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PREAMBLE

of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

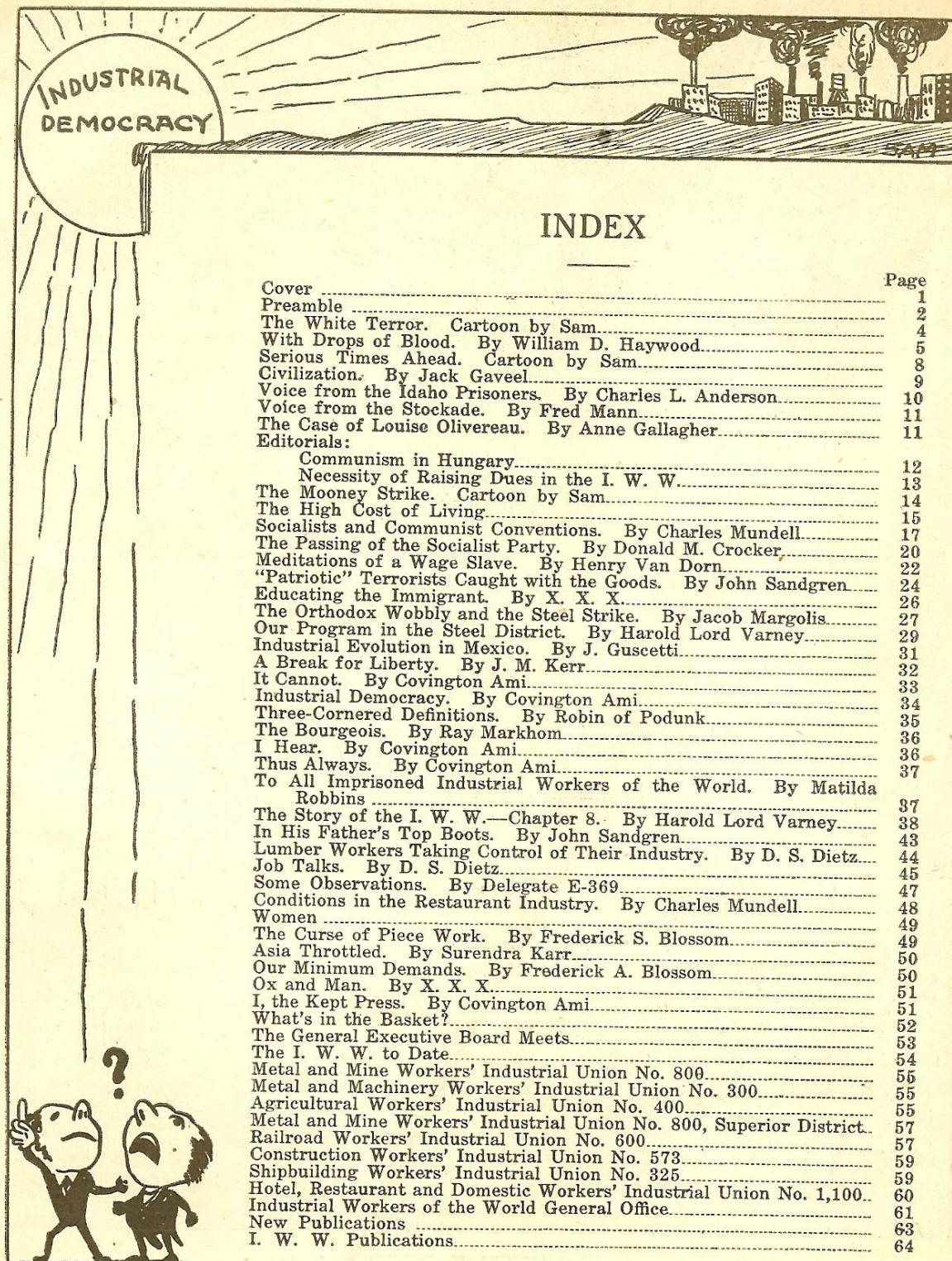
We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the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

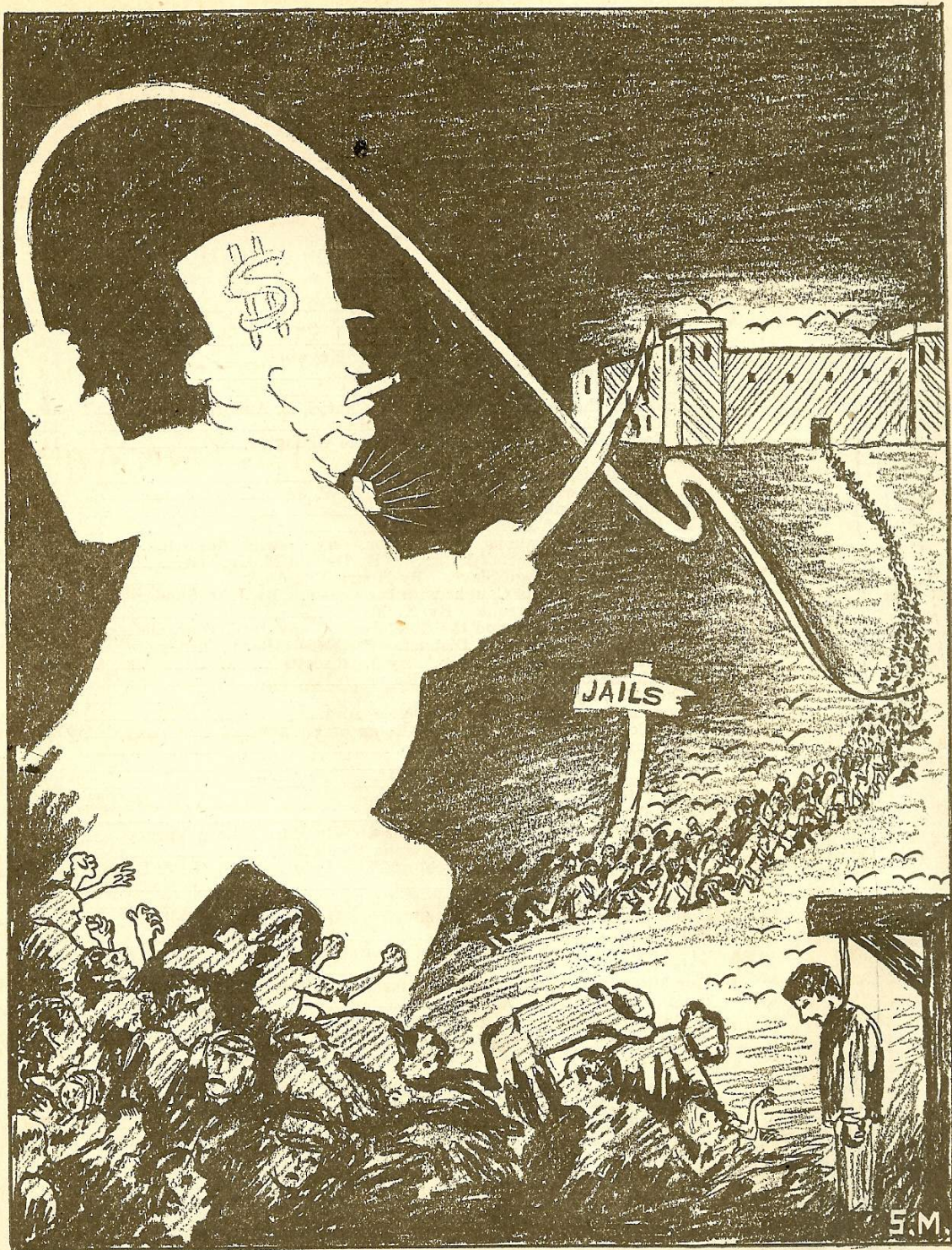
These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one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

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

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



	
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THE WHITE TERROR

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

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With Drops of Blood

The History of

The Industrial Workers of the World Has Been Written

Ever since the I. W. W. was organized in June, 1905, there has been an inquisitorial campaign against its life and growth, inaugurated by the Chambers of Commerce, Profiteers, large and small, and authorities of State and Nation in temporary power.

The Industrial Workers of the World is a Labor organization composed of sober, honest, industrious men and women. Its chief purposes are to abolish the system of wage slavery and to improve the conditions of those who toil.

This organization has been foully dealt with; drops of blood, bitter tears of anguish, frightful heart pains have marked its every step in its onward march of progress.

- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been murdered.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been imprisoned.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been tarred and feathered.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been deported.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been starved.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been beaten.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of citizenship.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been exiled.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have had their homes invaded.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have had their private property and papers seized.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the privilege of defense.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been held in exorbitant bail.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been subjected to involuntary servitude.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been kidnapped.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been subjected to cruel and unusual punishment.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been "framed" and unjustly accused.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been excessively fined.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have died in jail waiting for trial.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been driven insane through persecution.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the use of the mails.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right to organize.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of free speech.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of free press.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of free assembly.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied every privilege guaranteed by the bill of

Rights.

I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the inherent rights proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence.—Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.

I. W. W. Halls, Offices and Headquarters have been raided.

I. W. W. property, books, pamphlets, stamps, literature, office fixtures have been unlawfully seized.

I. W. W. as an organization and its membership have been viciously maligned, vilified and persecuted.

The charges set forth in this indictment would count for nothing unless evidence and proof were at hand to sustain them. A record of every charge can be found in the annals of the press, the court records of the land, the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, and other reports of the Government of the United States.

We charge that **I. W. W. MEMBERS** have been murdered, and mention here a few of those who lost their lives:

Joseph Michalish was shot to death by a mob of so-called citizens.

Michael Hoey was beaten to death in San Diego.

Samuel Chinn was so brutally beaten in the county jail at Spokane, Washington, that he died from the injuries.

Joseph Hillstrom was judicially murdered within the walls of the penitentiary at Salt Lake City, Utah.

Anna Lopeza, a textile worker, was shot and killed, and two other Fellow Workers were murdered during the strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts.

Frank Little, a cripple, was lynched by hirelings of the Copper Trust at Butte, Montana.

John Looney, A. Robinowitz, Hugo Gerlot, Gustav Johnson, Felix Baron, and others were killed by a mob of Lumber Trust gunmen on the Steamer Verona at the dock at Everett, Washington.

J. A. Kelly was arrested and re-arrested at Seattle, Washington; finally died from the effects of the frightful treatment he received.

Four members of the I. W. W. were killed at Grabow, Louisiana, where thirty were shot and seriously wounded.

Two members were dragged to death behind an automobile at Ketchikan, Alaska.

These are but a few of the many who have given up their lives on the altar of Greed, sacrificed in the ages-long struggle for Industrial Freedom.

We charge that many thousands of members of this organization have been imprisoned, on most occasions arrested without warrant and held without charge. To verify this statement it is but necessary that you read the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations wherein is given testimony of those who know of conditions at Lawrence, Massachusetts, where nearly 900 men and women were thrown into prison during the Textile Workers' strike at that place. This same report recites the fact that during the Silk Workers' Strike at Paterson, New Jersey, nearly 1,900 men and women were cast into jail without charge or reason. Throughout the Northwest this kind of outrages has been continually perpetrated against members of the I. W. W. County jails and city prisons in nearly every state in the Union have held or are holding members of this organization.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been tarred and feathered. **Frank H. Meyers** was tarred and feathered by a gang of prominent citizens at North Yakima, Washington. **D. S. Dietz** was tarred and feathered by a mob led by representatives of the Lumber Trust at Sedro Wooley, Washington. **John L. Metzen**, attorney for the Industrial Workers of the World, was tarred and feathered by a mob of citizens at Staunton, Illinois. At Tulsa, Oklahoma, a mob of bankers and other business men gathered up seventeen members of the I. W. W., loaded them in automobiles, carried them out of town to a patch of woods, and there tarred and feathered them and beat them with rope.

We charge that members of the Industrial Workers of the World have been deported, and cite the cases of Bisbee, Arizona, where 1,164 miners, many of them members of the I. W. W., and their friends were dragged out of their homes, loaded into box cars, and sent out of the camp. They were confined for months at Columbus, New Mexico. Many cases are now pending against the copper companies and business men of Bisbee. A large number of members were deported from Jerome, Arizona. Seven members of the I. W. W. were deported from Florence, Oregon, and were lost in the woods for days. **Tom Lassiter**, a crippled news vender, was taken out in the middle of the night and badly beaten by a mob for selling the Liberator and other radical papers.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been cruelly and inhumanly beaten. Hundreds of members can show scars upon their lacerated bodies that were inflicted upon them when they were compelled to run the gauntlet. Joe Marko and many others were treated in this fashion at San Diego, California. James Rowan was nearly beaten to death at Everett, Washington. At Lawrence, Massachusetts, the thugs of the Textile Trust beat men and women who had been forced to go on strike to get a little more of the good things of life. The shock and cruel whipping which they gave one little Italian woman caused her to give premature birth to a child. At Red Lodge, Montana, a member's home was invaded and he was hung by the neck before his screaming wife and children. At Franklin, New Jersey, August 29, 1917, John Avila, an I. W. W., was taken in broad daylight by the chief of police and an auto-load of business men to a woods near the town and there hung to a tree. He was cut down before death ensued and badly beaten. It was five hours before Avila regained consciousness, after which the town "judge" sentenced him to three months at hard labor.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been starved. This statement can be verified by the conditions existing in most any county jail where members of the I. W. W. are confined. A very recent instance is at Topeka, Kansas, where members were compelled to go on a hunger strike as a means of securing food for themselves that would sustain life. Members have been forced to resort to the hunger strike as a means of getting better food in many places. You are requested to read the story written by Winthrop D. Lane, which appears in the September 6, 1919, number of "The Survey." This story is a graphic description of the county jails of Kansas.

We charge that I. W. W. members have been denied the right of citizenship, and in each instance the judge frankly told the applicants that they were refused on account of membership in the Industrial Workers of the World, accompanying this with abusive remarks; members were denied their citizenship papers by Judge Hanford at Seattle, Washington, and Judge Paul O'Boyle at Scranton, Pennsylvania.

We charge that members of this organization have been exiled from the shores of this land for no other reason than because of their membership in the I. W. W., and we give as proof these several instances: William Field, Thomas Rimmer, Donald McPherson, Fritz Holm, Olaf Finnstad, James Cully, Joseph Kennedy, two young Scotch girls—Margaret and Janet Roy; others have been slipped through without a chance of communicating with friends or conferring with counsel.

We charge that the homes of members, which are supposed to be sacred, have been invaded. Their private and personal property has been rummaged and seized. In some cases these invasions have taken place in the night time, without warrant.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been denied the privilege of defense. This being an organization of working men who had little or no funds of their own, it was necessary to appeal to the membership and the working class generally for funds to provide a proper defense. The postal authorities, acting under orders from the Postmaster-General at Washington, D. C., have deliberately prevented the transportation of our appeals, our subscription lists, our newspapers. These have been piled up in the postoffices and we have never received a return of the stamps affixed for mailing.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been held in exorbitant bail. As an instance, there is the case of Pietro Pierre, held in the county jail at Topeka, Kansas. His bond was fixed at \$5,000, and when the amount was tendered it was immediately raised to \$10,000. This is only one of the many instances that could be recorded.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been compelled to submit to involuntary servitude. This does not refer to members confined in the penitentiaries, but would recall the reader's attention to an I. W. W. member under arrest in Birmingham, Alabama, taken from prison and placed on exhibition at a fair given in that city, where admission of 25 cents was charged to see an I. W. W.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been kidnapped. To prove this assertion, William D. Haywood was carried from his home in Denver, Colorado, to Boise, Idaho, where he was held in prison for eighteen months until finally acquitted of the charge of murder preferred against him. Frank Little was taken out of jail at Iron River, Michigan, thrown into an automobile which drove out of town. He was lashed with ropes and left in a storm to die. George Speed and William Thorne were kidnapped at Aberdeen, Washington. Many other similar cases have occurred.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have suffered cruel and unusual punishment. At Fresno, California, where the jail was crowded with members, the fire department was called and a stream of water was turned upon the helpless men.

Their only protection was mattresses and blankets; one man had his eye torn out by the water. This method of treatment was also adopted at San Diego, California.

We charge that members of this organization have been unjustly accused and framed. This statement is proved by the present case against Pietro Pierre and R. J. Bobba, the latter out on bond, the former now confined in Topeka, Kansas, jail. Charles Krieger has been held for months in jail at Tulsa, Oklahoma. He is guiltless of any crime except that of being a member of the I. W. W.

Our literature, our letters and telegrams, pamphlets and songs have been misinterpreted and used against us.

This communication is addressed to the working class of the world. This is a voice from the men and women employed in the industries. It is a demand for a square deal. The outrages that have been imposed upon us will yet be suffered by you if you do not help us in our need. Our fight is your fight. We want you to stand shoulder to shoulder with us. Funds are necessary. Checks and money orders can be made out to the General Defense Committee, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Wm D Haywood.

Secretary.



SERIOUS TIMES AHEAD.

CIVILIZATION

By JACK GAVEEL.

Cook County Jail, Chicago.

Wondrous things I had heard about this much vaunted civilization. Huge machines enabling one puny man to do the task that formerly required the brain and muscle of many. Glittering bands of steel binding the most remote hamlets to the great industrial centres. Marvelous ships, vitalized by steam, like grey hounds fleet of feet racing the oceans linking the continents, negating the influence over human affairs of time and space bringing prosperity and happiness. The omnipotence of God made to look ridiculously pathetic by man, flinging his voice a 1000 miles and then some, living in New York and London at the same time. And over all, like a new crowned divinity, superseding the helpless gods of the savage, science penetrating with its wonderful eyes to the light of the farthest stars, therefrom to read their internal composition and structure, thus establishing the unity of all nature and the universality of Law. Gone now are the hobgoblins and spooks of the mind, great and small, which at one time arbitrarily sent pestilence and disease. Their place has been filled by hygiene and medicine, which laughing to scorn the crude and infantile ways of sorcerer and devil banisher, lay their finger on the treacherous cess pool and pointing at it as the vomiter of disease and death order swamps drained, sewers laid while at the same time, looking for natural causes in hell as well as heaven, they replace prayer by action, having for its end the destruction of deadly germs and bacteria.

Thus dreaming I then went on to compare the animal existence of our prehuman ancestors, who without any of these great inventions and discoveries, were like toy things in the hands of the elements, with all this vast and mountainous improvement of an age of supermen and my head went dizzy with thoughts inspired by the contemplation of this wide and deep chasm separating the modern from the primitive. Did ever genius of fiction create out of its fertile imagination a thing more dazzling, more stupendous. Indeed, I thought, blessed are the people enjoying life in such a civilization for theirs is the mastery over the forces of nature and plenitude of all that which goes to make life worth living.

And yet tonight finds me walking the stone floor of a prison cell, counting my steps automatically. One, two, three — iron bars. Comes a turning around and again three steps then a wall of stone, hard as the granite of primordial rocks. Stone above, below, behind, to the left, the right and in front a barrier of steel. Every second ticking off the flight of time is a particle lost from my body, stolen out of my life, while— oh how fast they speed those precious seconds and speeding measure the velocity at which my life is wasted in a filthy dungeon. I know that every tick of the clock might have been brought happiness of life might have been an architect for the good and the beautiful.

I think of the other cells surrounding me on all sides and I know that in every one of them lies a wretch. Blasted lives, sacrificed on the altar of mammon. Fathers and mothers these once-men had and wives and babes too. But that was in the long ago. Who cares for them now? Forgotten already without having to wait till the time when the worms shall gnaw their bones.

And this then is civilization? A society founded on bars, bolts and foul dungeons constituting a running sore on the fair face of the land. Hell holes where are yearly sent unnumberless victims of a brutal and ignorant class rule. A society where babes die faster than flies on account of economic helplessness of parents. A society that presents the spectacle of an industrial battlefield where die more workers than ever did soldiers in war, where the life of the toiler is of far shorter duration, on account of malnutrition, scant shelter, unsanitary conditions and resulting in greater liability to disease and death, than the mollycoddled lives of parasites who never did a day's useful work in their time.

Of what use, I thought, your science, art and literature, your wealth and great productivity to the child slaves in the mills of the South or to the slum dwellers of New York City.

And I laughed aloud in the still blackness of my cell, a harsh laugh at the mockery of it all. Said I: "Your boasted civilization is a sham, a fraud, an empty catch word, wherewith to hold crouching in the filth and slime of the gutter the restless, surging millions of the unwashed and unkempt. For see, already are stretching forth ominously, covetously disfigured hands stained with the grime of toil towards your gaily lit palaces where lie insecure your stolen millions. Already can you hear the deep rumblings of an earthquake wide in scope as the world, sending a tremor thru those foundations on which you had ignorantly imagined yourself perched snugly, permanently.

All over the world organization becomes the shibboleth among the toilers and such organization never knew history its like. Compared to it that which you now call your organization looks puny indeed because by it your class as such will be swept out of existence, blotted from off the fair face of the earth. We cannot do it you say. Oh, but that's just the great mistake your class has always made, you are so wrapped up in the sordid dehumanizing pursuit of profits that think clearly ye cannot, far less understand. Everything you measure with the yard stick of profits.

But know well that our class has behind it the accumulated experience of the ages and that it speaks with the stern voice of historic necessity, when it proclaims a government of industrial workers to be the next logical step in humanity's march to Freedom.

Man from the earliest times has been a tool using

animal. His tools he has continuously improved, thereby reproducing himself. For the evolution of the tool has at all times determined the evolution of society, its various historical stages. Today man's tools are of giant proportion necessitating social cooperation in production. In sharp antagonism to this social production stands the private ownership in the means of life. It is with this ownership and the legal and political institutions adapted thereto that the modern forces of production are colliding. As the antagonism increases so must the momentum and swing of the forces aligning themselves with progress (even now the structure of the new society is forming within the shell of the old) till there comes a moment when evolution has run its course and resting looks to revolution to close up the cycle.

The forces of production, no longer to be ignored, break their fetters which tied them and made their further development impossible. History speaks. Capitalist society collapses and on its ruins arises the Industrial Democracy. For the first time in history men becomes free. From now on he consciously shapes his own destiny, because now he understands and controls the social forces. No longer is his whole mind occupied with the problem of how to make a living. Progress becomes universal, the common privilege of all the members of society. Civilization at last becomes a fact. The working class steps into its heritage, the accumulated treasures of the ages, piled up by labor and now at last "The world has been made safe for Democracy."

A Voice from the Idaho Prisons

As the Fellow Workers will remember, a great number of our Fellow Workers were given heavy sentences in the various Idaho prisons during the last two years. Of course, for no other reason than that they were true champions of the principles for which the I. W. W. stands. Little has been heard from them of late, due to the great number of prison affairs we have to deal with. For that reason, the Fellow Workers will probably be glad to hear from one of them who is serving a ten-year sentence in Boise, Idaho. This is the letter:

Fellow Worker—I have read a few numbers of the Swedish I. W. W. paper, the New World, and the One Big Union Monthly, which a Fellow Worker sent me. But as I have had no opportunity to get more of them and as I wish to keep posted on what takes place in the labor movement, I ask you to send me those publications. I am not now in a position to pay for them. The reason is that the director of the prisons of Idaho doesn't allow me to take out money on my account to subscribe for radical papers. No radical papers are allowed to come within the walls of the prison, but have an opportunity to receive papers now, being that I have been moved from the prison to the Soldiers' Home. Forward to that place and my letters and papers are not confiscated here.

I suppose you remember the reason why and the circumstances under which I and fifteen other Fellow Workers, all members of the I. W. W., are now serving prison terms in Idaho, so will not go over this matter again, but only give you a few lines about prison life.

The first five months and a half we were shut up in the cell house and were not allowed the "liberties" given the other prisoners to be out in the prison yard. During this time we also were made acquainted with the bread and water cure as a punishment for our request for better food.

At the beginning of the year a new group of politicians took charge of the State government and in the prisons there was also a complete change of men from director down to guards. Improvements of all kinds had been promised, but instead

more stringent rules were put in force. About the end of March, twelve of the Fellow Workers were sent to a farm belonging to the prison, but the food was bad and when the Fellow Workers let the honorable gentlemen know this they were immediately taken back to prison and seven of them were locked into the black hole on bread and water for four days. Four of the Fellow Workers were thereafter sent back to the farm and remained there for a time, but were again taken back to prison. After a short time in prison the above-mentioned four were again taken to the farm but this time only for a week. At the same time, myself and Fellow Worker Charles Carlson were taken to prison from this place, but after two weeks in prison we were sent back here again. Only we two are now outside the prison. Three of the Fellow Workers took the opportunity to leave without permission, being tired of prison life. One of them was captured the following day and is now serving a fifteen days' term in the black hole on bread and water. The other two have not been heard from yet, and I wish them a happy journey. Life in prison for any extended time is tiresome and the food is bad and insufficient. We get just about enough to exist. But in spite of all unpleasantness, we are all in fairly good health and are all hoping that the working class in the near future shall wake up and overthrow the oppressors of the people.

The question was put to me and to my Fellow Workers here if we would abjure our principles that we would be given our freedom at an early date, and not have to serve the full ten-year term. But wish to say that I would rather rot to death in prison than abjure my principles.

I see from all reports that our organization is making splendid progress in spite of all attempts to exterminate it, and I am confident that it will soon be strong enough to resist all attacks from the shameless upper class.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

Charles L. Anderson,
Soldier's Home Hospital, Boise, Idaho."

A Voice from the Stockade

The capitalist class is on the verge of disappearance and they realize the fact more so than the workers. They are employing every agency available to block the wheels of evolution. The capitalist class is confronted with one principal question: What is the next step of the working class of the world? Every capitalist organization on the face of the globe, commercial clubs, chambers of commerce, etc., are discussing ways and means to block the coming change, altho they realize that all their efforts will not stop the wheel of progress. The lying kept press is trying with all its power to influence the workers and are trying to make the workers believe that the capitalists are our friends, but the workers are beginning to realize that they are duped and bullied by the different agencies of capitalism. Yet in this "Land of the free and the home of the brave," men and women are being clubbed, lynched and put in prisons for expressing the true meaning of Democracy. Look at your fellow workers in Russia and Germany. Russia with her populace consid-

ered uncivilized, Germany with her so-called barbarian civilization have made a revolution and demand capitalism should go into the discard, and the masses man the wheels of industry.

Don't be discouraged; Nature is more perfect than we are, yet she produces many a crooked tree and blights many a harvest. Are you going to live idly while thousands of men and women are being jailed for speaking the truth? Are you going to condone this grave injustice and let your fellow workers rot in the Bastiles of Capitalism? Organize like the capitalist class does; They believe in the slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," and they are acting on that belief.

Our enemies are of more service to us than our friends, for they point out the wrongs which we may remedy.

FRED MANN, Card No. 251734.

King County Stockade,

Kirkland, Wash., R. 2. Box 44.

The Case of Louise Oliverreau

By ANNE GALLAGHER.

It is but natural, with hundreds of Class War prisoners in jails thruout the country, that some cases are not given the publicity they deserve. This has been the fate of Miss Louise Oliverreau, of Seattle, who is now serving a ten year sentence in the State Penitentiary at Canon City, Colo.

Miss Oliverreau's crime was the usual one, that of standing for the interests of her class against those of the masters. At the time of her arrest, in the fall of 1917. Miss Oliverreau was employed as a stenographer in the office of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, No. 500, I. W. W., and that was, no doubt, a determining factor in deciding her guilt.

While it is unfortunate, perhaps, for the purposes of this article, that we cannot thoroughly sympathize with Miss Oliverreau's purely individualistic position, yet the efforts of the prosecution to implicate the I. W. W., in Miss Oliverreau's "crime", showed clearly the animus of the Court, and makes it incumbent upon us to consider her, in spirit at least, one of our prisoners.

Miss Oliverreau thought that war was a bad thing, and she believed that if enough persons thought as she did, there would be no more wars. On that supposition, she wrote and had printed and circulated at her own expense, letters urging that those who were about to engage in the project of war, seriously consider what it is. She did not advocate draft resistance, or violence in any way, but merely made an appeal to the individual conscience of the prospective soldier. That was her crime.

However, as was pointed out at her trial, these printed letters circulated freely thru the mails until, in a raid on the I. W. W. headquarters in Seattle, some of them were discovered on the premises. Miss

Oliverreau was then arrested and those who took her into custody made strenuous efforts to prove that those letters were circulated at the instigation of the I. W. W., and that the expense of printing and circulating them was met with "German Money," and it was no doubt the chagrin of the prosecution at being unable to prove their contention that lead to the severity of Miss Oliverreau's sentence.

She was brought to trial in November, 1917 and on Nov. 30th was pronounced guilty by a jury which decided the case in 30 minutes. On Dec. 3rd she was sentenced to 45 years, on six counts, sentences to run concurrently. Ten years is the time she is to spend in the penitentiary for the crime of asking her fellow men to consider seriously the proposition of taking human life for the profits of the master class.

Miss Oliverreau conducted her own defense and in a masterly address to the jury, boldly declaring herself an Anarchist, proclaimed her belief in the right of the individual to consult his own conscience about his acts, and to criticize the laws he is called upon to obey.

Her position, viewed from the standpoint of the Class Conscious Mass Actionist, is not without its logicality, for after all, it is the extreme individualism of capital society that is responsible for so much of its injustice. We elect men to public office because we approve of their private lives, not on account of their fitness for the office, or because of their ability to serve the community's best interests; we tolerate, as a people, the methods of big business, because we believe in the right of the individual to follow the dictates of his own unsrupulousness, and rather admire the conscienceless brute who can trample

his fellow men under foot, in the interest of profit, provided he "gets away with it;" in other words, it is our lack of social sense, that makes many of the lesser evils of our present day society possible. And when we come to examine the evils that are fundamental we find them necessary corollary of our system of production, not a matter of individual wrong doing. The real conflict, then, is between classes, not individuals, so an appeal to the individual conscience to right social wrongs, is based on a misconception of society.

It was not, however, the illogic of Miss Olivereau's position that caused her to be pronounced guilty. She was judged and condemned before she came to trial, and the court proceedings merely emphasized that fact. The judge and prosecutor frustrated all of Miss Olivereau's attempts to have the case tried on the broad basis of whether in a democracy, the people have not the right to criticize the laws they are supposed to have made. She pointed out that the people had had no voice in the making of war, and altho her utterances on the subject were not as radical, perhaps, as those of many of our respectable citizens, a few Senators, Representatives, and some liberal minded persons, the jury was instructed to consider these fundamental questions only in relation to the prisoner. The question they were to decide was not, whether the law was right or wrong, but whether Miss Olivereau, by criticizing the law, had committed a crime.

When a small group of persons in a community

have the power, not only to make its laws, but also the power to pass laws forbidding criticism of them, then the individual who dares to protest has little to hope for, when being tried by the emissaries of the same powerful group.

Miss Olivereau's heroic stand in taking upon herself the full responsibility for the writing and circulating of her letters, her courage in acting upon her beliefs, and her able defense of her principles and ideals, have won her the admiration of all who are familiar with the case. She made no plea for herself, but stood firmly on what she conceived to be her rights, and accepted her punishment without fear or the slightest hint of recantation.

Miss Olivereau is an unassuming young woman, ties in labor circles, but she always did her work fairly well known on the Pacific Coast for her activity, evincing no desire for the spectacular, and it was quite characteristic of her that she went about propagating her ideas in the quiet, unassuming way she did, without thought of the consequences, and but for the accident of having been identified with the I. W. W. would perhaps never have come within range of the attention of our Courts and court officials.

It is only fair, therefore, that in protesting against the imprisonment of men and women whose crime is that they are active members of the working class, Miss Louise Olivereau should be counted with our Class War Prisoners.

Communism in Hungary

The daily press is telling us that the Communist government in Hungary with Bela Kun at its head has been compelled to resign, that the new Socialist government formed by representatives of trade unions took over the responsibility and that finally the reactionaries have returned to power.

And according to the bourgeois press this would seal the fate of communism. This is supposed to prove how untenable it is in theory and how impractical and impossible it is in practice. The natural conclusion to draw would be that in the end private ownership is the best and that it is the only system of ownership fit to serve as a foundation of society, etc.

The fact of the matter is that the fall of the Bela Kun government proves nothing either for or against Communism.

The Bela Kun government was Communist only in name. Not as if the members of this government and the party standing behind it could rightly be accused of sailing under a false flag. Unquestionably their intention was, if they had been left in peace, to gradually substitute for private ownership and control of

property, ownership and control by the people. And there is no reason to believe that they would have succeeded worse or better than the Bolsheviks of Russia. If the Allied powers had not attacked them and laid obstacles in their way they would in all probability have established a firm dictatorship and gradually educated and organized the people to the level of industrial organization by means of which they would have taken over and carried on production. In a few years Communism might have been a reality in Hungary.

As it was, Communism in Hungary limited itself to a few proclamations on paper and a few experimental compulsory measures, more or less at random, measures which under the circumstances worked for dissolution and weakness, rather than for order and strength. They no doubt did the best they could but what was to be done? Only that government can survive which has in its power to satisfy the people's needs of food, clothing and shelter and the other necessities of life. During the prevailing state of war the so-called Communist government could not do this. For this reason they

lost the support of the starving masses. It was found more practical to go back to the old, at least in part. But thereby the impracticability of Communism has by no means been demonstrated. What has been demonstrated is merely the good old rule that one shouldn't 'try to swap horses while crossing the stream.' After thus having given the Hungarian Socialists all the credit justly due them for their good intentions we will again throw in their face the reproach which we have so frequently before thrown in the face of not only the Hungarian Socialists but the Russian Bolsheviks and political Socialists generally thruout the world that they have in the past sacrificed the welfare of the people on the altar of political success. We accuse them again of having during the last ten years knowingly and intentionally ignored and neglected the industrial organization, aye, of even having with ill will persecuted and resisted the syndicalists and I.W.W. movements in their attempts at spreading the knowledge of industrial organization as a mean of taking over and carrying on production.

They always came with the argument that we must first of all capture the political power and take possession of the machinery of the

State and the offices. Their hunger for power and offices lead them and us all to destruction. If the European political Socialists, ten years ago, had thrown the weight of their educational activities on the industrial field instead of on the political, they would by this time have had the skeleton of the Communist Society so nearly ready that the superstructure could easily have been added in time of revolution. Then the new order of society would have been saved and communism would have been about to become a reality.

The fate of the Hungarian Communists is a serious and instructive warning to the political Socialists of every country. To immediately drop everything and throw themselves, with their whole force, into the work of lining up the masses industrially before a general world catastrophe is over us. It is no longer enough to "endorse" Industrial Unionism making it a plank in the political platform, in order to gain votes. The Socialists must live as they teach. They must hurriedly enter their various industrial unions and form new ones where they do not exist.

Any revolutionary administration which cannot continue production without interruption, or nearly so, is doomed from the start.

The Necessity of Raising the Dues in the I. W. W.

The General Executive Board of the I. W. W. now in session, has adopted a resolution calling for a referendum on the question of raising the monthly dues in the I. W. W. from 50 cents to \$1.00. This should be no surprise to the membership. The amount of 50 cents was considered a just and reasonable and sufficient sum when the I. W. W. was started some fourteen years ago. Everything has advanced since then, the cost of living, the cost of material, wages and expenses. The 50 cents dues no longer give a revenue sufficient for the upkeep of the organization as it should be kept up. All supplies handled by the general headquarters have gone up to about twice the price of earlier days. The wages paid to the permanent employees of the organization in the earlier days are in no way sufficient now. The expenses of traveling organizers, delegates and agents are also considerable increased. Altogether these increased expenses keep the treasury of the organization depleted, leaving no funds for the all important work of carrying on the propaganda, education and organization work, which is our object. There are

innumerable calls for organizers to be sent to the various parts of the country but seldom the treasury of the organization is in such a state that there requests can be complied with, however necessary it might be to do so.

The necessity of raising the dues from 50 cents to \$1.00 will probably not be disputed by anybody.

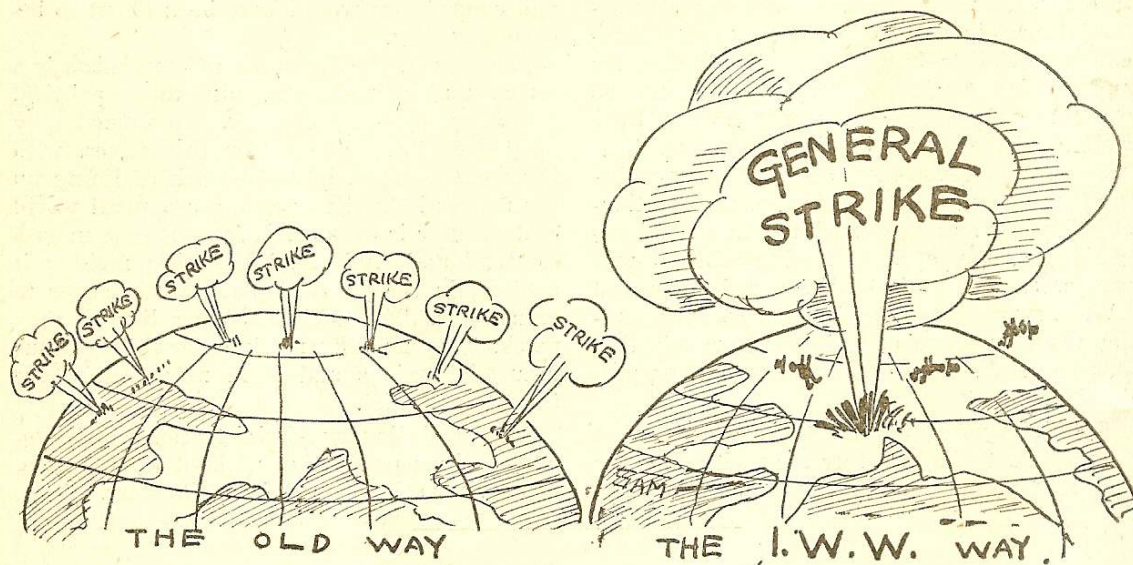
Another side of the question is, can the membership stand it? And will it not deter new members from joining? In regard to the ability of the membership to stand this increase it is hardly worth while discussing it seriously. What is 50 cents, more or less, a month to the man with an ideal when that 50 cents is needed in the service of that ideal? We are sure the majority of the members would cheerfully set the dues at two or three dollars a month if it were not for their fear of the deterring effect it might have on outsiders.

As to the workers outside the organization who are about to join us, the majority who do so are not doing it because our low dues are a special inducement to them, but because they believe in the One Big Union. The same argu-

ment in favor of an increase to \$1.00 a month dues which holds good for yourself as an old member of the organization, holds good for them also, seen as individuals.

But even if the increase to \$1.00 should have the tendency to act as a deterrent, what's to be done about it? As long as it is an irrefutable and unalterable fact that the organization cannot get along and prosper as it should under

lower dues, we have got to raise them irrespective of consequences, that's all. For every dozen that is deterred by the additional 50 cents we will gain a hundred by getting the resources that are necessary in order to produce the literature and send out organizers and speakers. By all means let us have the \$1.00 a month due stamp. It is the safest and the best investment a member of the I. W. W. could make.



THE MOONEY DEFENSE ORGANIZATION HAS ARRANGED FOR A GENERAL STRIKE OF 24 HOURS ON OCT. 8, 1919. IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY IT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO MAKE THIS GENERAL STRIKE A DEMONSTRATION FOR THE LIBERATION OF ALL CLASS WAR PRISONERS.

Paterson Textile Workers in New Quarters

Paterson Branch, Textile Workers' Industrial Union No. 1,000 of the I. W. W. has moved to 20 Van Houten Street.

This forced removal is but another instance of systematic persecution of the militant working class organizations, which is coming to be a regular part of capitalism's campaign to hang on to its "right" to get rich off the toil of the workers. For months past, religious and "patriotic" organizations brought pressure to bear on the owner of the former headquarters to get him to turn the "Wobblies" out in the street. He protested vigorously, declaring that they were his best tenants, that they attended to their own business, paid their rent promptly and created no disturbance.

Finally, the business interests, seeing that they could not gain their ends by round-about methods, through their obedient tools in the religious and

patriotic bodies, came out into the open — more or less — and through the Chamber of Commerce, threatened the landlord that, if he did not kick the I. W. W. out, the Chamber of Commerce would start a campaign in the local papers against his two theater enterprises. Before this threat, he capitulated and gave the I. W. W. notice to vacate.

Much trouble was experienced in finding new quarters, on account of the general prejudice against the organization in the minds of the scissorbill public. Slides were even shown in the moving picture houses stating that the I. W. W. could not find a hall to rent — this being intended to spread the black-list idea further. In spite of this campaign, a new office was secured that is as commodious and as centrally located as the former quarters.

The above is now the address of our paper "The Textile Worker".

F. A. Blossom.

The High Cost of Living

"Produce more," says President Wilson, to the workers, "That will lower the cost of living."

That reminds us of the old method of taking possession of a country: "Breed, breed more, and you will crowd the others off the board." In other words, the President, wants us to stop striking and to work harder. If we keep that up for a while, he thinks that it would force the cost of living down. When the groceryman or the shoe dealer increases the prices 25 per cent we shouldn't go on strike for 25 per cent increase, in order to buy the necessary food and shoes, but we should stay on the job for the low pay that makes it impossible for us to live, at the same time, increasing the intensity of our labor with about 25 per cent, on the ground that the increased production means an increased supply of goods and an increased supply would mean lower prices. When the dealers increase the price by 100 per cent we would have to take in another hole in our belt and double the intensity of our labor again and so on.

The reasoning is of course based on the musty old law which says that the price of a commodity is determined first by its cost of production, and second by the supply and demand.

It is easy to see in whose behalf the President is speaking. He wants to roll the responsibility for the high prices largely on our shoulders, being that we increase the cost of production while demanding and getting higher wages, and on our poor shoulders he wants to place the terrible burden of lowering the prices thru a self-sacrificing mass production of goods which would, in the long run, force the prices down.

Now, everybody knows that we the workers have not got a word to say about the quantity of goods to be produced. That is all in the hands of those who own the fields and the factories and the mills and those owners would resent and repel any attempt on our part to determine the quantity of goods to be produced. If we tried to increase production in the shop by doubling the intensity of our work the only result would be that the employer would discharge one half of the labor force when he had enough on hand to fill his orders, or that he produces so much in stock that he becomes entirely independent of his workers and lowers their pay, or discharges them. Of course, this would have a tendency to lower the prices but it would hardly do the workers

any good because by that time they would either be worked to death or starved to death.

If we should stop striking for higher wages when it is impossible for us to make both ends meet, what would happen? If we don't make enough to pay the rent each month, the landlord would throw us out. If we pay the rent but don't make enough to buy food and clothing, in sufficient quantities, we will get sick and die. Neither course is one that the workers will voluntarily follow as both are disastrous. Strikes do not come about from an incomplete understanding of economic laws or from a hoggish desire to get rich quick. They come because the workers are not earning enough to live. To advise us, like Wilson does, to quit striking is the same as begging us to sacrifice ourselves and our children in order that the employers' profit shall not go down.

The President reasons like any capitalist or petty bourgeois. First he sets aside so much for profit, more rather than less, and then the rest will have to take care of itself. If anybody were to advance the idea that the capitalists should be compelled to not only forego their profit but to sacrifice part of their wealth for the welfare of all humanity in this time of dire stress, it would be considered revolutionary and a punishable offense. Of course, we know the only right way to settle this question and that is to entirely stop producing for profit and produce only for use, at the same time putting all the idle and useless parasites to work. This will solve the whole question as quick as lightning. But against such a solution stands on the one hand the machine guns and the bayonets controlled by the parasites, and on the other hand the ignorance and stubbornness of the working class which has not yet discovered the meaning of industrial organization.

That President Wilson does not implicitly believe in the law of supply and demand is proven by the fact that he advises a general attack on the hoarders of food stuff and other profiteers. In other words, he realizes that this "eternal" law of political economy is very much like the perpetual motion machines that cranks invent, machine which require a push and a shove every now and again to keep them from stopping. The government goes for the profiteers and the hoarders like a herd of roaring lions but we who are not chickens just out of the shell, do not get scared because we know by experience that it will stop with a roar. Some petty commercial adventurers may be rounded up and crushed out of competition

with the big profiteers, but the government is not going to scare these latter, because the big profiteers are the ones who are running the government. In fact, they are the ones who do the roaring in order to mislead the people.

The dumping of a few thousand tons over-aged canned goods in the market ostentatiously for the purpose of giving a shove to the law of supply and demand is nothing but a strategic move, political and financial. A good price is paid for the goods and the political party in power gets what popularity it can for its "courageous attack" on the dragon Mammon.

No, the prices are settled upon irrespective of the law of supply and demand and irrespective of the cost of production at the meetings of the board of directors, the societies of wholesalers and the societies of retailers. They are a government of their own, secret and invisible, over and above the constitutional governments and over and above the people. Competition has been abolished and can never again be resuscitated, by any legal enactments, even if they were sincere. Prices are determined thru a conspiracy of the owners of the productive and commercial machinery of the country. Like the knights on the Rhine in the Middle Ages absolutely controlled travel from their robbers' nests on the banks of the river, so these conspirators absolutely control the lives of the people and the government itself.

There is no relief to expect from the high cost of living except in the possibility that the

conspirators will fear to go any further, for extortions of this kind have at all times and in all countries invariably ended in insurrections. They will carefully keep on charging all that the market will bear. They will carefully feel how deep the people can stand cold steel, and there they will try to keep the prices.

Gloomy would be the outlook if we had no other choice than paying this tremendous toll to the modern robber knights or resorting to insurrection. The high cost of living will ultimately drive us to madness, and madness will bring about insurrection. But insurrection is about the worst thing the people could resort to. Then first Hell's fury breaks loose. Any level of prices is to be preferred to the chaos, the bloodshed, the suffering of insurrection.

Fortunately the workers have found the solution, which will save us from both horns of this dilemma. By organizing the workers industrially and thus enabling them to themselves take over production we will not only be able to overthrow the conspiracy of the robber knights but will be able to avoid the terrors of insurrection.

The high cost of living is not a question that can be solved independently of other questions within the frame work of Capitalist society. It merges into the great social question of economic revolution.

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY AND ITS BUSINESS

We have during the last months made strenuous efforts to straighten out the tangle in our accounts, largely caused by interference with our shipments by the Post Office. This interference is illegal, and part of it perhaps to be classed as sabotage practised by individuals as part of the "patriotic" campaign carried on by certain busybodies controlled by the enemies of the I. W. W. We are meeting with quite some success and have succeeded in bringing down the deficit, as will appear in the Headquarters report.

The G. E. B. at its recent session adopted a resolution calling for a settlement of all bundle order accounts in full, monthly, or discontinuance of the shipments as an alternative. By living up to this rule strictly, you will keep the magazine going. Failure to do so will hamper us.

At the present time we are carrying on an extended campaign for subscriptions by sending out circulars by the thousands. Help us to increase our circulation by getting new subscribers. Agents receipt books will be sent to members on application.

There is no better way of working for the One Big Union than spreading our literature.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

Until the resources of the One Big Union Monthly will warrant a considerable increase in the editorial staff of the magazine, the magazine will largely be such as the contributors make it. If you do not find what you are looking for, write to us and say so, and we will see what we can do about it. Contributors should keep in mind that we do not have in view to make it a literary magazine, but an industrial union magazine. The times are too serious for reading stories, however good they may be. What is needed is practical, useful information tending to help solve the question of how to enable the people to carry on production when the gradual breakdown of capitalism, now daily taking place, is hastened into an actual collapse, which leaves us without the necessities of life.

If you feel that you would like to do something to help along the movement for the organizing of the workers industrially, and if you can neither make speeches or write articles nor agitate on the job, then the best way is to send for some I. W. W. papers, magazines or books and distribute them regularly, getting all the subscriptions you can. Agents' receipt books on application.

The Socialist and Communist Conventions

By CHARLES MUNDELL

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM ENDORSED

THE SOCIALIST movement of the United States is now split into three rival and antagonistic camps. Instead of the Socialist Party of America we now have (1) The Socialist Party, (2) The Communist Party, and (3) The Communist Labor Party.

This development did not come as any surprise to those of us who have kept fairly well informed about the internal situation prevailing within the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of America has never been a homogeneous entity. It was made up of too many diverse and contradictory elements. In the main, however, it is probably correct to say that the Socialist Party embodied the political aspirations of the petty bourgeoisie, or small business and farming class, and the progressive elements of the skilled craft-union wage workers. Being purely of an opportunistic and reform character, it drew into its ranks liberals and progressives of every shade of political opinion; professional writers, idealistic preachers, lawyers, teachers, doctors, etc. Many of these came into the Socialist Party because it was the most LIBERAL of all existing political organizations, and not because of any understanding of the class-struggle or the revolutionary aspirations of the militant proletariat.

The Socialist Party concerned itself therefore, with pure and simple reform measures, such as Government Ownership, Old Age Pensions, free gas and water, initiative and referendum, etc.

Then came the Russian Revolution, and the rise to supremacy of the Bolsheviks. The attitude of the official Socialist Party was first a policy of caution and of "watchful waiting." But as the Soviet system entrenched and strengthened itself, this attitude changed to one of mild approval and half-hearted endorsement. That is to say, this became the policy of the "officialdom" in control of the party machinery.

But there were many intellectuals and sincere idealists in the Socialist Party who saw in the Revolution of Russia certain lessons and tactics which should be embodied in the future policies of the Socialist Party. Said they: "Reformism and opportunism has been forever discredited. From now on the Socialist Party must be a revolutionary party. It must concern itself no longer with old age pensions, free water, etc., but must stand the uncompromising champion of the revolutionary proletariat. It must demand, not the capture of the Bourgeois State, but its conquest and destruction, to the end that there may be built up a distinctly proletarian type of State; namely, the Soviet, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

These insurgent comrades were insistent. They DEMANDED that the Socialist Party turn right-about-face; that it cease to be a party of "immediate demands" and become a party of revolutionary purpose. Every paper, magazine, and period-

ical controlled by these "November Bolsheviks" took up the cry. A demand was raised for an Emergency National Convention to set the party right in relation to the changes developing in the European Socialist Movements. And these demands crystallized into the Left Wing movement within the Socialist Party.

But the old party officialdom was not so willing to confess that it had been untrue to the principles of revolutionary socialism. And so developed the bitter internal struggle between the "November Bolsheviks" of the emotional "left-wing," and the reactionary politicians in control of the party machinery.

The crisis came when the old National Executive Committee, in alarm for their future control of the Socialist Party, deliberately entered upon a policy of wholesale suspension and expulsion from the party of all elements affiliated with the so-called "left-wing." The charter of the Socialist Party of the State of Michigan was revoked because that group had adopted a platform of "no immediate demands" in violation of the National Constitution of the Socialist Party; the foreign-language federations, seven in number, were suspended for alleged "fraud" in connection with the referendum elections which went so overwhelmingly against the existing National Executive Committee. This policy was further pursued by the subsequent expulsion of the States of Massachusetts and Ohio. The "Right Wing" State Executive Committees and local branches imitated their "superior" committee by carrying on the same policy of expulsion and suspension. And by thus "expelling" every element which seriously threatened their dominance, the "Right Wing" succeeded in retaining control of the Socialist Party, tho the membership of said party was reduced from 109,750 to 37,450.

Soon after the adoption of this policy by the N. E. C. the insurgents called a national left-wing conference which met in New York City, a conference called for the purpose of determining the future course of the "revolutionary socialists" towards the Socialist Party.

There was a split in this conference. The majority were in favor of continuing the fight for the "capture of the party for revolutionary socialism." A minority, represented by the delegates from the State of Michigan, and the delegates of the foreign-language federations presented their demand for the IMMEDIATE issuing of a call for a National Convention to meet in Chicago on Sept. 1, for the purpose of organizing the "Communist Party of America."

And so out of this conference came the National Left-wing Council, instructed to participate in the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, to be held in Chicago August 30, for the purpose of further endeavoring to capture the S. P. Also came the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party.

Both left-wing groups were in favor of a "Communist Party,, and they split on the question of further attempt to convert the Socialist Party into that kind of organization.

Later on the National Left-Wing Council itself split, five of its members "going over" to the Communist camp, and four remaining true to the instructions of the National left-wing conference.

The Socialist Party Emergency Convention opened in Chicago, as per schedule, on the 30th of August. The "left-wingers" who were in favor of capturing the party for revolutionary socialism were right on the job; but a rude disillusionment awaited them. The "Right-wing" simply called in the police, and the insurgents were forcibly ejected from the convention hall. And thus was the Socialist Party made safe for democracy!

Being denied their seats in the convention, the left-wingers repaired to another hall in the same building, and proceeded to organize "The Communist Labor Party of the United States." Other delegates who WERE seated in the Emergency Convention revolted at the spectacle of the use of the police in a Socialist Convention, and bolted. These also joined the left-wingers.

The left-wingers then elected a committee of five to confer with a like committee of the Communist Convention as to some basis of fusion for the two bodies. Negotiations for unity are still being carried on, with the probable result that the union will eventually be brought about. But at the present writing the Communist Labor Party exists as a separate and independent organization.

The C. L. P. remained in session five days, drawing up its own manifesto, program, resolutions, etc.

The Communist Party opened its convention at 1221 Blue Island Ave., Sept. 1. It continued in session six days, drawing up its manifesto, program, etc.

Now just a glance at the status of the various groups which once composed the Socialist Party of America.

The Socialist Party is now under the undisputed control of the so-called "Right Wing." True to its opportunistic and petit-bourgeois character it rejected by a vote of 63 to 33 affiliation with the Third Internationale of Moscow. It endorsed the nationalistic and bourgeois movement of Ireland for "Independence." That is, the Socialist Party believes it will be better for the Irish proletariat to be exploited by the Irish bourgeoisie rather than by the British capitalists. The Socialist Party DID go on record, in an extremely mild and unoffending manner, in favor of INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, as opposed to CRAFT UNIONISM. But there is nothing in that resolution which can be interpreted as casting the least reflection upon the honesty, integrity, and idealistic leadership of the A. F. of L.

To sum up, it may be said that the Socialist Party is the same vote-catching, politics-game playing, opportunistic, petit-bourgeois machine that it was, if not much worse.

Its prospects are difficult to analyze. Shorn of every really revolutionary element, it is in a far better position today to rally the small business class, the small landowners, and the progressive elements of the trades-unions. But it has a new competitor in the field, viz., the new national labor party. The latter has the distinct advantage of actually growing out of the working-class, although out of that portion of the working class which is least revolutionary. What the future has in store for the Socialist Party no one can prognosticate with any degree of certainty. But it is safe to assert that it is in essentials no different from the Non-partisan League, National Labor Party, or any other of the numerous reformistic and opportunistic movements, which serve so effectively to delude and mislead the working-class of America.

The Communist Labor Party represents a well-meaning, absolutely sincere group of some 92 delegates, representing an approximate membership of say twenty or twenty-five thousand. The delegates who made up this convention were, with but few exceptions, working men and women. They were mostly native Americans, and represented the really idealistic and insurgent elements of the American Socialist Party.

Being Americans, they realized something of the peculiar economic and industrial conditions of the United States. Hence, they did not go to the ridiculous extreme of imagining that the tactics and methods used by the Russian Bolsheviks could be transplanted in their undiluted entirety to the American Class-struggle. They talked, in the main, in simple, understandable English, and their manifestos and programs were written in the same style. There was not so much phrase-mongering, word-slinging, and hair-splitting in this convention as there was in the convention of the 100 per cent. Bolshevik Communists.

The C. L. P. adopted a strong resolution in favor of revolutionary industrial unionism, incorporating it into their program and manifesto. They gave credit to the I. W. W. for its fearless and uncompromising propaganda and educational work in rousing the workers to the idea of the One Big Revolutionary Industrial Union. Their manifesto does not soft pedal the A. F. of L. In unequivocal and straight-forward language the C. L. P. denounces the American Federation of Labor as a hot-bed of reaction and a bulwark of Capitalism and Imperialism. The manifesto and program lay great stress upon the idea of the General Strike for political objectives, and point out that parliamentary action, so called, has absolutely NO VALUE outside of educational and propaganda value. The C. L. P. very frankly declares that it harbors no delusions that the workers can ballot-box themselves out of Capitalism.

But the C. L. P. could not go all the way in endorsing the I. W. W., for the reason that, from their standpoint, the I. W. W. is an anti-political organization—syndicalist. Just WHAT these comrades actually mean by POLITICAL ACTION, I was never able to comprehend. But they voted to

participate in parliamentary elections for agitational and propaganda purposes.

The C. L. P. voted unanimously to affiliate with the Third Internationale of Moscow.

The Communist Party, simon pure, is made up of heterogenous elements. There was the Michigan delegation, which, tho opposed to reform planks, nevertheless adhered strictly to the contention that **POLITICAL ACTION**, and political action practically alone, a revolutionary value for the proletariat. They propose concentrating all energy upon the political field, but instead of reform platforms, revolutionary platforms. Hence, they lay little or no emphasis upon industrial unionism. They admit that industrial unionism is preferable to craft-unionism, but **ONLY** for the purpose of the workers' resistance to the **IMMEDIATE** encroachments of the Capitalistic Class. As Michigan sees it, there is no such thing as **REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM**. As for the I. W. W.—well, they have no patience whatever with this anarcho-syndicalist organization. To organize the workers **ON THE JOB** is of questionable value. The most important thing is workers' study-classes, where the proletariat can be taught to understand Marx, Engels, Dietzgen, Labriola—in short, the theoretical principles of Scientific Socialism. The Michigan faction, and like minds, constituted some 22 delegates.

But the Michigan sentiment did not prevail in the Communist Convention. The foreign-language federations and the New York delegation, headed by the Fraina, Cohen, Ferguson, and Ruthenberg groups, won the day, and their brand of "bolshivism" was adopted by a vote of about 90 to 100 against 22.

The Communist manifesto and program therefore lay great emphasis upon revolutionary industrial unionism, the General Strike, the political strike, and Revolutionary Mass-action. The I. W. W. is mentioned as being in the forefront of the battle for industrial unionism, and is hailed as a really, militant proletarian movement.

The Communist Party pledges its support to every effort of the workers to throw off the yoke of reactionary craft-unionism, and to organize into revolutionary industrial unions. Its constitution calls for an intensified educational campaign among the workers in behalf of industrial unionism.

In the Manifesto the A. F. of L. is denounced in unqualified terms, as being the greatest enemy of the working-class.

Political action is defined as **ANY** action taken by the workers to weaken and to destroy the political power of the Capitalist State. This includes general strikes for the liberation of class-war prisoners, abolition of conscription, withdrawal of troops from Russia, etc.

Parliamentarism is soft-pedalled. The program states that the Communist Party will participate in parliamentary campaigns (with the exception of presidential, gubernatorial, and mayoralty cam-

paigns, for the **SOLE** and **ONLY** purpose of education and propaganda. No hope is held out to the workers that they may **VOTE** themselves out of Capitalism.

The kind of political action the Communist Party believes in is the revolutionary mass-action of the workers. Just exactly what they mean by political mass-action I was never able to learn, tho I listened to about twelve hours' debate on the subject. Whether my incomprehension is due to my own mental dullness, or to the vagueness of the definition, I cannot say.

The Communist Party had altogether 129 delegates, representing a membership of approximately forty or fifty thousand. When the fusion of the C. L. P. and the C. P. is accomplished, as I have no doubt it will be, the Communist Party will constitute a membership of sixty or seventy thousand.

The Communists also voted unanimously to affiliate with the Third Internationale of Moscow.

And now what is my final impression of the whole thing?

It is this: **INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM**—Revolutionary Industrial Unionism—is the big thing, after all. The power of the workers is not in long-drawn-out manifestos and programs, in hair-splitting terminologies of Russian, French, and Latin extractions—not in glib word-slinging about the proletariat, the bourgeoisie, etc., but in **ORGANIZATION** of the job.

Workers of America! Your hope of emancipation is not in verbal gymnastics, but in **POWER**. And where is power? The workers' power? It is **IN THE BASIC INDUSTRIES**. Let the workers so organize that they will control the industries, and they have **ALL** power. When they can stop every wheel, tie up every shop, shut down every mine, and stop every train, the workers will be supreme, and **NEVER** until.

Workers! What the masters fear in you is the organization of your labor-power. One great general strike like that of Seattle and Winnipeg, creates a thousand times more alarm in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, than a hundred such conventions as have just been held in Chicago.

While the professional, albeit sincere, intellectuals and professional revolution manufacturers devote their time and energies to splitting hairs and dissecting programs, let us organize! While they talk, let us **ACT**!

We do not say that these Communist Parties and Communist Labor Parties have no value. We do say, and **THEY** admit, that the **BIG** thing is **REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM**.

Rally to the I. W. W., fellow-wage-slaves! The working class and the employing class have nothing in common! Let us enscribe upon our banner the revolutionary watch-word: "Abolition of the wages system."

Long live International Working-class Solidarity! Long live the One Big Union! And **THIS** is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!

THE PASSING OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

By DONALD M. CROCKER

Although the so-called emergency convention of the Socialist party has not been held at the time this is written, no one has any doubt that it will signalize the disappearance of that organization. The Rights (who are probably an insignificant numerical remnant, although they are holding onto the executive machinery with desperate pertinacity) will be naturally and properly absorbed into the new farmer-labor bourgeois radical political coalition. The Lefts will probably compose their present factional differences and set up in business under the new name of Communist with a stock in trade of imported revolutionary phrases and boundless enthusiasm for a mystical fetish called "mass action," which none of them intelligibly define. The Rights, now as ever petit-bourgeois in psychology and economic status, need not interest us further. Of the Lefts, more anon.

So passes from the stage of the Socialist Party of America, after a career of twenty years. It reached the apex of its importance in 1912, when Eugene Debs polled 900,000 votes. The same year came the wholesale exodus of the "reds." Since then the party has steadily declined in character and influence. The years of its decadence were brightened by one heroic gesture—the St. Louis war platform, every word of which has been abundantly vindicated by the course of events since the armistice last November. For this courageous and commendable act, forced by the rank and file upon its timorous officialdom, the party suffered considerable governmental persecution and enjoyed a very brief revival of power and popularity. However, this revival could not last. The S. P. was built on an unsound foundation—the Second International, with its policy of parliamentarism, social reform and assimilation of non-proletarian elements, and its characteristic hunger for votes and offices at any price. The Second International died ignominiously in August, 1914, and it was impossible that the American Socialist Party, bone of its bone, and flesh of its flesh, could long survive.

To the extent that the Socialist Party popularized the Marxian Criticism of Capitalist order, taught revolutionary economics, and propagated a class-conscious psychology among the working class of America (and especially in its youthful period, it did these things admirably), it has earned a place in the grateful memory of all rebels. The writer received his first Socialist knowledge from the old party. Many Wobblies, perhaps a majority of them, came into industrial unionism by the S. P. route. The party is dead. Let us justly appreciate the good there was in it.

On the field of constructive achievements in its chosen political sphere, the Socialist Party's record was a doleful failure. It disappointed both its politicians and its real Socialists. When the former captured the jobs they did not keep them; while almost every precious Socialist "victory" at the polls cul-

minated in the undoing of the local organization. This can readily be accounted for. There was a hopeless conflict between S. P. theory and practice. In theory, Socialist political action was hedged about by the most rigid, made-in-Germany orthodoxy. The dues-paying membership asserted the right of despotic control over all actions of elected officials. But whenever the comrades smelt, or thought they smelt, an office in the air, they went out begging for any old votes on the old plea, like any other old politicians. Sometimes they won the office and then there WAS hell to pay.

Schenectady, N. Y. supplied a classical example of what would happen. The Schenectady local, if I am not mistaken, never numbered more than 200 members. It nominated a notoriety-hunting sky pilot for mayor and twice elected him on a typical no graft, low taxes, municipal ownership platform. Then, as per party constitution, the 200 dues payers in local Schenectady proceeded to give "their" mayor orders. But he owed his job, and said so, not to the 200 comrades, but to the 6,000 voters. He balked. He was right in doing so. The handful of party members had no business to inveigle, upon any and every thinkable pretext, an electorate thirty times their size into making the "comrade" mayor and then expect his 5,800 or more non-Socialist supporters (of course, local Schenectady was not wholly composed of voters by any means) to meekly turn him over to the dictation of the 200. Result: The "comrade" mayor is now safe in the hands of the Democratic party and the Socialist local has vanished forever as a factor in the town of Schenectady.

The story of Schenectady is the story of the S. P. everywhere that it essayed the role of practical politics. In charity we forbear to dwell on the sad experiences of "Comrade" Meyer London and so many others. The point to be made is that, without exception, wherever members of the S. P. have been put into office they have been put there by a majority of voters who could not, by the furthest stretching of that elastic term, be called Socialists; that there has at no time been the smallest political unit in the U. S. A. which contained a majority of Socialists; therefore, that no Socialist has ever been elected to an office that honestly belonged to him AS A SOCIALIST; and, lastly, that being invariably won by intellectual dishonesty, every "victory" has been calamitous.

Now, I will go a step further (and here I invite any good Left Wing reader who has thus far been cordially agreeing with all I have said, to prick up his ears. No political unit of the U. S. A., in all probability, EVER WILL, this side the industrial revolution, contain a majority of Socialist voters, wherefore the attempt, under any auspices, Right or Left, Red or Yellow, to capture the ballot box, is a demonstrable futility at the outset.

The Left Wing and Communist Party writers

seem to agree in substance with the I. W. W. in its case for direct as opposed to political action, which might be briefly summarized thus: (1) That the logical place to unite the workers is at the point of production and of exploitation and of closest community of interest—the job (while in an S. P. local the members are held together by nothing more tangible than their adherence to a more or less imperfectly understood theory.)

(2) That the place to enact and ENFORCE constructive measures for the present amelioration of the workers' condition is in the union meeting, and not in any legislative talk shop; (3) that franchise in industry unconditioned by residential, race or any other qualifications, is immeasurably more valuable to the worker than his political franchise even when he has it; (4) that in attacking economic exploitation by economic solidarity we are reaching the REAL enemy of which the political state is but the reflex, the "executive committee;" and (5) that in the industrial union we are erecting the only conceivable frame work for a free society, in which it is absurd to suppose that any vestige of the state, as we know it, will survive.

But, says the Left Winger (echoing the shade of De Leon), while the industrial revolution is in progress, we will need to wrest the political power from the capitalist, and for that purpose a political party, with a negative and temporary function certainly, is a necessity. And that is plausible, except for the unfortunate fact that IT CAN'T BE DONE!

Because the potentially revolutionary proletariat is not a majority OF THE ELECTORATE in this country or in any considerable political subdivision of the country. It may be in some places a majority of the POPULATION—never of the VOTERS.

Accepting the figures of Fellow Worker Isaac E. Ferguson, 64 per cent of the workers in a group of the great basic industries are aliens. Naturalization is a tedious and difficult process and will be made unceasingly so. It is not for any intelligent foreign workingman worth the trouble. What has American citizenship to offer a lover of liberty today? So a very large proportion of the industrial proletariat in America are and remain non-citizens and non-voters.

Millions of workers are disfranchised permanently and millions more sporadically by residential qualifications, necessarily under capitalistic conditions, and the number is growing all the time. The writer is not a migratory worker, but he has done enough moving about on his native soil to have been voteless half of his adult life. And a lot he cares. Then there are property and (in the South) color qualifications which account for the disfranchisement of millions more.

There are other multitudes of wage earners who, by the parasitic nature of their employment, will always snobbishly cherish the master class psychology and be "little brothers of the rich" to the end of the chapter. Fortunately, their economic power is negligible. A strike of poodle dog valets or ad-

vertisement writers cannot be conceived of as especially alarming.) But they have votes and they will always vote for capitalism.

Finally, there are two many others of our class who are either so stupefied by the poison from the press and pulpit or so depraved by their brutalizing environment that they are hopeless as revolutionary material. They will fight for their chains. They compose the White Guard of capitalism until capitalism is vanquished. In industry where they function as finks, scabs and stool pigeons, they can be dealt with effectively. At the ballot box they are a deadweight on the side of slavery.

Now, then, is it not fairly apparent that the strength of the revolutionary proletariat at the ballot box is illusory? Is the prospect of "capturing the political state" very promising?

Have we time or energy to throw away on such a highly uncertain experiment?

In the Republic of Industry every proletarian has a vote, and none but a proletarian has one. In that realm we are invincible. All power is ours the instant we learn to wield it. "Capturing the political state" would doubtless be convenient, but the powers behind that state have jolly well seen to it that it can't be done. And, fortunately, it needn't be done. Revolutionary agitation directed toward the upbuilding of the industrial unions, the nucle of the industrial commonwealth to be, cannot fail. Diverted into any other direction it may be worse than wasted.

The writer has some notions of his own about the possible value (of minor importance, at most) of a sort of organized GUERRILLA warfare on the political field. Real rebels can't get into parliament and don't want to. If they happen to have votes, however, it may be worth while to find out how they can be used to advantage. The tactics of the Non-Partisan League have always appealed to the writer as certainly successful in reaching the goals aimed for. With a delightful contempt for political parties and politicians these clever people have skillfully manipulated one against the other and "brought home the bacon." The only interest we Wobblies have in political government, national, state or city, is that it shall let us alone and refrain from interference with our propaganda. Some interference from the capitalist state must be expected always. Yet there are such things as relatively decent and fair minded men in office, and there are also politicians who may be willing to pay the price of non-interference for our votes. The writer's idea is on the subject of possibly guerilla warfare at the ballot box have never as yet apparently interested anybody to whom he has mentioned them, wherefore he is persuaded that they must be extraordinarily good ideas or extraordinarily rotten. He will not further inflict them here.

An open and tolerant mind to the Left Wing or Communist movement is desirable. It may be that valuable suggestions for better educational and agitational methods may come out of it. Every Left

methods may come out of it. Every Left Wing or Communist wage earner who accepts his party manifesto is logically bound to join the I. W. W. There is no escape from that conclusion. And if this article has accomplished its purpose, he should be convinced that the industrial revolution will be well on its way

toward consummation before any really revolutionary proletarian party is within hailing distance of capturing the political government or any part thereof.

The Socialist Party is dead. The I. W. W. Preamble stands immutable and imperishable, the Gibraltar of the Proletariat.

The Meditation of a Wage Slave

By Henry Van Dorn.

I am a wage slave. My brother John is a wage slave. My sister Charlotte is a wage slave. My cousin Charlie is a wage slave. My father had been a wage slave for many years long before I was old enough to slave for wages. Together with my mother he had toiled thru the weary, dismal years and had raised a family of ten. Ten sturdy sons and daughters, potential fathers and mothers of a score of willing slaves for the mill, shop, ship and factory, grist in the mills of the rich, true representatives of the human ants who make possible the glory of our "great men" and of our "great captains of industry;" true representatives of that vast multitude of men and women who have built the mighty structure of modern civilization, and who are despised because their hands are calloused from hard labor.

My grandfather was a serf, and my ancestors for many generations back were the serfs and vassals of barons, chiefs and lords; a condition, we will admit, not quite as bad as chattel slavery, but bad enough, not quite as bad as wage slavery, but bad enough.

So, by all the rules and regulations of logic, and by virtue of my past life and inheritance, I ought to be a good slave, I ought to be what our masters are pleased to call a "good man." I ought to take an especial pleasure in jumping out of bed every morning at six o'clock when the old dollar alarm-clock breaks into my peaceful slumbers at that balmy hour. The same aforesaid alarm-clock ought to signify in my eyes the eternal, unchangeable order of things mundane. The industrious worker awakens early in the morning, toils thru the day in the sweat of his brow, earns his bread and butter and is content; the wise master and employer awakens in the morning prompted by his own sweet inclination, sees to it that the worker has enough work on hand to keep him on the jump for the remainder of the day, disposes of the wealth the worker has produced to his own greatest advantage and to the worker's greatest disadvantage, sacrifices a portion of his precious time by attending to the worker's moral and spiritual well-being, which function he performs thru such lofty institutions as the prostituted schools and colleges, the ossified churches, the kept newspapers, the censored motion pictures and the time-honored establishments of gambling and of prostitution, and is also content.

Such expressions as: "He is one of the best men we've got. Regular as clock work. Has missed only two days' work in six years," ought to be music in my ears. Instead, tears of joy and contrition

press alternately into my eyes as I think of the number of grandmothers I have lost, by oversleeping, and of the number of marriages of my dear brothers and sisters I have had to attend, also by reason of oversleeping.

I ought to be docile, industrious, attentive, and thrifty, but I am none of these. Above all things I am not thrifty. I should reason like this: If I am a good, willing worker, and save so and so much every month, in a certain time I will have enough money to start a "business of my own." But I do not reason that way. Once I did open a saving account with one dollar. After six months, I withdrew that first deposit. As for a business of my own, I would not take it if it were given to me.

Whence this contrariness of nature? How comes it that after generations of wage slavery and of serfdom I still am not a good slave? The answer is a simple one:

In the days of long ago, before my ancestors had been forced, in turn, into serfdom and wage slavery, they had been free men.

Before the advent of Christianity, and its attendant hand-maiden, slavery, they had been free men. As free men they had roamed the primeval forests of the Baltic, and tho they were idolators of false gods, and tho, by virtue of their lack of understanding of the forces of nature, they stood in awesome fear of the elements, bowing before the sun and the moon, the thunder and the lightning, and bringing sacrifices to appease the evil spirits of the jungle and the air, yet they were not bound by the chains of servitude to either lord or master, but used their own initiative and skill to procure a living the best they could by hunting and by fishing. Later on these Norsemen, alert of brain, strong-limbed, clear-eyed, intrepid, became adventurers and pirates of the sea, afraid of neither man nor devil, battling at every turn of their lives the elemental fury of nature as only free men can battle, ever determined to safeguard their freedom to the last drop of their blood. They carried in their breasts a heritage from times immemorial, from the days when the world was young,—a flickering flame of freedom, a flame kept alive by their burning passion for freedom, and they swore by all that was holy, and sacred, and divine, that that flame would never, oh, never be extinguished! It was their one priceless inheritance from the countless generations that had preceded them. Had not their ancestors fought a thousand battles to preserve the freedom which they valued so dearly, a thousand battles