. wants is co-operation, and suggestion on any matter certainly does help.

Resolution from Seattle calling for a new referendum, has been seconded by Tacoma, Baltimore and according to the minutes, but not by a communication by New York.

Suggestions therein have been concurred by the G. O. C., and a referendum of the M. T. W. will be gotten out before the G. O. C. adjourns. In the future if the branches of the M. T. W. would send in resolutions of this kind, calling for a referendum vote or convention, send it to the general office, instead of direct to the branches, and let the office send them to the branches of the M. T. W. for seconds, it would avoid a lot of trouble.

We wired credential to the fellow worker that headquarters sent to Europe. He is to represent us at

the Int. Transp. Federation Conference at Amsterdam. We instructed him to live up to the principles of the organization.

The general office of the M. T. W. will get out a weekly news bulletin. All branches are requested to send in part of their minutes that they think will be of interest to the membership of the M. T. W. Also members should send through their branch any matter such as strikes, lockouts, etc. that is good for a bulletin.

There is a little trouble in the New York branch, but we expect to settle it before we adjourn.

In regards to a magazine, we believe it is a question for the entire membership to decide, as it would take quite a sum of money to run it. Also, altho the office has asked for a magazine for two months, we have about enough to fill five pages. What have you done regarding this matter. If you want news, the members must send it in. News must not be manufactured in the office.

Later in the month a detailed report of business done by the branches will be sent out. Also another bulletin will be issued before the G. O. C. adjourns.

We intend to meet with the editors of the Messenger magazine next week in regard to organization amongst the colored race.

Sentiment is good, or can be made good for the M. T. W. in all ports. What is needed is lots of delegates. What about you fellow workers, have you credentials? Get busy now and get there and help organize.

When Transportation stops, Industry ceases.

Elmer Kennards, Chairman,

Wm. Cunningham, Rec. Sec'y.

Members G. O. C., M. T. W.

#### FINANCIAL REPORT OF MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 8, I. W. W. RECEIPTS

3 P. Petaja, Superior .....	\$ 63.00
4 C. W. I. U. No. 573 .....	4.50
Delegate No. 361 .....	35.00
John Hollis, Seattle Branch .....	407.00
5 Delegate No. 179 .....	5.00
P. McClellan, Literature .....	.85
8 P. Petaja, Superior .....	47.30
A. C. Grant .....	1.50
9 T. S. Wetter, Baltimore .....	3.00
W. H. Kopping, Portland .....	65.68
12 J. Hollis, Seattle Branch .....	303.50
P. Petaja, Superior .....	30.00
Delegate No. 291 .....	4.50
13 A. Canata, Don. for Ital. Leaflets .....	14.50
A. C. Grant, Tacoma .....	19.00
W. H. Kopping, Portland .....	91.50
15 L. W. I. U. No. 500 .....	18.00
17 W. D. Jones, Philadelphia District .....	300.00
C. A. Johnson, Seattle Br. ....	138.68
Delegate No. 187 .....	16.33
P. Petaja, Superior .....	50.94
20 A. C. Grant, Tacoma .....	5.00
Delegate 257 .....	27.50
Office Report .....	66.64
Delegate 257 .....	1.50
J. M. Bender, San Pedro .....	8.75
22 T. S. Wetter, Baltimore .....	.50
C. A. Johnson, Seattle Br. ....	124.87

24 Geo. Speed, Acct. supplies 470 .....	5.00
25 Thos. Whitehead, G. R. U. ....	24.75
26 P. Petaja, Superior .....	118.50
27 A. C. Grant, Tacoma .....	8.50
Delegate 257 .....	2.10
Delegate 188 .....	25.00
W. H. Kopping, Portland .....	18.19
30 Office Report .....	28.50
Donations Spanish Paper on List .....	2.15
A. W. I. U. No. 400 .....	1.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800 .....	2.50
T. Humphrey, Seattle Branch .....	105.28
Total receipts .....	\$2,094.01

#### Business Done For Other Unions

L. W. I. U. No. 500 .....	\$ 197.00
C. W. I. U. No. 573 .....	13.50
S. B. I. U. No. 325 .....	23.00
H. R. & D. W. I. U. No. 1100 .....	26.50
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300 .....	3.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600 .....	3.00
M. M. I. U. No. 800 .....	23.00
G. R. U. ....	15.50
A. W. I. U. No. 400 .....	7.50
Total .....	\$ 317.00

#### EXPENDITURES

2 A. B. Dick Co., Supplies .....	\$ 5.35
4 Western Union, Telegram to Chicago .....	.98
American Railway Express .....	.58
5 James Scott, wages .....	20.00
9 Graphic Press, Leaflets .....	31.50
13 American Railway Express .....	.95
Geo. H. Ricker, L. W. I. U. No. 500 pro rata .....	35.50
F. P. Castalara, Italian leaflets .....	25.00
American Railway Express .....	.82
James Scott, wages .....	20.00
American Railway Express .....	2.30
15 Western Union, Telegram to Seattle .....	1.30
16 Am. Railway Express .....	.82
17 Western Union, Tel. to Seattle .....	1.30
Station D., Postage Stamps .....	10.00
18 Bert Lewis, C. W. I. U. No. 573 .....	4.50
Geo. H. Ricker, L. W. I. U. No. 500 .....	9.25
Thos. McKinley, S. B. I. U. 325 .....	12.25
19 Am. Railway Express .....	.66
A. S. Embree, M. W. I. U. 800 .....	8.25
E. Holman, H. & R. W. I. U. 1100 .....	8.75
Thos. Whitehead, G. R. U. ....	3.00
H. L. Varney, M. & M. W. I. U. 300 .....	1.50
C. N. Ogden, R. R. W. I. U. 600 .....	1.50
20 J. Scott, Wages .....	28.00
Wm. Cunningham, Advanced mileage .....	200.00
Western Union, Telegraphing above .....	5.03
P. O. Box rent .....	4.00
22 Am. Railway Exp. ....	1.11
23 Union Stationery Co., office supplies .....	2.95
25 Am. Railway Exp. ....	1.09
26 Western Union, Seattle .....	3.02
27 Am. Railw. Exp. ....	.67
Chas. F. Hubbs Co., wrapping paper .....	1.80
James Scott, wages .....	23.00
Geo. Ricker, L. W. I. U. 500 .....	51.25
30 A. S. Embree, M. M. W. I. U. 800 .....	3.25
Mat. K. Fox, A. W. I. U. 400 .....	3.75
E. Holman, H. R. W. I. U. 1100 .....	4.50
Thos. Whitehead, G. R. U. ....	4.75
Geo. H. Ricker, L. W. I. U. 500 .....	2.50
Thos. McKinley, S. B. I. U. 325 .....	1.75
Bert Lewis, C. W. I. U. 573 .....	2.25
Thos. Whitehead, Assm. Stamps. ....	190.00
Total expenditures .....	\$ 766.73
Total Receipts .....	\$2,094.01
Expenditures .....	766.73
Balance .....	\$1,327.28
On hand Sept. 1 .....	736.81
On hand Oct. 1st .....	\$2,064.09

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

#### Financial Statement for the Month of Sept., 1919

##### Receipts:

646 initiations .....	\$1,292.00
5,385 due stamps .....	2,692.50
General defense stamps .....	35.50
Relief stamps .....	74.00
Organization stamps .....	30.00
Six hour stamps .....	77.00
Buttons, pins and brooches .....	25.00
Card cases .....	22.00
Literature, duplicate cards, etc.....	449.06
Credits on branch sects. and del. accts.....	2,834.29
Contributions to general defense .....	1,056.08
Contributions to strike fund .....	1,015.68
Contributions to bail fund .....	100.00
Contributions to press fund .....	15.00
Personal deposits .....	24.60
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$9,742.71</b>

##### Expenditures:

General headquarters, charter fee.....	\$ 10.00
Literature, bulletins, etc. ....	513.21
Wages to dels. and branch sectys.....	1,755.58

Mileage .....	477.26
Charges on branch sectys. and del. accts.....	2,699.29
Main office salaries .....	528.75
Rent, light and heat .....	203.73
Stationery and fixtures .....	158.04
Postage, express and wires .....	408.37
General defense account .....	826.23
Idaho strike account .....	588.52
Tonopah strike account .....	100.00
Bail fund forwarded .....	50.00
Allowance on craft union cards.....	120.00
Allowance to other industrial unions.....	179.00
Personal deposit account .....	239.94
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$8,857.92</b>

##### Recapitulation:

Total receipts for September, 1919.....	\$ 9,742.71
Cash balance September 1, 1919.....	669.04

<b>Grand total .....</b>	<b>\$10,411.75</b>
Total expenditures for September.....	8,857.92

Cash balance September 30, 1919.....	\$ 1,553.83
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## California District Defense Committee

Bulletin, Oct 3, 1919.

Box 845, Stockton, Calif.

**Los Angeles**—On Oct. 2 sixteen men, fourteen of them members of the I. W. W., were arrested on a secret indictment returned by the Grand Jury of Los Angeles County, charging them with the crime of criminal syndicalism. According to the

police these men were attempting to set up a Soviet republic in southern California, but the Chief of Police George Home states that it is the beginning of a campaign to drive all branches of the radicals out of Los Angeles, including the I. W. W. In other words, the exploiter of labor has probably passed the word that it is his opinion that an attack

should be made upon the radical labor movement with the intention of paving the way for a general attack upon all labor with the object in view of subjecting labor to whatever terms they demand of it. Bail has been set in each case in the sum of \$5,000. Attorneys Cleary and Ryckman are looking out for the interests of the prisoners.

**Sacramento**—John Craig and Charles Hutchinson were arrested in their rooms on the 2nd by the city police. They are being held for investigation. This probably means that the police are busy trying to establish some phoney grounds for a charge of criminal syndicalism. Attorney Lawlor is handling the case.

**Oakland**—On their appearance in Judge Smith's court on Sept. 26, two of the Fellow Workers J. Cairns and Mrs. Cairns, were dismissed. The other four charged with the same crime, criminal syndicalism, were held for trial at a later date.

James McHugo goes to trial Oct. 14.

**San Francisco**—The cases of E. Levin, J. P. Malley, and Thomas McDermott are set for jury trial on Nov. the 18.

**Fresno**—Judge Graham is still holding up the decision in the case of Thomas Hooker. It takes a judge a long time to make up his mind.

**Stockton**—The Stockton indictment is still hanging in the air, through the district attorney is making the assertion that a new indictment will be returned.

**Oakland**—A monster mass meeting will be held in Oakland on Oct. the 8 in the Civic Auditorium as a protest against the Criminal Syndicalism Law. This meeting will be conducted under the auspices of the Metal Trades Council of Alameda County. E. C. Hurley, who opposed the law at the last legislature, and Wm. Cleary, who is opposing the law in the courts, will be the principal speakers.

## SUMMARY

CALIFORNIA DISTRICT DEFENSE COMMITTEE  
Financial Statement for September, 1919.

## Receipts:

Defense lists .....	\$ 249.05
Defense stamps .....	237.00
Donations for defense .....	34.45
Donations for jail comforts .....	.50
Northwest Defense Committee, Seattle .....	1,000.00
General Defense Committee, Chicago .....	500.00
Finish Workers' Club, Seattle .....	300.00
Collection, I. L. A. Hall, Seattle .....	132.51
Refunded by General Defense (A. L. Fox bond) .....	300.00
Loans from Calif. Dist. I. U. No. 573 and No. 400 .....	200.00

Receipts .....

## Expenditures:

J. G. Lawlor, attorney, paid in full to October 1 .....	\$1,000.00
H. McKee, attorney, paid in full, Hooker case .....	50.00
Expenses, legal work .....	14.23
Postage, telegrams, telephones .....	7.85
Mileage .....	27.02
Stationery .....	9.45
Wages .....	108.00
C. F. Bentley, northwest trip, advanced .....	150.00
Payment balance due A. F. Fox bond .....	150.00
Refund loan from Calif. Dist. I. U. No. 573 and No. 400 .....	200.00
Subs papers class war prisoners .....	5.05
Sub Butte Bulletin office .....	2.00
Rent, office .....	13.50
Light, office .....	1.00
Towel supply, office .....	1.25

Expenditures .....

Total receipts .....

Balance for'd from August .....

Grand total .....

Total expenditures .....

Cash on hand October 1 .....

R. V. Lewis, Secy.-Treas.

## Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 300, I. W. W.

## Financial Statement for September

## TOTAL RECEIPTS

427 initiations (14 A. F. of L. cards) ....	\$ 824.50
2,034 dues stamps .....	1,017.00
Assessment stamps, No. 300 .....	38.00
General Org. Stamps .....	1.50
Class War Relief stamps .....	2.50
Cleveland relief .....	27.25
General defense .....	57.00
Buttons .....	5.00
Literature and dup. cards .....	87.65
Donations .....	89.30
Subs. and bundle orders .....	78.25
Hall rent, ref. ....	23.00
Branch and delegate ref. ....	7.60
Charter fees .....	35.50
Dance tickets .....	4.10
Picnic tickets .....	3.50
Cr. Branch Sec'y's and Del. ....	388.08
Total .....	\$2,869.73

## TOTAL EXPENDITURES

Charter fees .....	\$ 80.00
Subscriptions .....	129.24

Wages .....	897.64
Mileage .....	174.92
On account supplies .....	11.25
Donations .....	26.00
Main office, wages .....	158.00
Held on hand by Branch Sec'y's .....	292.64
Rent, light and heat .....	204.44
Stationery and fixts. ....	42.82
Postage and exp. ....	67.63
Printing .....	158.75
Loan to Swedish Hall .....	10.00
Ticket for R. R. U. ....	3.75
Miscellaneous .....	7.75

Total .....

## RECAPITULATION

Total cash receipts .....	\$2,689.73
Total cash expenditures .....	2,332.06

Balance .....

Bro't for'd from Sept. 1, 1919 .....

Total cash on hand October 1 .....

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

### Receipts Mains Office, September.

Personal deposits .....	\$ 100.00
1,958 initiations (1 A. F. of L.) .....	3,916.00
9,990 due stamps .....	4,995.00
Organization stamps .....	575.00
Relief stamps .....	904.00
Gen. Defense stamps .....	1,895.00
A. W. I. U. stamps .....	660.00
General Defense donations .....	1,362.26
Buttons, pins, etc. ....	185.60
Lit. card cases, dup. cards, etc. ....	754.40
O. B. U. sub. ....	.75
Moneys paid on acct. supplies. ....	51.50
Moneys paid on acct. by dels. ....	1,948.94
Freedom certificate .....	10.00
Donations to German paper .....	10.50
Donations to press .....	.25
Mimeograph work .....	12.00
Check returned—J. Doyle. ....	100.00
E. Holman—joint office expenses Aug. ....	23.00
C. N. Ogden—joint office expenses Aug. ....	23.00
Bert Lewis—joint office expenses Aug. ....	40.00
Criminal Syndicalism St. Cal. Dis. ....	36.00
Postage stamps .....	.19
Dues and initiations for other unions:	
G. R. U. ....	7.00
No. 470 .....	3.00
No. 1,100 .....	33.00
No. 325 .....	9.00
No. 300 .....	35.00
No. 500 .....	109.00
No. 600 .....	14.00
No. 600 .....	51.00
No. 800 .....	88.00
No. 573 .....	376.00
No. 100 .....	2.50
Total receipts .....	\$18,336.39

### Disbursements Main Office, September.

Personal deposits .....	\$ 377.10
General Headquarters per capita .....	4,000.00
General Headquarters on acct. supplies. ....	5,648.00
Literature .....	328.52
Commission on literature and papers. ....	48.90
Dels. wages and commission. ....	1,965.09
Mileage .....	269.93
Moneys held on acct. Dels. and Secy. ....	3,564.11
General Defense and Relief. ....	608.56
Main office, salaries .....	545.50
Rent, light, heat, etc. ....	267.78
Stationery and fixtures .....	104.12
Postage, express, wires .....	142.41
On acct. supplies for other unions. ....	275.00
2 A. F. of L. cards .....	4.00
D. N. Simpson, trunk and rope. ....	11.40
Stamps allowed for jails. ....	8.50
Criminal syndicalism st., Calif. dist. ....	36.00
On acct. Arizona strike .....	50.00
On acct Rubber Workers' strike. ....	100.00
Fr. Wollmer, overcharge on report. ....	9.35
J. Gaveel, trip with supplies. ....	14.00
C. E. Smith, Organization Committee. ....	8.00
J. Cronin, organization work. ....	6.00
Duplicate report, J. Elliott—Del. 620F. ....	3.50
Office supplies .....	52.21

Total disbursements .....\$18,447.98

### RECAPITULATION.

Total receipts .....	\$18,336.39
Cash on hand, Set. 1, 1919. ....	12,211.35
Grand total .....	\$30,547.74
Total disbursements .....	18,447.98
Cash on hand, Oct. 1, 1919. ....	\$12,099.76

MATT K. FOX, Secretary-Treasurer.

## Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' Industrial Union No. 1100

### Financial Statement for Month of September, 1919.

#### RECEIPTS

Initiations .....	\$216.00
Due Stamps .....	360.50
Defense Stamps .....	9.50
Organization Stamps .....	2.00
Buttons .....	1.00
Literature .....	11.30
Credit Account of Cash Balance .....	102.76
Donations, Defense .....	69.00
Donations, Organization .....	29.58
	\$801.64

#### EXPENDITURES

General Defense Fund .....	\$ 94.50
General Headquarter Per Capita .....	100.00
General Headquarter, Supplies .....	100.00
Subscriptions .....	6.50
Literature .....	33.80
Printing .....	35.50
Wages and Com., Branch Sec., Organizers and Delegates .....	52.65

Attorney Fee .....	5.00
Mileage .....	21.80
On Hand of Branches and Delegates. ....	50.13
Rent, Light, Heat .....	71.15
Stationery and Fixtures .....	17.65
Postages, Express and Wires .....	40.95
Main Office, Salaries .....	112.00
Business, other Unions, Allowance. ....	111.20
Total .....	\$852.98

### SUMMARY

Total Receipts from Sept. 1-30. ....	\$801.64
Brought Forward from August 31st. ....	196.13
	\$997.07
Total Expenditures from Sept. 1-30. ....	852.98
Cash on Hand Sept. 30 .....	144.09

\$997.07

Yours for One Big Union,

ERNEST HOLMEN,  
Sec'y-Treas. No. 1100.

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

Financial Statement for September, 1919

## SUMMARY

Initiations .....	\$1,711.50
Dues .....	2,993.00
Org. Assessments .....	470.00
C. W. P. Ass'ts .....	623.00
Gen. Def. Ass'ts .....	891.00
Buttons and Pins .....	94.05
Literature .....	424.27
Magazines and papers .....	240.75
Credit cash bal. Br. Sec. and Del. ....	1,983.24
Card cases .....	98.00
Cal. Def. Lists .....	75.55
Gen. Def. Donations .....	20.00
Gen. Def. Lists .....	18.50
Relief donations .....	7.50
R. R. Magazine Ass'ts .....	5.00
Paper subs. ....	4.50
Duplicate cards .....	21.00
Criminal Synd. Ass'ts .....	120.00
Geo. Roeschlau Day Wage Don. ....	6.00
Chairs Sold by Milwaukee Branch .....	10.00
Refund by P. O. Money ord. lost in June. ....	32.00
Refund Print bill, Yakima .....	8.50
Pennants .....	.75
Class War Shields .....	38.50
Donation Industrial Worker .....	2.00
Hall collections and donat. ....	102.20
Payment for lost supplies .....	18.00
Charter for Newark .....	10.00
Charter for Minneapolis .....	10.00
Business for other unions:	
I. U. No. 8, Initiations .....	28.00
Dues .....	37.00
I. U. No. 46, Initiations .....	2.00
Dues .....	1.00
I. U. No. 300, Initiations .....	40.00
Dues .....	32.00
I. U. No. 325, Initiations .....	32.00
Dues .....	34.50
I. U. No. 400, Initiations .....	38.00
Dues .....	111.50
I. U. No. 448, Initiations .....	2.00
Dues .....	7.50
I. U. No. 480, Initiations .....	4.00
Dues .....	1.50
I. U. No. 500, Initiations .....	132.00
Dues .....	271.00
I. U. No. 600, Initiations .....	70.00
Dues .....	65.00
I. U. No. 800, Initiations .....	56.00
Dues .....	96.50
I. U. No. 1000, Initiations .....	4.00
Dues .....	3.00
I. U. No. 1100, Initiations .....	50.00
Dues .....	34.00
I. U. No. 1200, Initiations .....	6.00
Dues .....	.50
I. U. No. 1300, Initiations .....	2.00
Dues .....	.50
G. R. U., Initiations .....	18.00
G. R. U., Dues .....	33.00

## EXPENDITURES

To Headquarters, per Capita .....	\$ 687.30
To Headquarters, supplies .....	109.80
Organization Ass'ts .....	258.00
Gen. Def. Ass'ts .....	681.50
C. W. P. Ass'ts .....	516.00
Literature .....	323.65
Wages Br. Sec'y's, Del's, G. O. C. & T. Del. ....	2,899.09
Mileage .....	387.84
Acct. Supplies other I. U. ....	227.25
Charge Cash Bal. Br. Sec., Dels. and G. O. C. ....	2,080.31

Magazine and papers .....	148.16
Printing Bills .....	297.85
Rent, Light, Heat, etc. ....	427.60
Stationery and fixt. ....	261.67
Postage, wires and express .....	223.88
Cal. Def. Lists .....	75.55
Donat. remitted by Seattle District .....	1.00
Main office, wages .....	329.00
Don. to the Ind. Worker .....	152.50
Don. to Idaho Miners .....	25.00
Criminal Synd. Ass'ts .....	120.00
Don. to Rubber Strikers .....	10.00
Advance to Seattle Leaflet Comm. ....	100.00
Subs. to the papers .....	4.50
Pro Rata expenses, Yakima .....	34.55
Pro Rata expenses, Omaha .....	30.65
New York Def. Com. Class Badges .....	54.00
Jail Stamps .....	7.50
Etching for Def. Cal. Dist. ....	5.20
General strike victims Asst's .....	1.00
Refund dupl. card .....	.50
To Chicago Br. 1 by Br. 2, button.....	.25
Smoker tickets, Detroit .....	1.50
Bank Exchange, Sept. ....	1.25

Total expenditures .....

\$10,483.85

RECAPITULATION

Cash on hand, Sept. 1. ....	\$2,607.74
Total receipts for Sept. ....	11,256.31

Grand total .....	\$13,864.05
Expenditures Sept. ....	10,483.85

Cash on hand, Oct. 1, 1919.....

3,380.20

FAVOR DISCONTINUING OF BULLETIN.

At a meeting of the District Organization Committee of C. W. I. U. No. 573, Seattle District, held in Seattle on Oct. 5th and 6th, the following motion was passed:

"M. & S. that we recommend that bulletins of all Industrial Unions be discontinued and that all news of Industrial Unions be published in the I. W. W. papers, and that the G. E. B. get out a referendum to cover this subject. Carried."

"M. & S. that we instruct Secretary to send a copy of motion pertaining to bulletins to all Industrial Unions and that same be published in all I. W. W. publications. Carried."

Notice to subscribers of Klassen Kampf!

On account of the Lusk Committee Raid of our Headquarters at 27 E. 4th St. of June 21, 1919, we have been unable to trace all our subscribers and Bundle Order Subscriber's addresses. We would appreciate it, if all who have subscribed and been receiving bundle orders of the Klassen Kampf to send all addresses to Klassen Kampf 115 East 10th St., New York.

Frank Edwards, No. 573, credential number 362 in 1918, please communicate immediately with Fred Mann King County, Stockade, Kirkland, Wash. R. F. O. 2—Box 44.

Anybody knowing John McGlynn, kindly tell him, that Frank Conboy is looking for him on important business. Presley Hotel, 665 Weller St., Seattle, Wash. Will be in Yakima Valley in fall.

## Financial Statement of Shipbuilders' Industrial Union No. 325

From Sept. 1 to Oct. 1, 1919

Cash receipts for Sept. ....	\$1,189.50
On hand Sept. 1, 1919 .....	41.60
Total cash receipts .....	\$1,211.17
Total Cash expenditures .....	1,189.50
Cash an hand, Oct. 1, 1919 .....	\$ 21.67

### TOTAL RECEIPTS

172 Initiations (7 craft cards).....	\$ 330.00
1282 Due stamps .....	641.00
76 Gen. Def. Stamps .....	76.00
44 C. W. P. relief stamps .....	44.00
60 Gen. Organ. stamps .....	60.00
181 Crim. Synd. stamps .....	181.00
7 duplicate cards .....	1.75
Buttons .....	132.00
Literature .....	3.50
Donation for defense .....	11.00
G. R. U. Pro-rata expenses .....	59.02
Total .....	\$1,539.27

### TOTAL EXPENDITURES

Headquarters for supplies .....	\$ 308.15
Subscriptions .....	23.25
On acct. cash balance .....	15.75
Donation striking miners Id.....	25.00
Delegates commission .....	81.25
Sec. wages to Sept. 27th .....	96.00
Clerks wages to Sept. 27.....	96.00
Br. Sec. Wages to Sept. 27.....	112.00
Seattle Br. hall expense .....	20.25
Seattle Br. hall expense, Sept.....	50.00
Seattle Br. meeting halls .....	35.00
Office rent and light .....	31.00
Stationery and fixtures .....	44.75
Postage and express .....	30.95
Equity Printing Co. ....	151.50
Sticker and Leaflet Comm. ....	70.00
M. T. W. I. U. No. 8 .....	3.75
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300 .....	8.75
A. W. I. U. No. 400 .....	1.25
L. W. I. U. No. 500 .....	17.50
C. W. I. U. No. 573 .....	3.50
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800 .....	64.85
T. W. I. U. No. 1000 .....	1.25
H. & R. W. I. U. No. 1100 .....	6.25
General Recruiting Union .....	4.25
Calif. Defense Committee .....	181.00
Northwest Dist. Def. ....	76.00
Total .....	\$1,559.20

### RECAPITULATION

Total receipts .....	\$1,539.27
Cash on Hand Sept. 1 .....	41.60
Total gross receipts .....	\$1,580.87
Total gross expenditures .....	1,559.20
Cash an hand Oct. 1 .....	\$ 21.67

### NOTICE TO MEMBERS

Every member who can read and write and understands why he himself has joined the I. W. W., should take out credentials and become a job delegate.

Many of the members seem to think that the I. W. W.'s activity is confined to the I. W. W. halls,

which is a mistaken idea, as the I. W. W. functions on the job much better. And the time is now ripe to make it function in the shipyards, for with the agitation that has been carried on in the shipyards the past few months, we have stirred up some new ideas in the minds of the slaves about capital and labor.

The industrial union idea is growing among the skilled workers as well as the unskilled. These workers are finding that it is impossible to express these ideas within the A. F. of L. and they are looking for an industrial form of organization. So there is an eruption due which will mean a tremendous growth of the I. W. W. This is one opportunity that we cannot take any chances on missing.

So if you want to see the industry you are working in organized it is up to you to do the organizing right on the job where you have the raw material to work on. Even the rankest scissor will agree that the A. F. of L. is a joke as a labor organization. When he does admit it, you should hammer your ideas of unionism home and also be in a position to line him up on the job. If a few more members take out credentials in the shipyards, it will not be long before we will be able to function on the job or off the job at all times.

### RESOLUTIONS FROM MINNEAPOLIS

#### Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W.

Minneapolis, Minn., Sept. 22, 1919.

Fellow Workers:

At a general membership meeting Sunday, Sept. 20, 1919, the following resolution was passed:

Moved and seconded that this body go on record to demand that the G. E. B. submit referendum to the general membership calling for nominations and election of the General Defense Committee and that copies of this resolution be sent to the General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. and to the I. W. W. press. By a raise of hands the motion was carried.  
Francis Smith, 448,665, Chairman,  
Samuel Cole, Del. 30-F, Rec. Secy.

This resolution was also passed at the same meeting as above:

Moved and seconded that this body elect a committee of three to tabulate ballots of the general referendum when vote closes; that General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. publish the tabulation from Minneapolis branch, and to ask that all branches tabulate their vote and that their results be published in the bulletins and I. W. W. papers also.

By a raise of hands the motion was carried.  
Francis F. Smith, 442,005, Chairman,  
Samuel Cole, Del. 90-F, Rec. Secy.

Trusting that you will see that the above resolutions are given publicity through the industrial union bulletins and organization papers, I am,

Yours for the O. B. U.,

(Signed) Robt. Russell, Cor. Secy. Org. Com.

## Industrial Workers of the World --- General Office

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR  
SEPTEMBER, 1919

RECEIPTS	
Due stamps (per capita).....	\$6,436.30
Assessments stamps:	
Gen. org. ....	\$825.00
C. W. relief .....	1,151.00
Gen. def. ....	3,157.50
Organization supplies .....	5,133.50
Literature .....	3,983.10
Office rent from unions .....	98.22
Receipts from publications .....	100.00
Contributions:	5,818.08
Organization fund .....	\$25.15
Gen. def. fund .....	11,176.95
Relief fund .....	1,225.47
Don. for Winnipeg rel....	10.00
	12,437.57
Deposits:	
Recruiting union .....	\$1,019.52
Industrial unions .....	93.75
Workers' Hall .....	294.17
Personal accts. ....	512.45
	1,919.89
D. Kuokka, check to replace two not properly signed .....	251.50
Check from Geo. Speed for No. 470 .....	685.98
Loans on bail .....	5,450.00
Donation for bail .....	246.00
Parcel post, express and postage .....	11.94
Office supplies, 1 ribbon .....	.50
Literature fund .....	47.67
Press fund .....	.50
Reimbursement for check dishonored .....	2.46
	\$42,626.21

DISBURSEMENTS	
Office expenses:	
Wages .....	\$783.50
Sta. and office supplies .....	170.40
Parcel post, exp. and frt. ....	75.20
September rent .....	250.00
Window cleaning .....	5.00
Towel service .....	1.50
Safe, dep. bx., rent 1 yr. ....	6.00
Light .....	18.02
Gas, for print shop, to be refunded .....	17.72
Telegrams .....	7.13
Repairs on adding mch. and typewriter .....	4.39
Lumber and material for shelving .....	67.44
Car fares .....	.49
Exchange on checks .....	3.19
Office fixts, filing cases .....	3.00
	\$1,413.48
Publications:	
Wages, pttg., mailing, etc. ....	5,410.16
Organization supplies .....	4,614.55
Literature: Pamphlets and leaflets .....	1,347.62
Unions on accounts deposits .....	89.42
Personal account .....	5.00
Chicago Propaganda Committee:	
On account deposit .....	343.95
Advance on account organization to be reported on .....	750.00
Dep. on order for buttons and pins .....	400.00
Remit. for No. 470 forwarded .....	688.98
Drawn for petty cash drawer .....	25.00
Adv. to attorneys, not reported on .....	5,304.73
Workers' Hall, Joint Sec. Work:	
Rent .....	\$100.00
Literature and B. O.'s .....	88.50
Light, Aug. and Sept. ....	33.21
Inspection of building .....	2.00
Labor and lumber for repairs and bul't'n b'ds. ....	46.15
Collections turned over to unions .....	38.00
Advance for entertainment, refund. Sept. 16 .....	50.00
	357.86
Organization expenses:	
Wages .....	\$373.00
Mileage .....	182.55
Translation of article .....	3.50
	509.05
General defense:	
Wages, office and speakers .....	\$984.50
Mileage .....	493.27
Expense of meeting as per reports .....	494.57
Literature .....	26.80
Printing and mailing leaflets and pamphlets .....	1,252.06
Postage .....	1,011.50
Office supplies .....	6.75
Telegrams .....	98.73

Fenstermacher reporting .....	11.27
Geo. Ricker, for defense advanced by No. 500 .....	148.88
Remittance for California defense .....	800.00
Sacramento bill of exceptions .....	252.00
Donation for Ellis Island fellow workers for'd. ....	10.50
Donation for Winnipeg fellow workers for'd. ....	10.00
Counsel fees and exp. ....	1,821.33
Relief .....	7,422.16
Bail funds turned over .....	1,045.23
Bail funds returned .....	2,500.00
Check, payment stopped .....	50.00
Recruiting union:	2.46
Wages .....	138.00
Initiations and dues to industrial unions .....	714.25
Supplies .....	2.90
Per capita, supplies and literature charged against deposit acct. ....	672.75
Reimbursement to defense for Industrialist E. O.'s paid by Du-luth defense .....	180.30
Literature, B. O.'s .....	516.15
	2,224.35
Total disbursements .....	\$34,504.00

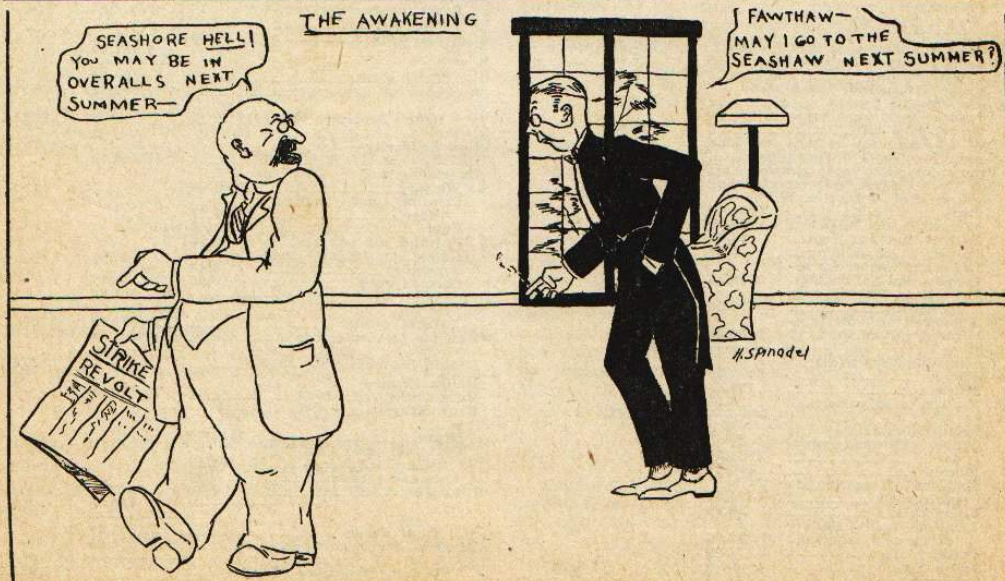
RECAPITULATION	
Cash balance on hand September 1 .....	\$7,386.13
Receipts for September .....	42,626.21
Total .....	\$50,012.34
Disbursements for September .....	34,504.00
Balance on hand September 30 .....	\$15,508.34
Cash in Bank .....	\$15,358.34
Cash in Safe .....	150.00

STATEMENT SHOWING CONDITION OF PUBLICATIONS  
ON SEPTEMBER 30, 1919.

One Big Union Monthly—	
Deficit, Sept. 1, 1919 .....	\$436.95
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	\$176.00
Cuts .....	6.22
Printing and mailing 15,000 No. 8 .....	725.30
Office stationery and supplies .....	76.77
Postage, express and telegram .....	65.61
Reporting Socialist convention .....	10.00
Rebel Worker .....	1.20
	1,061.10
Total debits .....	\$1,498.05
Receipts for September .....	1,165.52
Deficit September 30, 1919 .....	\$332.53
New Solidarity—	
Deficit, Sept. 1, 1919 .....	\$2,609.40
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	\$208.00
Printing and mailing paper .....	643.41
Cuts .....	51.06
Postage and express .....	142.76
Office stationery and supplies .....	6.43
Cartoon work .....	10.00
	1,061.66
Total debits .....	\$3,671.06
Receipts for September .....	1,295.73
Deficit, September 30, 1919 .....	2,375.33
Italian Paper—	
Deficit, Sept. 1, 1919 .....	\$1,726.91
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	\$112.00
Printing and mailing paper .....	432.47
Cuts and supplies .....	2.94
Leaflets .....	1.50
	548.91
Total debits .....	\$2,275.82
Receipts for September .....	854.65
Deficit, September 30, 1919 .....	1,921.17

Nya Varlden (Swedish)—	
Deficit Sept. 1, 1919.....	\$1,382.39
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	\$128.00
Printing and mailing paper .....	290.59
Refund of subs. belong- to the Croatian paper..	13.00
	431.59
Total debits .....	\$1,813.98
Receipts for September.....	241.42
Deficit, September 30, 1919.....	1,572.56
Spanish Paper—	
Deficit, Sept. 1, 1919.....	\$1,397.86
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	\$42.00
Printing and mailing one issue .....	66.03
Cartoon work, A. Wallen .....	8.00
	116.03
Total debits .....	\$1,513.89
Receipts for September.....	108.07
Deficit, September 30, 1919.....	1,405.02
Hungarian Paper—	
Cr. balance May 1.....	\$31.83
Cr. on acct., sub. to Dr. Carasso.....	2.00
Total credit .....	\$33.83
Expenditures, May 1 to Aug. 30, previously reported .....	\$33.46
Expenditures, September, cartoon .....	2.77
	36.23
Net debit, Sept. 30, 1919.....	\$2.40
Transfer of A. Newman acct., debit .....	20.00
Debit Sept. 30, 1919.....	22.40
Bulgarian Paper—	
Credit balance, Sept. 1, 1919.....	\$398.42
Receipts for September.....	246.65
Total credit .....	\$645.07
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	\$112.00
Printing and mailing paper .....	251.32
	363.32
Credit balance Sept. 30, 1919.....	281.75
Jewish Paper—	
Credit balance, Sept. 1.....	\$94.81
Receipts for September .....	23.75
Total credit .....	\$118.56
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	\$49.00

Office supplies and exp..	8.40
Printing and mailing one issue .....	77.00
	134.40
Deficit Sept. 30 .....	15.84
Russian Paper and Magazine—	
Credit balance Sept. 1.....	\$752.82
Receipts for September .....	1,523.99
Total credit .....	\$2,276.81
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	\$212.00
Printing and mailing pa- per and magazine.....	569.54
Printing 6,000 song bks. ....	294.95
Cartoon work by A. Wal- len .....	5.00
Literature, pamphlets ....	50.40
Office supplies .....	18.65
Cuts .....	13.95
	1,164.49
Credit balance Sept. 30, 1919.....	1,112.32
Croatian Paper—	
Credit balance Sept. 1 .....	\$371.20
Receipts for September .....	401.50
Total credits .....	\$772.70
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	\$106.34
Printing and mailing one issue .....	98.86
Cuts and cartoon work..	11.94
Desk .....	42.50
Office supplies .....	20.40
Commission on subs .....	14.72
	294.76
Credit balance Sept. 30, 1919.....	477.94
Polish Paper—	
Debit balance Sept. 1.....	\$152.03
Printing and mailing issue No. 8....	95.10
Total debit .....	\$247.13
Received on acct. for Sept.....	210.10
Debit balance Sept. 30, 1919.....	37.03
German Paper—	
Credit balance Sept. 1.....	\$115.47
Receipts for September .....	306.00
Total credits .....	\$421.47
Expenditures:	
Wages .....	\$2.35
Printing and mailing ....	239.97
Office supplies .....	12.60
	254.92
Credit balance Sept. 30, 1919.....	166.54
Lithuanian Paper—	
Debit balance Sept. 30, on acct. of postage and express.....	2.87



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