

Vol. I, No. 4

JUNE, 1919

Whole Number 4

The One Big Union Monthly



PRICE 15 CENTS

PREAMBLE

of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

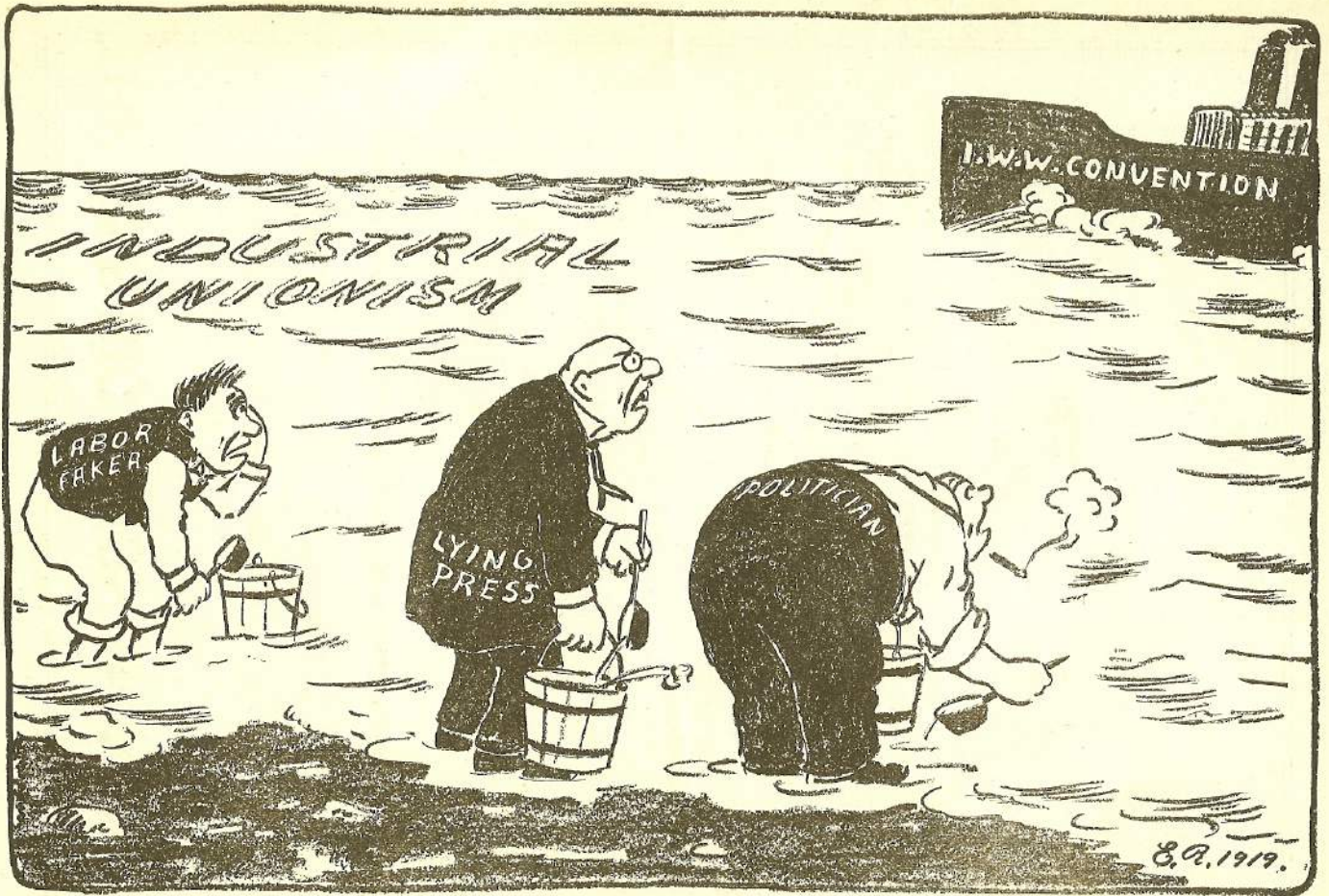
Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

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



CONTENTS

	Page
Preamble of the I. W. W.	2
Trying to put the I. W. W. on the rocks. Cartoon by E. Riebe.....	4
Declaration. By The Eleventh Annual Convention of the I. W. W.	5
Editorials:	
Our Prisoners	6
Two Mayors. Which one is a real American.	7
The Bankruptcy of Capitalism	8
The Profiteers and the Patriotic Leagues	9
The Peace Treaty.	10
The Okranja	11
Deportation	12
Feeling the Harpoon	12
The Plans of the "100 per centers"	13
The Kept Press and the Ku Klux Klan.	13
Might is Right. By Harold Lord Varney	14
Our Uneducated Educators. By X. Y. Z.	15
Fake Bolshevism. By John Sandgren.	16
Life among the Bolsheviks. By Wilfred R. Humphries.	17
Upward and Onward. A call to servility. By Wm. Roberts Page	22
Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. By Roberta Bruner	23
"Hogging the Propaganda." By R. A. Cochran	26
Hogging the Eats. Cartoon. By E. Riebe.	27
The Law of Increasing Dependence. By Abner Woodruff.	28
Workers of the World! Awaken. By Rebecca Tenrosen.	32
"Sic-'Em." Cartoon by Matter	33
Psychology of Persecution in War Times. By John Gabriel Soltis	34
"Proclamation." By Ole Hanson.	35
The Imperative Need of Industrial Organization.	36
"The O. B. U. Monthly" Reaches England	37
The Revolution. Its Why.	38
The Story of the I. W. W. Chapter 4. By Harold Lord Varney.	39
Star Employees. By Covington Ami.	42
The Degeneration of America. By Harry Miller.	43
I, the Plutocrat. Poem. By Covington Ami.	44
The EndlessChain. Cartoon.	45
The Eleventh Annual Convention. By Roberta Bruner.	46
Report of Provisional General Executive Board to Eleventh Annual Convention.	48
Report of Railroad Workers I. U. No. 600 for April, 1919.	50
Report of Metal Mine Workers I. U. No. 800 for April, 1919	51
Report of Construction Workers I. U. No. 573 for April, 1919.	53
Report of Agricultural Workers I. U. No. 400 for April, 1919	56
Industrial Workers of the World Bulletin and Financial Report for March and April, 1919	59
Booklist	63
Periodicals	64



TRYING TO PUT THE I. W. W. ON THE ROCKS

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

Published Monthly by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World,
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

Subscription price, \$1.50 per year; 15 cents per copy; bundle orders, 10 cents per copy, non-returnable. For sale with news dealers.

Address subscriptions, business communications and remittances to **The One Big Union Monthly**, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Other communications should be addressed to The Editor.

A DECLARATION

Adopted by the Eleventh Annual Convention of the I. W. W.

We, the Delegates of the Industrial Workers of the World, in convention assembled, hereby reaffirm our adherence to the cause of the International Proletariat and reassert our profound conviction that the program of Industrial Unionism not only furnishes a method of successful resistance against the aggressions of a rabid master class, but provides a basis for the reconstruction of society when Capitalism shall have collapsed. We regard the great European war as convincing evidence of the ripening of the capitalist system and its approaching disintegration; and we hail the rising workers, republics in Russia and other countries as evidence that only the Proletariat through its economic force and by reason of its strategic position in Industry, can save the world from chaos and guarantee the fundamental rights of life.

We publish again the Preamble to our Constitution and call upon the working class of the world to unite with us upon the basis of the principles there declared, in order that we may, by our combined economic power, displace the wage system with its horde of parasitic exploiters and substitute for it the communist system known as "Industrial Democracy," thereby liberating humanity from its age long degradation and freeing it to go forward, not only to universal prosperity and happiness, but also to a high and noble culture.

Workers of the world, unite! You have only your chains to lose! You have the world and life to gain!

Our Prisoners

THE eleventh annual convention has sent telegraphic greetings to the Class War prisoners in fifteen prisons. Some of the prisoners have answered, and those answers are unanimous. All of them tell us that the only hope upon which the prisoners care to build is the industrial organization of the working-class. All of them repeat the advice given by Joe Hill, "Don't mourn, but organize!" The I. W. W. and its brother organizations thruout the world are the forces upon which they count to open the prison doors. But not only that. In reading the numerous letters we have received from them, we get the impression that it not only is their hope, but those organizations are for the prisoners the only thing that makes life worth living. It seems they will gladly submit to any suffering, if we are able to furnish them with the news of the progress of our movement.

Some of the prisoners in Leavenworth on the Chicago indictment have been admitted to bail and a few of them are now with us. In speaking to these liberated prisoners, we get the same impression. The long time they have already spent in prison has not in the least changed them, and if it has changed them, it has been in the direction of strengthening their will and determination to fight for the new social order outlined in the I. W. W. preamble.

But prison is prison. The mental and spiritual anguish our fellow workers have to go thru is frightful. It takes the strongest mind and the noblest characters to bear up under such pressure. Many of them have caught diseases in prison, which will put them in a premature grave, others are having their physical health undermined, and of course their life is one of unspeakable misery which only their stout hearts can make them bear up with, in expectation that we on the outside shall do our best to get them out.

For the present, we have two different ways of demonstrating our solidarity with these fellow workers. One way is to follow the standing advice of building up the industrial organizations for the purpose of creating a new society. This is a long and difficult task and requires the organized and combined effort of all of us, working according to a common plan and advancing in organized masses. The individual is here more or less submerged in the body of the organization.

The other way is of an opposite nature. It gives the individual all the play he wants and can possibly ask for. There are some

thirty prisoners admitted to bail, who are still in prison for lack of the necessary sureties to bail them out. Our organization consists mainly of woodsmen, farm laborers, railroad laborers, miners, sailors, longshoremen, textile workers, factory workers of different kinds, etc. Nearly all of them are utterly poor, having the means of existence only for a day, a week or a month, as the case may be. But, nevertheless, there are perhaps a few thousand within our ranks who are the possessors of Liberty Bonds bought by compulsion, or who have cash in the bank or who own some little real estate. Now is their chance to prove their solidarity with those who have fought for the principles they endorse. But even if we combed the whole membership, we doubt if we would be able to get the necessary funds for bailing out those now admitted to bail and those who will be admitted to bail in the near future, if we have the funds. For that reason, we do not hesitate to address ourselves even to such readers of this publication as are not members of our organization. We know there are a great many people reading this magazine who could and would assist us in getting our fellow workers out of Leavenworth and other prisons. This is the chance of their life to put their wealth to the service of their fellow human beings without cost to themselves. The Liberty Bonds or the cash deposited as bail will continue to pay interest, and real estate scheduled for the liberation of our friends will neither suffer nor deteriorate in any manner. By all means, let us hear from you. Get in touch with the General Defense Committee, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

A CORRECTION.

To the Editor,
One Big Union Monthly.

In Varney's "Reply to a Reply," which appeared in the O. B. U. of April, referring to the Chicago I. W. W. defendants, he says, "Only one turned yellow." Varney designates Pete Daley as the yellow one, I understand. So that no further misunderstandings may arise and out of fairness due Daley, I ask that you print the following statement:

Daley did not go on the witness stand because of his unbalanced mental condition. He was at the time of the trial, and is now, suffering from insanity as a result of mistreatment at the hands of master-class hirelings. This should not be taken as an indication that he turned yellow.

Yours for the O. B. U.,
M. FRIEDKIN.

Two Mayors--Which One Is A Real American?

AS Most every reader of The One Big Union monthly knows, there are two American mayors who have sprung into notoriety of late, simultaneously and for opposite reasons, tho both of them acquired their notoriety thru their dealings with the I. W. W.

One of them is Mayor Wallace M. Short of Sioux City, Iowa, the other one is Mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle, Wash. What both of them did, they did with the claim that it was for the purpose of realizing American ideals. Both of them have millions supporting their claims of being real Americans. Which one of them is right?

A statement of the case will be sufficient to enable you to form your judgment.

The Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 400 of the I. W. W., had decided to hold their annual convention in Sioux City, Iowa. There is nothing remarkable in a labor convention; they have been held by the thousands in the years gone by in every important city in America. These conventions have always been peaceable affairs, regular schools of good citizenship, and it has been the custom for American mayors to welcome these conventions to their cities. Mayor Short, of Sioux City, was not going to make any exception to this general rule. He informed the I. W. W. that he was not going to put any hindrance in their way, but that on the contrary, he would personally welcome the delegates to the city. In his speech, Mayor Short gave expression to sentiments and ideas worthy of a citizen of this country and expressed his confidence in the delegates assembled, in their good will towards this country and to the people in general and said that they would, to the limit of his power, enjoy the protection usually extended to such gatherings.

For this loyalty to democracy and to old American ideals, Mayor Short has been exposed to the most conscienceless persecution that could be devised by the fiendish profiteers conducting the hundred percent American movement.

Not only has his name as a citizen and an individual been besmirched in thousands of newspapers controlled by the "hundred percenters," but the ignominy and the injury they intend to inflict upon this loyal citizen is further accentuated by the starting of a movement of recall, by which it is intended to brand him as an unsuitable person to hold his exalted office.

The other mayor is Ole Hanson of Seattle. This mayor, like Mayor Short, had only a

local reputation until he came in contact with the I. W. W. As will be remembered, there was a general strike in Seattle in the beginning of this year. With or without cause, it was stated the I. W. W. had engineered the affair. Mayor Hanson and his supporters, the lumber barons and other great financial interests of the Northwest, prefer to state that the I. W. W. was at the bottom of the general strike. Mayor Hanson gave it the color of a revolutionary outbreak that was checked only thru the timely and courageous efforts made by himself in putting the city in a state of military defense which awed the strikers to desist from their purpose.

Having put this color on the matter, Mayor Hanson was lauded to the skies in the press of the "hundred percenters" thruout the country, and when the Victory Loan campaign came on, he was considered a proper person to send around on a speaking tour. There has hardly been anything recorded of what he said, except his utterances in regard to the I. W. W. It appears that the mercenary applause of the kept press and the flattering reception accorded him by the exploiters of the people, have gone to his head. When speaking of the I. W. W., he threw away all the conventionalities and decencies traditionally belonging to his high office, and became an apostle of law-breaking and of murder. He stated that this is not a time to have conferences with the I. W. W., but to dig cemeteries for them. Entering into further specifications, he stated that if Washington didn't want to clean out the I. W. W., he was going to leave his office and at the head of a band of lynchers, start out thru the country and hang all I. W. W. men to the nearest lamp-post.

We leave it to the reader to decide for himself which one of these two mayors is the true American citizen, which one of them is a real American, which one could rightly be called a hundred percent patriot, which one deserves the love and the respect of the people.

Some fellow down in South Carolina wants Ole Hanson for president in the hope that he would rid the country of such "abominations" as the I. W. W. There are really some people in this country that would like to see a national lynching bee conducted from the White House. The various "patriotic" leagues and the self-styled "100 per cent Americans" who think economic development can be directed by lopping off its symptoms' will second the nomination of "the crazy Swede" for the highest office in the country.

The Bankruptcy of Capitalism

WHEN a private capitalist, for instance, a manufacturer of clothing, a builder, or a groceryman, no longer can fulfill the social service which he has undertaken, his business is getting poorer every day. This may depend on the fact that he is not using modern methods corresponding to the demands of the times. Some day all his capital is gone, he begins to run behind with his rent, and he can no longer honor his drafts. That is all that is needed to spoil his name in business circles. The next step is that he is denied credit. Without capital and without credit, his position is getting desperate. Persons in this position generally throw up their hands and go into bankruptcy, that is, turn their business and their property over to their creditors to be run by them or divided between them. Another method, not seldom used, is that the person in question tries secret manipulations in order to hide his real position, manipulations that would bring him into prison if they were known. Frequently, this kind of business failure ends in catastrophe, scandal, prison and suicide.

Capitalism is a great international business firm, which at present is in this precarious position. The big shareholders and chiefs of the different departments in this giant business complex are men such as Morgan, Rockefeller, Armour, Rothschild and others. These shareholders and chiefs have enriched themselves at the expense of the firm to such an alarming extent, that the capitalist business enterprise is about to collapse and go into bankruptcy.

We are induced to make these observations because the other day somebody was ridiculing us when we talked about the bankruptcy of capitalism, asserting that never before had the capitalist class been so rich. Our critical friend was right when he asserted that the capitalists are rich; that is exactly what we have said above, but the enterprise is nevertheless bankrupt. The chiefs of the firm have appropriated the resources of the business for their personal use, and the firm is bankrupt.

For the benefit of our critics, we shall enlarge a little upon this point. The capitalist world firm, the capitalist system, has by hook or crook secured a monopoly of the right to furnish the whole world with what it needs of food, clothing and lodging and everything else that is necessary. It has succeeded in a way for a time, but it can no longer fulfill the task it has undertaken and is jealously guarding as a private monopoly. The swindler methods of the chiefs of this world firm cause hun-

dreds of millions of people to starve or go undernourished. Hundreds of millions suffer for want of clothing and proper lodging, and the whole great mass, with the exception of the few chiefs and those near to them, are compelled to live in an oppressive state which is killing both body and soul. In all the corners of the world, life is becoming almost unbearable, almost a burden. The monopoly firm, the capitalist system, cannot fulfill its obligations to the citizens of the world, in accordance with the terms of the monopoly. Their firm was ready for bankruptcy long ago. Already the people have for decades demanded that the capitalist world firm should turn over its property and its business machinery to the people itself, organized in a new "firm" built on better principles. But, instead of loyally and voluntarily stepping aside, the chiefs of the firm are using their last resources to maintain a government by force which shall keep the suffering and betrayed creditors at a distance. The firm had undertaken to fill the needs of the world, but instead it has organized itself to plunder mankind of everything, like an armed band of robbers is plundering a village or a town. The armed band is now establishing itself as autocratic ruler of the world, and is tyrannizing and oppressing the people.

This is what we mean when we say that capitalism is bankrupt.

Production and distribution can now only be carried on at the point of the bayonet and within range of the machine gun. The mass of the people is crying to the "firm" to close its doors and go out of business and give somebody else a chance, but that is as far as the mass has come. Impatient ones are inciting the suffering crowd to so-called mass action. This mass-action is, on the whole, comparable to the mass action of the hungry mobs in San Francisco the days after the earthquake, when the store windows in some parts were broken and the goods taken possession of. The mass is too ignorant and too indolent to organize itself for the purpose of taking over the business of the bankrupt firm.

Only the I. W. W. and the One Big Union movement generally throughout the world is tackling this question of replacing the bankrupt firm with a new economic administration, rational and practical and just enough to deserve the confidence of mankind. At the same time, we are doing it in such a manner as to safeguard humanity from the possibility of again falling into the hands of the bandit crowd.

The Profiteers and the "Patriotic" Leagues

AT various times, we have pointed out in this magazine the existence of self-styled "patriotic" leagues, boasting that their members are "hundred per cent Americans." These leagues and organizations are The National Security League, The American Protective Association, The American Anti-Anarchist Association, The Inter-Racial League, The Knights of Columbus and now recently, The American Legion and several others. Hardly yet established, this latter organization comes to the front with an anti-I. W. W. program as one of its main points, showing that it is only a branch of a general movement with the same aim, conducted from—where? Well, where do you think a movement of that kind would come from? Naturally, from those who own everything or nearly everything in this country. The various leagues are only the different branches of a general movement or organization, branches that are given different names as they operate within different layers of the population. All of them claim to be upholders of the American constitution, of law and order, the sanctity of private property, etc. As a matter of fact, they are none of the things they claim. We know them through their press and through their actions. Through the press they control, they are encouraging and advising infringements upon the constitution, such as the checking of free speech, free press and free assemblage; they are organizing Ku-Klux bands for the purpose of interfering with our public meetings and thus with free speech. The press is lauding such illegal acts and holding them up as samples of American hundred per cent manliness. They advise the suppression of our press, but being unable to do it by aid of the law, they are doing it through sabotage and are successful to such an extent that we can estimate our losses to about thirty-three per cent. When one of the most prominent men in this "hundred per cent" movement, Mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle, closed the I. W. W. halls, he said they didn't have the laws to do it with, so they used nails, and for such acts he is trotted around the country as a hero and a patriot. Not only that, but through their press and in their speeches they openly advocate and endorse acts of violence against individuals. When the same Mayor Hanson declares that if Washington doesn't clean out the I. W. W.'s, he will leave his office and start out through the country with his friends and hang the I. W. W.'s to the nearest lamp-post, the press controlled by these patriotic

leagues is applauding to the limit, in fact, some of their papers go so far as to say that "hanging is too good for them." The sanctity of private property they are prating about takes expression on the one side in covering up the scandalous profiteering of the war "patriots," and on the other side in raiding the halls of the poor workers and stealing or wrecking their pitiful property. All this is done in the name of law and order and in the pretended solicitousness for American ideals.

For our part, we do not hesitate in calling these self-styled patriots bluffers and impostors, and some of them can best be characterized as cut-throats, inasmuch as Ku-Klux clan work seems to be their specialty. These unfair and unbrotherly elements in American society have been taking advantage of the war sentiment in order to crowd themselves to the front, but as soon as they get to the front we know what we have to expect. These selfish groups are the un-social groups that will, with necessity, have to be kept down in any and every society unless that society shall go to pieces under anarchy, arbitrariness and oppression. For these very self-styled upholders of law and order are in reality the greatest enemies of an orderly society that could be found. To leave them alone to carry out their plans would be to pave the way for a bullying autocracy of the kind they had in Russia before the revolution. It will silence the voice of truth and justice, and the poor and defenseless will be exposed to merciless oppression while vulgar brutes without social responsibility revel in power and plenty.

It is high time for all serious-minded Americans who really have the old American ideals at heart, the ideals of freedom, the ideals of equality, the ideals of fair play, the love of law and order, the love of justice to the under-dog—it is high time for these elements to gather their forces against the vulgarizing and brutalizing influences of these bluffing patriots.

"Scientific Freedom" is at a discount. All over the country teachers are being silenced. They are threatened with having their bread taken away if they tell the truth as they see it. Some who have preferred starvation to intellectual prostitution, have been summarily dismissed from their positions. But 99½ per cent of them are kissing the tail of the golden calf.

The Peace Treaty

EVERY respectable magazine editor should, of course, at this season have an orienting article about the peace treaty, and the editor of The One Big Union Monthly does not want to be a slacker in that regard.

Of course, it is too early to speak with editorial authority about peace as long as the war is still going on on eighteen fronts, and as long as the peace conference has come no further with its work than to drafting and presenting a copy of the peace terms to one of the belligerent nations—Germany. But a few general observations might not be out of place even if we are perfectly sure that they will not have the slightest influence on the negotiations.

From the peace treaty drafted for the acceptance of the German people, we are justified in concluding that the general tenor of the whole peace document will be of the same nature.

It may be said, that we have nothing to do with it, but then again, we have everything to do with it. Though we are only poor wage workers, organized in a persecuted organization, the world's affairs belong to us as much as they belong to Clemenceau, Orlando, Lloyd-George or Wilson. The war was a capitalist affair, the peace will also be a capitalist affair, it appears. The capitalists started the war, let them now conclude peace but they cannot alter the laws of life. The world moves according to economic laws superior to the will of individual men. If the present rulers of the world conclude a peace which is in harmony with those unwritten laws, it will be a permanent and blissful peace, conducive to prosperity and happiness for all mankind. If they draw up a peace treaty which runs contrary to those laws, it will fail of its aim of establishing peace to the same extent that it deviates from those laws.

All students of social development, who are not bought up or suppressed, will readily agree with us that the whole trend of social development in general and economic development in particular, go in a direction opposite to the one indicated by the peace treaty. We are therefore inclined to believe that the peace treaty will not be the olive branch of peace, but a glove of challenge thrown in the face of mankind.

At a time when the dominating thought of the masses is to try to work out a form of ownership and management of the means of production and distribution that would do away with private ownership and capitalism in general, that would do away

with the system that is the cause of the misery of mankind, the victors in the world battle are making a desperate attempt to entrench capitalism for all time to come in the hope of continuing the parasitical form of society now existing. It is apparent from all their efforts that not only are they laying plans for having the world's workers create and thereby pay the interest on the old industrial world capital, but thru and during the war, they have in the course of four years saddled upon humanity an additional indebtedness of more than two hundred billion dollars on which we shall not only pay the interest but which we shall also pay back in full in the course of a few years. If capitalism was unbearable before the war, it is simply impossible after the war. To double the burdens on a humanity already tired of the burden it carries and prepared to throw it off, is nothing short of criminal. It is bound to throw the world into chaos, turmoil, and dissolution. The League of Nations may succeed for a few years in holding the world in the straight-jacket of extortion, but it stands to reason that every attempt to dam up the rising flood of discontent and the struggle for emancipation from capitalism, by means of military coercion, is bound to end in disaster that is almost cosmic in depth and breadth.

The peace that will come from Paris will be the "peace that reigned in Warsaw." It will not be peace by mutual consent, it will not be a peace of good will and of brotherly feeling. It will be the peace that reigns in jail, because the prisoners are in control.

Regardless of the terms imposed upon Germany, which we do not even care to discuss, the whole "peace program" is a failure. The peace it will establish between nations is of the same nature with the peace that would exist in a village if one or two or three of the neighbors banded together to expropriate and enslave all the rest, thereafter patrolling the village streets with loaded guns, thereby enforcing submission and imposing a state of slavery upon the majority.

The peace treaty of Paris is a piece of Bourbonism fully comparable to the attitude taken by the French ruling class before the memorable days of 1789. Like the Bourbons of old, the capitalists have learned nothing and forgotten nothing, and the result will be the same.

Mankind will in a few years by force of nature rise and nullify the "peace by force" and replace it with a real peace based on human solidarity.

The Okranja

NO sooner had the revolution in Russia placed the army officers in a position where they had either to serve the revolution or stay out of the country, before the army officers en masse offered their services to the various allied countries and encouraged them to military attack upon their own country. No sooner had the treaty of armistice been signed with Germany before the papers reported that the German army officers were looking for employment in the American army. By these acts, the military class demonstrated that to them the expressions "Fatherland" and "People" mean absolutely nothing, that they are only empty jingo phrases and that they themselves are at heart traitorous to the mass of the people.

But when the Russian revolution broke out, there was another large body of men and women that lost their footing in society and that was the immense **secret police of Russia**, the Okranja. Great numbers of them were already in foreign countries, in the pay of the Czar, and as many as could get away fled over the border at the outbreak of the revolution. Like the army officers, they used the expressions "Fatherland" and "People" only as camouflage for their beastly deeds in the service of crookdom. These Okranja people scattered all over the world, but had no means of supporting themselves, except by offering their services to the ruling class in the countries to which they came. Already before the revolution there were thousands of them in the United States watching the subjects of the Czar. Numbers of new arrivals increased the unemployed Russian secret police in this country. We cannot prove it, but from the actions of the secret police in the United States during the last two years it appears that a good many of the old Okranja found employment in the service of Uncle Sam or in the private secret police of the Standard Oil, the Steel Trust, the Copper Trust and so on, as detectives or gunmen. The recent sending of bombs through the mails bears all the earmarks of an Okranja job. So does the proposed wholesale blowing-up of buildings in Chicago, which was said to be planned a couple of months ago, but which plans miscarried because we discovered them and unmasked them. It is not improbable or impossible that the bomb thrown in San Francisco, for which Mooney was to be hung, came from the same source. The Kulklux work against the I. W. W. as exemplified by the raiding of I. W. W. headquar-

ters in Springfield, Mass., on January 19, and by the raiding of some fellow worker's rooms during the present convention in Chicago, acts which are publicly disowned both by local police and federal secret service, point to the existence of an American Okranja either in the pay of private capitalists or unofficially in U. S. service.

The motive of the secret service people in committing deeds unspeakable in devilishness is the same as the motive of the Russian Okranja. The question for the Okranja was to live and prosper. Unless it could make the rulers feel that they were necessary for the protection of parasitical society, they were apt to be laid off and thrown upon the labor market with no particular ability for any kind of work except crime. In order to make the rulers open their purses, they had to stage spectacular revolutionary affairs, pogroms, bomb explosions, murders, etc., which kept the ruling class in a state of terror and fear of the masses, and they did so without any scruples. If necessary, they did not hesitate to sacrifice the very persons who were paying them and if we have once discovered that they will go to that length, then it is easy to explain most every deed that comes within this class. The unemployed army officer and the unemployed Okranja man, or woman, as well as millions of other foot-loose persons without a conscience, without a sense of decency or social responsibility, form together a formidable force in the pay of the masters that oppress us. Seldom the master himself will take the trouble and risk of dealing with us personally. He hires this kind of people to do it for him. It is a social force with which we will have to deal in the future, a force that is past redemption, a force that can hardly be utilized for the purposes of the new society. Knowing that their spirit has now its last chance to live, these people are doing their worst to suppress the workers' efforts and to maintain the putrid atmosphere of parasitism which is the only one they can breathe.

There is no other body in the country that gets so much free advertising as the I. W. W. Of course, it is mostly lies, but it is advertising just the same. The thing for us to do under the circumstances is to take advantage of our involuntary notoriety to spread real knowledge about our principles and aims. People only have to really know us to become our friends.

Deportation

SPURRED by their employers in the "Wall streets" of the great American cities, the kept and dependent press is bellowing at the top of its voice "deportation," "deportation for the I. W. W. They are 90 per cent foreigners. There is no room for them in this country."

At the same time there comes a terrified letter of warning from an association of bankers, urging the powers to stop the foreign hords from swamping the ocean liners in their desperate rush to get away from this land of freedom and democracy, as they would carry with them too much of the ready cash.

Another warning comes from far-sighted mass-employers of workers. "What this country now needs is plenty of plain men who will do plain work and live under plain conditions." (And work for "plain" wages, of course.)

What is needed seems to be a conference of the 100-per cent patriots, the bankers and the mass-employers. As it is, the concert is rather discordant on the question of deportation. At the present time the 100-per centers (or more) and the bankers seem to have their way. The "bolsheviks" are leaving as fast as they can voluntarily, but emigration has been surrounded with so many difficulties that the "bolsheviks" have to spend most of their pitiful savings in overcoming them. Furthermore the price of the tickets has been more than doubled, so that most of them have to leave all their money on this side.

They came here to seek freedom, useful work and a chance to live without having their spirit outraged. Failing in all these respects they quite naturally seek to get away.

In the meantime the 125-per centers are nagging the government to "detain for deportation" all such I. W. W. men of foreign citizenship as will not break away from their union. This "detaining" is so cleverly done that most of them have to spend up to 14-16 months in jail while the authorities are looking up the law paragraph they need or until Congress eventually makes the laws that are necessary. Should Congress fail to make the laws desired by the 125-per centers—so much the worse for the I. W. W. man.

They may lose their health or their mind in the hell holes of the prisons, or they may some day be kicked out of jail without compensation—but then, they will have gained a deep insight in the "ideals" of the 135-per centers.

Feeling the Harpoon

"THAR' she blows," the look-out sings from the bow of the whaleboat as he sights the spouting whale.

Then everybody pulls at his oar with all his might, the harpoon-man gets his lines clear, so they will run out without a hitch, and there the big whale rests leisurely on the waves, unconscious of the approaching danger.

Such a drowsy whale resting in placid waters has the capitalist class been these many decades. He has never met with an enemy that was dangerous to him. Like the Greenland whale is the lord of the ocean, for whom the feeling of "danger" does not exist, so the ruling class felt secure for generations and scoffed at the word "danger."

But in his fragile wooden shell comes the harpoon-man. He approaches within range—and still it is all meaningless to the whale.

But all of a sudden there is a stinging pain deep in the flesh, close to the heart. The harpoon has caught with its cruel hooks, and now begins the struggle to get rid of it, a struggle that ends with death. The whale "sounds" and comes up again. He whips the waves with his giant tail. He jumps clear out of the water and "sounds" again. But one after one the bullets pierce his vital parts. The water is colored red, and finally the struggle ends, and the big monster is heavily towed to the ship's side. The lord of the ocean is transformed from a sovereign ruler of the water to barrelfulls and bundles of commercial products.

The Greenland whale of capitalism, the capitalist class is no longer placidly basking in the sun, unmindful of the porpoises and fishes that dart around him. The working class harpoon, **industrial unionism**, has already sprung open in his flesh.

The stolid beast has become a terrified, raging monster, that lashes the waves of society in a futile attempt to tear himself loose. He rushes at the boat to break it but is met with another volley of industrial unions.

He musters the police and the soldiery, he gives the chiefs of the okranja the keys to his safety vaults, he organizes "patriotic" leagues, he takes control of the politicians, he terrorizes the government and the people, he **pumps** money into the sewer of the prostitute press, he lynches, he imprisons, he tarrs and feathers, he prays through the mouth of priests, he orates through the mouth of politicians, he deports, he exploits and he oppresses—but firmer and firmer the cruel hooks of in-

dustrial unionism grip his heart strings.

His desperate rage, his furious activity are not signs of strong life. They are the death-struggle of the monstrous beast.

Steady on the oars, boys! Another volley or two of **industrial unions**, and we shall tow him alongside by our stout harpoon-rope—**solidarity**.

The Plans of the "100 Per Centers"

WHAT the plans of the I. W. W. are, most everybody knows. And if there is anybody who does not know them, we want him to call us up for information. Briefly they are: to organize the whole working class industrially so that it will be able to take over production and distribution as soon as possible.

But what the plans of the self-styled "100-per cent Americans" are is not quite so plain. We have the open declarations of the self-styled "patriotic" leaguers that they want the deportation of all foreign I. W. W.'s. In regard to the native American I. W. W.'s, who by far outnumber the foreign members, their plans seem to vary from plain imprisonment to life-time imprisonment and to hanging at the nearest lamp post, as their eloquent spokesman, Ole Hanson, "the crazy Swede," as he is called, openly advises in a circular letter to all mayors.

The 100-per centers seem to have plenty of the motive power "cash" behind them, and as long as that motive power holds out, we have reason to expect a lot of fervid patriotism that seeks the ecstasy of mass-lynching in the realization of American ideals.

Is it not about time that some less noisy Americans, with or without war uniform, showed these Ku Klux democrats their proper place. We are sure that these clamorers for prison and for blood are a minority, but the majority is so far voiceless.

Returning to their plans, we think these are only in the making so far. The prison and murder propaganda the 100-per centers now carry on in the press and from the rostrum is probably the precursor of the "man on horseback," which they hope to put in charge of this country to make a reality of the American ideals emanating from Wall street.

THE DETROIT I. W. W.

The new I. W. W. hall in Detroit, Mich., is located at 215 Gratiot Ave. Educational meetings every Wednesday night at 8 P. M. Everybody welcome.—H. Van Dorn, Sec'y.

The Kept Press and the Ku Klux Klan

THE lodgings of the fellow worker who was the chairman of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the I. W. W. in Chicago were "raided" by some persons displaying police stars at 5 o'clock in the morning on May 6th. The same thing occurred to another fellow worker employed in the I. W. W. office, at about the same time. In neither case did the "raiders" show any warrants. Both the police and the Federal secret service deny any knowledge of these "raids."

On Jan. 19th the headquarters of the I. W. W. in Springfield, Mass., was "raided" under similar circumstances and considerable property was taken away. In this case also both police and federal officers denied that any warrants had been issued for a search.

It is evident that some of the many "patriotic" leagues now operating are taking the law into their own hands. The kept press is encouraging that kind of deeds. Not a word of criticism of such acts has appeared. On the contrary, all the capitalist papers are joking about it as quite the thing to do. If the police is doing anything to discover these law breakers, it has failed to come to our notice.

However, this is no joking matter. It is a most serious one. If one set of people in society are encouraged in these acts, it is very near at hand to assume that it is about time for us to take matters in our own hands and defend ourselves next time a "searching" party appears. And then it might be a legitimate search, and the officers of the law will suffer because we cannot tell if they are only the same kind of impostors as in the three cases mentioned.

The very same people who have developed Ku Klux Klan tactics far enough to forcibly enter private lodgings at night to make illegal search and carry away property, will be apt to make a call some day with the same intent as they had when they called on Frank Little and beat him to death and hung him, or as the murderously inclined mob that tarred and feathered our fellow workers in Tulsa, Okla.

If our government is not strong and honest enough to deal with such revolutionary organizations as the above, who are setting the law of the land at naught, if the government cannot or will not protect us from them, we have no choice but to protect ourselves, even though there is the risk of making a mistake in so doing. For the results we are not to blame.

Might Is Right

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

PROBABLY the most pitiable figure in the world today is Woodrow Wilson. He returns to us from Paris, a beaten, repudiated man. All his programs have been shattered. All the magnetic, enticing phrases which gave such loftiness to his figure, in the days of the war, have shrivelled into ashes of contempt.

There is something epic and colossal about this collapse of Wilson. For the height he fell from was sublime. William Marion Reedy, in writing of Wilson's trip to Paris, several months ago, phrased it most felicitously. "Wilson is as one who dwells on a high mountain," he wrote. "A mountain of pure ideals. He is above the world and its petty futilities. He moves in sublimer atmosphere, and he dominates all beneath." In other words, Wilson, in the popular belief of a few months ago, represented the idealistic, as opposed to the sordid—in international politics. He stood for principles, not for materialism. His figure stood out, in the mind of the world, as the personal embodiment of political IDEALISM.

And now he has fallen. Like a gutted, stricken ship, he staggers home from Paris—discredited and despised. He who went to Europe to rebuild the world from his cold ideal "mountain," has been laughed into oblivion. His defeat has been crushing and utter. Not even one small crumb of victory has been saved for him from the ruin. His Fourteen Points were all tabled. His anti-Imperialism was blotted out in the most arrogant imperialistic debauch known to history. His Self-Determination faded into Mandatories. Even his Democracy—his slogan of the war—gave way to a hideous Plutocracy. Wilson went to Paris to match Right against Might: but Might beat him. He opposed Idealism to Materialist Diplomacy, and his Idealism was crushed and extinguished.

All Liberalism is mourning now at Wilson's fall. In the world of bourgeois, idealistic reformers, Wilson was the "white hope." Paris was to bring the Millennium—(of shop-keepers!). The League of Nations was to be a covenant of lofty, spotless Right—(whatever that may mean). All those muddled minds who had looked to words, and to thin ideals, and to quibbling formulas, as their political varieties, were plunged in despair with Wilson, when Liberalism was expunged from the Peace Treaty. The New Republic is sobbing. The Manchester Guardian is dumb. The Wilson "Socialists" are stricken. For Paris has given the lie to their belief.

Poor Wilson! Literature has his counterpart. Don Quixote, we remember, also had his "ideal" of what the world should be, and he rode out sublimely to realize it. But when he tried to battle the wind-mills, he found that all the power of nature was against him, and he fell. And Wilson with his Lib-

eralism, fighting Materialism in a world which will always be Materialist—seeking to introduce ideals in the No-Man's Land between the trenches of class struggles—is but the pitiful Don Quixote of our age. He is battling natural law: he is attempting to dike back the natural forces of the ages, and he has perished in the struggle.

This significance of his defeat, is not the personal one. For Wilson is but one of Many Don Quixotes. It is not so much Wilson—it is Idealism itself which has been mortally wounded at Versailles. No longer can we speak of Justice and Right ruling the world. No longer can we invent sweet-sounding phrases to decorate our wars. With a ruthless hand, the diplomats of Paris—the Clemenceaus, the Orlandos and the Georges—have stripped away the rag of illusion. There are no more ideals. We see clearly now, and we know that the world is but a sordid battle ground of economic brigands. That war is but a struggle for a market. That history has been a vicious circle and it has whirled us round and round, in an eternal swine-trough of Materialism.

But revolutionists do not mourn the wreck of Paris. We know that the Peace Conference did the true thing—it followed economic law. It was not Wilson who represented the spirit of the age at Paris—it was Clemenceau or Orlando, or Lloyd-George. These followed the law of their class. And since their class was the dominant economic class, they re-made the world by making it "safe for profits." They possessed the might: therefore they sanctified their deeds with the halo of right. And so it has always been.

Ideals are pale things in this world of cold, ruthless materialism. Idealism in politics never was. We, who are revolutionists, know that the crimes of this age will only be ended by Might. The criminals of this age who have written the Paris treaty, will only be mastered by those who are economically stronger. All the ideals in the universe will not budge them. But a class organization will sound their doom. Labor must fight capital by the same weapons. They on top and we below—both are materialists. We want the world, not because we love justice, but because we love ourselves. We fight revolutions not for Idealism but for self-interest. Such is the law of life. Why, like Wilson, pretend that it is otherwise?

The power of the I. W. W. comes from our realization of this materialism. We are not fogged by illusions of right and wrong. We do not bow at the shrine of tender phrases. Might is right. Let us learn the lesson, and organize until we are the mightiest.

Our Uneducated Educators

(For teachers)

By X. Y. Z.

A GREAT many years have passed since Locke wrote, "It is truth alone I seek."

When public schools are established for the education of children, it might seem that the primary object in view would be to communicate truth to the tender minds given to the care of teachers. Is it? No doubt you are familiar with the policy of boards of education thruout the country in accordance with which teachers are prohibited from discussing working class problems in the schools. We ask you to accept this proposition, if any part of I. W. W. teachings is true then you are forbidden to teach truth, for remember, the prohibition is not against false capitalist economics but against all true working class economics.

If any of you have ever done any thinking on your own account, you have probably wondered why this should be the policy of any one who lives in this century and looks back upon inquisitions as things of the dead past. This article is written to tell you why you must lie to children, but before doing so, we quote from two logicians in order to set you upon the path of truth.

In "The Principles of Logic" by Atkins at page 12 he says, "When any one discusses the question at issue on its own intrinsic merits he is said to reason to the point, or, as the old logicians would say, his is an Argumentum ad Rem, but when one party to a discussion takes advantage of the weakness of another and tries to persuade him that something is true by appealing to his wishes or emotions he uses one form of the Argumentum ad Hominem. Since the essential purpose of this so-called argument is to leave a person in a certain mood which will affect his judgment, it makes very little difference how it is done. It may be by gentle or inflammatory speeches or it may be without speech at all—by feeding him or embarrassing him or getting him out in the moonlight."

We may also say by threats. On page 97 of his "Logic" John Stuart Mill says, "Take any attribute whatever, and if some things have it, and others have not, we may ground on the attribute a division of all things into two classes * * *"

The Industrialists claim that modern society is divided principally into two classes—the class that sells labor-power and the class that buys it. We may observe that the buyer, the owner of capital, does not bear the same relation to capital that the laborer bears to labor-power. Capital is not a part of a capitalist, neither is a capitalist a part of capital. Labor power is a part of the laboring man. Did you ever hear of labor power existing apart from a laborer? It is safe to say that you did not. Well then, let us see if we can draw an interesting conclusion from this. If labor power is an inseparable part of a laborer and the laborer sells his labor

power, then he sells himself. In other words he is a commodity. Being a commodity, his wages are governed by the same law of supply and demand that governs the price of any other commodity. For instance an overstocked shoe market and few buyers will mean cheap shoes. A great many buyers and few shoes will mean dear shoes.

Twelve jobs and four men looking for them will mean high wages; four jobs and twelve men looking for them will mean low wages.

Another fact of Socialism follows from this. A laborer being a seller and a capitalist a buyer, the interests of laborers and capitalists are in direct conflict. The more the buyer pays for labor power the less he has left and vice versa.

When a laborer tells this to his employer he then begins to hear some fallacies. He will be told that his ideas are radical—that he is un-American. In short, he will be answered by moonlight logic. Logic tells us that we should not reason thus. Yet isn't this exactly what we do when we call a person radical, un-American, etc.?

An un-American laborer is still a commodity; a radical laborer is still a commodity. Those epithets do not contradict the propositions of the I. W. W. It is instructive to take the common arguments against our philosophy and determine to what class of fallacies they belong. We do not hesitate to say that your board of education and all other capitalists will never give you an Argumentum ad Rem against the I. W. W. They cannot, but they can advance a great many fallacies. If their fallacies cannot persuade you, they have another means of persuasion. You will be dismissed. We are not trying to tell you teachers pretty things about yourselves. We leave that for your capitalist boards of education. If you doubt the class struggle, just ask your bosses for a raise in wages, ask them to promote your "identical interests" and see what will happen.

You teachers are simply educated commodities and most of you are not that.

If you can be educated up to the level of class conscious ditchdiggers, then there is some hope for you and logic will not have been written in vain.

Would you like to know why you are forbidden to teach Industrial Democracy when its teaching is made compulsory by the Russian Constitution? Would you like to know that there are no landlords in Russia and why? Would you like to know why capitalists are called "Parasites" by the Industrialists? Do you want to get rid of moonlight logic? If you do, then read the Russian Constitution and the literature of the Industrial Workers of the World. You can then truthfully say with Locke, "It is truth alone I seek."

Fake Bolshevism

or

THE ASS IN THE LION'S SKIN

By JOHN SANDGREN

FOR some time past a certain spirit in the Political Socialist movement of America has been exploiting bolshevism, its victories and achievements, to bolster up the bankrupt affairs of political socialism in this country. Throwing away all the old principles of the Socialist Party, by which they in the past have more or less successfully duped people into worshipping them as their saviours, they are now trying to begin life on new lines that are "awfully radical." The political quack and impostor has disowned himself and his yesterday, and he is today a "flaming" revolutionist, a revolutionary mass actionist, a—"bolshevik."

Altho the change is so recent, that we still recognize the old voice under the new mask, this impostor spirit is already getting bold enough to go round with a big club and threateningly asking people: "Are you a bolshevik, yes or no?" The inference is that if you answer "yes" you indorse him and his new fledged program, hair, skin, claws and all, and if you answer "no" you are a traitor to the working class "a betrayer of the proletarian revolution," etc. In their public speeches these "bolsheviks" do not hesitate to insinuate that everybody who is not rallying under their red ink banner on the spot and acknowledging them as leaders and saviour is "a dirty tool of the masters class" and such like. Tho having changed their color only yesterday, they want us to believe in them implicitly and unquestioningly. They are like the Coney Island barker outside a "bum" show, who tries to stampede the gaping crowd into his tent by mystification and bullying insinuations.

Before us on the table lies an anonymous circular issued by this spirit. It reads as follows:

"ARE YOU FOR OR AGAINST?"

Anti-Bolshevism—

65% of the wealth of America owned by 5 per cent. of the people. 35 per cent of the wealth of America owned by 95 per cent. of the people. 30,000 millionaires. Unemployment. Insecurity of existence. Starvation wages. Industrial tyranny. Child labor. Inability to marry. Prostitution. War. Profit to the rich. Death and misery to the workers. Are you for this?"

(Of course none of us is for this.)

"Bolshevism—

Jobs for all. To the workers all they produce. No rent to the landlords. No interest to the banker. No profit to the boss. A government of the workers, by the workers and for the workers. Are you against this?

Are you for or against? Think it over!

America for the working class of America."

Of course none of us is seriously opposed to any

of these points, altho the program of the organized workers is much grander than this, but what we object to is that these politicians come round and try to bully us into accepting a dilemma of this kind from **them**. They always have been politicians and they are nothing else now, although they have changed color like the chameleon to harmonize with new red ground they are crawling over. As such they can procure none of the relatively good things they are tempting us with. They are fake bolsheviks. They know that only thru industrial organization can the workers secure all these things and much more besides, but like the impostors they are, they are trying to get in on the good thing by throwing themselves in front of the workers' grand procession and are trying to bluff the workers into accepting them as leaders. What they want to lead them into is some sort of "revolutionary mass action," into some sort of "revolt" that will lift them into prominence and keep them with a meal ticket, without the necessity of going to hard labor and doing some real fighting on the job with the boss. That is too strenuous for these "flaming" revolutionists, who exploit every grand achievement, every heroic deed by sincere men and women for boosting their own schemes.

We of the industrial union movement absolutely refuse to accept any dilemma from these fake bolsheviks. We refuse to acknowledge your impostor leadership. We refuse to be bullied by the club you are holding over us by asking us if we are "for or against." We are the sincere friends of the bolsheviks of Russia, of Hungary and other countries, because these movements are bona fide revolutionary movements of the people, but we are against you, fakers and impostors, abusing the name of bolshevism to further your own petty political schemes.

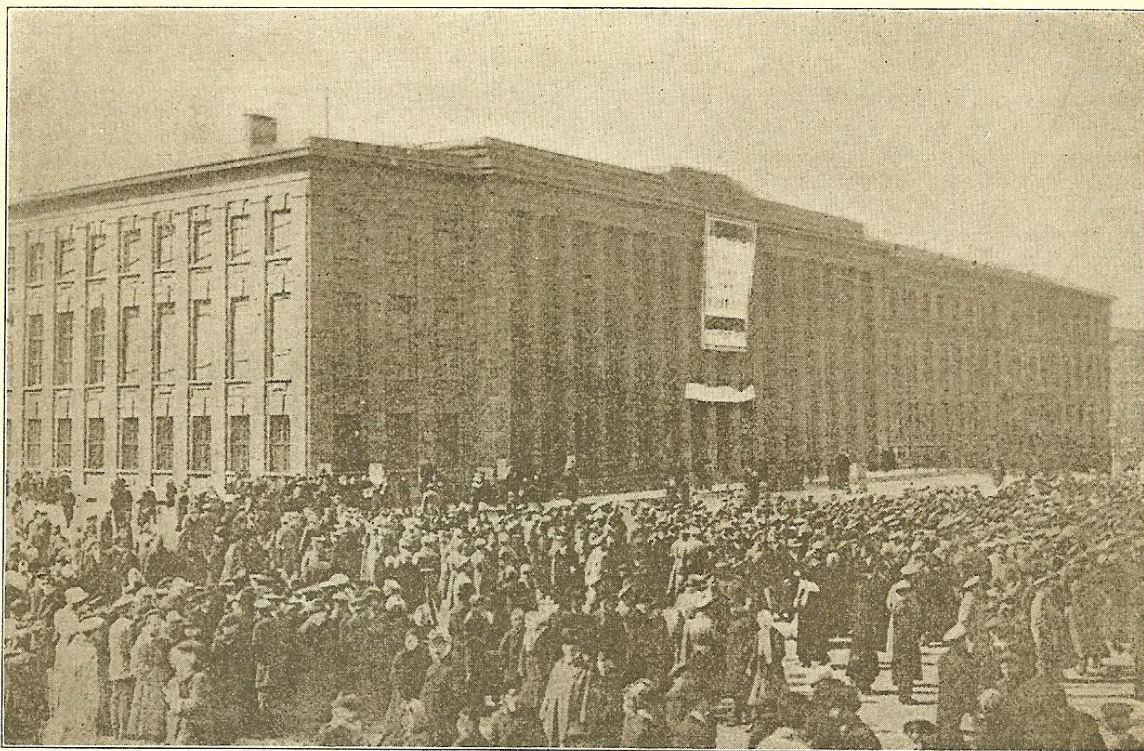
We have asserted our independence of such elements in the past, and we will do so now. And what's more, we want to put other people wise to the real character of your revolutionary propaganda. Get out of the road you adventurers and shysters who would exploit the revolution.

You are fake bolsheviks. You are the old American Socialist politician who betrayed us in the past and worked with our enemies. You are the old political ass in the real bolshevik lion's skin.

Your cry for "unity" is intended to lure the workers from the straight path of industrial organization into the political swamps where you can prey upon them.

No man likes to be represented by an impostor. That is why we decline to be represented by A. F. of L. fakirs and politicians. We repudiate them.

66
of m
the
ican
Hum
colle
first
1256
ing,
of B
he le
there
plays
linck
in lir
I we
learn
ical n
And
theat
starti
with
being
Petro



Russian Revolutionary Soldiers Mingling With Civilians

Life Among the Bolsheviki

By WILFRED R. HUMPHRIES

(Reported by Amy Oliver)

"I SAW more opera in Petrograd during the months it was supposed to be running knee-deep in blood, than I ever did in all the rest of my life," said Wilfred R. Humphries, worker for the American Y. M. C. A. and later for the American Red Cross in Russia during its reddest months. Humphries, young, unaffected, eager-eyed, of the college organization worker type, was giving his first lecture on Russia at the People's Institute, 1256 Market street, San Francisco, Thursday evening, April 10, and in the course of it showing slides of Bolsheviki scenes that he brought with him when he left Russia four months ago. "Besides the opera, there were Ibsen, Shaw, Tolstoy, Shakespeare's plays and vaudeville. In two weeks that Maeterlinck's 'Bluebird' ran, I never succeeded in getting in line early enough to get a ticket. In Moscow, I went to night school three evenings a week to learn Russian, and other evenings attended political meetings at Smolny Institute and other places. And every evening I saw women coming out of theatres in twos and threes, unattended by men, starting out across the city, streetcarless and dark, with no fear whatever. At this time schools were being organized all over Russia. I remember in Petrograd seeing a poster announcing the opening

of a kindergarten that said the children would be served with a hot lunch. This was the chaos and anarchy you read about.

"I heard stories of chaos and anarchy in Russia too. From the time I landed in Vladivostok—where then the red flag was flying—through the seven thousand miles of the journey to Moscow, we were met by the fleeing bourgeoisie and regaled with stories of terror and atrocity, hunger, typhus and murder. Typhus was killing a thousand a day, said the fugitives. Three-fourths of Moscow was burned to the ground. The Kremlin was destroyed. First we heard that Kerensky had thoroughly defeated the Bolsheviki. As we came nearer, the story was that the issue of the battle was still in doubt. Nearer—the Bolsheviki seemed to have the advantage, temporarily. When we got there, the six days of fighting was over and Kerensky was fleeing.

"I saw the 'destroyed' Kremlin—with a piece of statuary at the gate broken and holes through two of the churches—otherwise intact. I found the origin of the 'three-fourths of Moscow burned.' Five buildings had really been destroyed.

"Outrages—of a sort—I did see. On one of my departures from Petrograd, at the Nicolief station, I saw three Russian officers, epaulettes off of course,

carrying passenger baggage to the train. For the standard fee, since no tips were allowed, they duly carried my luggage for me. I saw a portly Russian gentleman in an expensive fur coat selling a bourgeois newspaper. After a particularly heavy snowfall, the Petrograd Soviet ordered everybody out to shovel snow, with the order that no one physically able to shovel might hire anyone else to do it for him. And house committees enforced the ruling.

"One more outrage I saw. Soon after the Soviets came into power, the bank clerks and civil servants, encouraged and supported by the bourgeoisie, went on strike. Lenine countered suddenly and cruelly by seizing all the banks and ruling that no matter if a man had millions deposited, he could withdraw no more than one hundred and fifty rubles (fifteen dollars) a month for each member of his family. This meant that the bourgeoisie could get no money to support the strikers and the result was that the strike was broken. But the touch that added insult to injury was the order that each depositor must stand in line to draw his monthly allowance. He couldn't send anyone for it. I saw in that line a plumb, deeply-furred, bediamonded woman with genuine tears coursing down her cheeks at the indignity she was suffering.

"What impressed most impartial observers in Russia, I think, was the tolerance, the considerateness, I had almost said the gentleness of the Soviets and their policies. You have heard much about their suppression of bourgeois newspapers. The only ones suppressed, however, were those that were printing absolute and outrageous lies about the Bolsheviks. If a Russian newspaper said in glaring headlines that the Bolsheviks had massacred all the prisoners and cut them in small pieces, that paper would be closed down. But newspapers might print all the argument against the soviet system that they pleased. I saw a perfectly orderly and unmolested procession of priests, marching through the streets with banners of protest against the division of church and state.

"The Social Revolutionists had planned a great demonstration in protest against the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, to be held January 5. The soviets did all in their power to persuade the Bolsheviks to keep away from the streets where the procession was to pass, so as to avoid any chance of disturbances. There was danger of an uprising, so the soviets arranged that all public buildings be well guarded. The manner of this was to ask all the people in the building, including the janitor, to aid in defending it. Besides this, the soviets had emergency armored cars with Red Guard groups, placed at strategic points about the city.

"Another evidence of this large tolerance is the fact that nothing was done about the dastardly attempt to assassinate Lenine, who was shot at by a member of the Social Revolutionist Party. At one time when the Social Revolutionists seemed bent on starting a reign of terror, the warning was sent out to them: 'For every Bolshevik leader killed,

we shall kill one hundred of the Social Revolutionists.' That was enough. There was no more trouble except one attempt by an Anarchist girl.

"Trouble between the Anarchists and Bolsheviks never came to any more than battles in a few cities just at first. In the early days of Soviet rule, many Monarchists who wanted to oppose the new government and also wanted to make a living without working, announced themselves as Anarchists and seized houses and goods. But of course the real Anarchists denounced them and now the majority of the Anarchists are supporting the Soviets.

"Now there are about ninety per cent of the population participating in the government—and I don't believe that percentage of people vote in America. All those that do useful work with hand or brain—and that means now about ninety per cent of the population—have representation in the Soviets. The teachers send delegates, as do the medical associations composed of doctors and nurses. What was in the beginning a dictatorship of the proletariat—with action begun as it always must be begun, by a militant minority—is now a true democracy. Those sabotaging against the Bolsheviks in the early days when they thought that the government would not last six weeks, are giving up their opposition as they realize that this is a government that has come to stay. I was in Samara when the teachers association met, split into a left and right wing, the majority reorganizing the association and electing delegates to the Soviets, the minority going out of the association altogether. A considerable section of the Intelligentsia were with the Bolsheviks from the first. A glance at the Bolshevik cabinet will prove that. I think one might say that it is the most cultured cabinet in Europe. Many of the rest of the Intelligentsia have been honestly converted since then.

"A minority objects to the centralization of industry—says there is not democracy enough and that the industries should be immediately and completely handed over to the workers.

"But remember that the Bolsheviks do not claim that Russia is wholly socialistic. They say that the co-operative commonwealth is not immediately possible, especially in a country as industrially backward as Russia. They say that Russia will have to develop the stage known as State Capitalism, with concentration of industries and formation of trusts. Mme. Kollantax said: 'We can't fully socialize Russia all at once. You other nations have a much better chance to socialize your countries, as industry is already partly socialized with you. You can begin where we leave off.'

"But centralization of industry under proletariat rule is a very different thing from centralization under bourgeois rule. Russia has not nationalized all her industries. Some are still under private ownership, modified by Workers' Control. Committees of workers audit the books of the industry, seeing that there is no watered stock; limit the profits to five or six per cent; require the owner to reinvest in the industry a good portion of his receipts; and regulate hours and wages.



“Mass Action” Before The Winter Palace

“Lenine says the policy of the Bolsheviki is to take over these industries that have reached the monopolistic stage, and then the others as fast as the new government can swallow them. It may be said that the industries not now owned by the workers are controlled by the workers.

“Under Workers’ Control the number of stores and shops has largely decreased, naturally enough, with the vanishing of competition.

“Another result of control by the workers, combined with the peasants’ ownership of the land and the taking up of work by the parasitical element, has been the ‘back to the land’ movement. Petrograd and Moscow have materially decreased in population, chiefly as a result of the agitation to go out and take up land, agitation that arose because Petrograd and Moscow were the two places where it was hardest to get food on account of the crippled railroads. But even in those cities during the worst of the railroad demoralization, it cost no more to live than in San Francisco. In Moscow I got dinners of soup, meat, vegetables, coffee and sometimes dessert for from five to ten rubles, that is fifty cents to a dollar—and and of course conditions have much improved since then. Through

the darkest days, from the time the Bolsheviki got control, I am sure there was not one starving person in Moscow.

“They had begun to organize the distribution of food in a most fair and thorough manner from the time I arrived in Russia, when the great army of twelve million was still demobilizing itself. Even while happy groups of soldiers with their gas masks and tea kettles hung on their backs were trooping home, I saw armed guards handing out leaflets that announced a moratorium on house rents. ‘Rentals under one hundred and fifty rubels a month are not payable for three months,’ the leaflets said. ‘Rentals above this amount are payable as usual.’ This and the rationing of food was a godsend to the poorer people. Of course this was in the early days of Bolsheviki rule. Later it could not be said that the working people were poor people. Their wages were more than adequate—that is, they could live well and save too. When the White Guard overthrew the Bolsheviki in Siberia and re-established capitalism there, the guard complained during the first few weeks that they could not force workmen back to work because they had too much money saved up.

"We were as generously treated in other respects. At Omsk we asked for a monastery for the housing of the refugees, and would have received it except that it was already full of other refugees, as was the whole city. But the Omsk soviet sent a celebrated man of the city, a doctor, along with us to help us get settled in the next city. He accompanied us and helped us for ten days, and when I offered him reimbursements for his work and time, he refused it. Afterward, when the White Guard had overthrown the Bolsheviki at Omsk, I saw him under quite different circumstances, a pitiable figure being taken to prison to be hanged, and I was glad to be able to effect his release by telling his captors how he had aided the American Red Cross.

"Another proof of the remarkable efficiency of the soviets was the tremendous campaign of propa-

"Whenever there was a shortage of anything, sugar, bread, whatever it was, the Bolsheviki government monopolized it and rationed it out, issuing food cards to make sure that no one could buy more than his share. Sugar was scarce all over Europe. The Soviets set the price at fifteen cents a pound and allowed each person a monthly allowance of from a half-pound to a pound, depending on the locality. At first for a short time there was a little sugar for sale in isolated markets and the rich people were buying it at the rate of \$1.50 a pound.

"I had a capital opportunity to see the efficient working of Soviet food control, for in taking twelve hundred Serbian refugees across Siberia for the American Red Cross, I had normal business relations with more than one hundred soviets over three thousand miles of territory. These were refugees

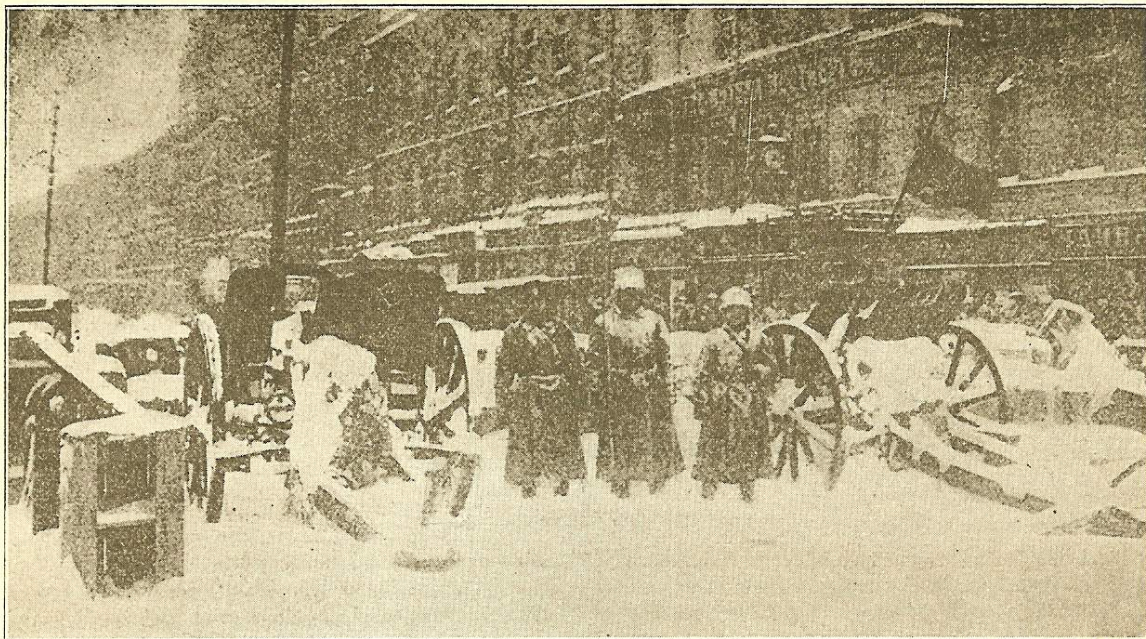


One Of The 10,000 Schools Started By The Bolsheviks

ganda carried on up to the German revolution. Boris Rheinstejn, the Socialist Labor Party delegate from America to the proposed Stockholm conference, was and still is the head of the English-speaking department of Foreign Propaganda. Petroff, one of the two men released from English jails on the demand of the Soviet Government which ruled that no Englishman could go into or out of Russia until they were freed, is the right hand man of the chief of all the propaganda. Two dailies in German with a half-million circulation were printed and shipped to the German front, some by airplane, some by hand, through Russians who had become acquainted with Germans during the fraternization period. An illustrated paper for the benefit of the uneducated Germans was also got out. One of these showed the photograph I am showing you here of the Ger-

who had fled to Roumania, then to South Germany, then to Samara in Russia. Raymond Robbins got an appropriation of a quarter of a million dollars with which to take them out and colonize them until there should be a chance to take them back to Serbia, and I was loaned to the Red Cross to take care of the job.

"I found how ready the soviets everywhere were to help the refugees. They sold us food at the same rate as it was sold to the Russian people, prices that might interest you, particularly as they were little more than half what would be charged in this country. Butter was from two to four rubles a pound, that is twenty to forty cents; eggs were two to two and a half cents apiece; bread three cents a pound; and at one place we got whole roasted chickens for thirty to sixty cents apiece.



A Russian City Street In The Days Of The Revolution

man Embassy building, with an inscription something like this beneath it: 'See the building of the German Embassy, with a banner above it bearing the words of a great German. Is it Bismarck? No. Is it the Kaiser? No. It is the immortal Karl Marx, and his words are: 'Workers of the World, Unite!' Now we throw back to you the words of your great countryman and ask you to unite. We Russians have taken the words seriously and all power is now in the hands of the workers. How long will it be before a German Socialist will come as Germany's ambassador?' Besides these, pamphlets were got out in English, French, Swedish, Turkish, Musselman and Chinese. I came in close contact with these propaganda workers while I was working for the American Y. M. C. A., getting out and distributing copies of President Wilson's Fourteen Point speech. The Russians liked that speech and agreed with most of its fourteen points, but they were a little sceptical as to whether the Allies would stand by it.

"I got up to Petrograd in time to spend six interesting weeks seeing big things happen there, with John Reed, Louise Bryant and Albert Rhys Williams. I was at the meeting of the Central Executive Committee when it decided to let the Constituent Assembly meet for one day as a demonstration of class line-up. And I saw the Assembly dissolved early one morning by a sailor who did it simply by telling them that the Red Guard was tired and wanted to go home.

"I saw one whole Sunday of bourgeois protest meetings in Moscow. These were carried on in a very sensible way. Two hundred or more groups of two or three bourgeois men and women formed about the city, each group engaging a few soldiers

in an argument. There was no disorder, the Russians are so amazingly reasonable. But no one succeeded in convincing the soldiers that they had done wrong in taking the power away from the 'natural rulers,' as the bourgeois put it.

"'Why don't you trust the educated people to lead you, instead of putting faith in this Lenine, this German agent?' some bourgeois men asked one soldier.

"'We are dark and ignorant, I know,' the soldier replied, 'but there is one thing we do know, and that is that the educated people have always deceived us.'

"I saw some of the 'dark and ignorant' Russian people at their new work of governing. In one place I saw the village soviet meeting, half a dozen stolid-faced earnest workingmen and peasants discussing ways and means of forming a farmers' school and using a calculating board with bobbins on a wire to help them with their adding and subtracting.

"And I saw everywhere the village and city schools the soviets opened—rows of earnest children presided over by an eager-faced womanly teacher or two.

"The soviets seem to be guided by common sense and the spirit of co-operation. There is no truth at all in the constant rumors of splits between Lenine and Trotzky, for instance.

"The Bolsheviki have, as you have heard, turned many of their munition factories into factories for the manufacture of agricultural machines. But not all of them. They knew that they must aid the first nation that had a revolution, so they kept a necessary number of the munition plants going.

"I saw in Samara the poster announcing the

socialization of women, and making it appear that this plan was given out by an Anarchist society there. Enemies of the Soviets knew they couldn't make people believe that the Soviets would authorize the socialization of women, so evidently their idea was to imply that the Anarchists would soon overthrow the Bolsheviks and put such practices into effect, so that on the whole it would be better to go back to Czarism. The Anarchists came out with a vigorous denial, of course. I have a copy of the posters of denial they put up, reading something like this:

"From the Samara Federated Anarchists: Enemies, you are defeated and you show that you are

getting desperate when you employ such methods. Anarchists all over the world have fought and are fighting for freedom. Is it likely that we would now use our freedom to enslave women?"

"And I heard friends and enemies of the Bolsheviks express their opinion frankly enough. An American in Moscow said when he heard the Germans had opened a bank at Riga, 'Better German banks here than banks managed by them damn Bolsheviks!' And an American who was in Russia as a representative of the International Harvester Company and later was made an American consul, said to me, 'Yes, I hope the end of the war is near so that Germany and the Allies can come in here together and put down the Bolsheviks.'"

Upward and Onward

A CALL TO SERVILITY

By WM. ROBERTS

IN these stirring days of freedom and democracy, there are many golden trails leading to place and fame; but, to him who has sufficient elasticity of conscience to travel it, there is no easier and surer path to purity of reputation and wide renown than an attack on the I. W. W. Among the many thoroughfares to eminence, there is no other like unto it; it is paved with velvet and so easy to travel that any four-flusher may journey therein and feel no disquieting uncertainties of his ultimate reward.

All the days of your life may have been spent in the most vicious and degraded practices of vice and crime; join the righteous in their attack on the I. W. W., and all the scars of your sins fade away, your degraded past is forgotten, your shame is obliterated, and henceforth you walk among men as one of the perfect products of Jehovah's most painstaking efforts.

This enchanted way to glory is open to all,—thug, thief, gunman, pimp—all degenerate humanity, from pick-pockets to real-estate men, may find absolution and restitution between its flower lined borders. And now is the accepted time—he who hesitates shall mourn forevermore his loss of this golden opportunity.

Are you seeking the highway to equality? Here in this magical path you may find the guerdon of your quest. Among the wayfarers who went its winding way, a free and joyous comradeship prevails; social caste is forgotten and moral demarcations are unknown.

In this brotherly and sisterly commingling of attuned souls, the macque and the prostitute, the drug-purveyor and the procuress, hail the clergyman as pal, and he in his turn salutes them as the most cherished of his beloved.

The peteman and the banker—each finds much to admire in the other; thru their comradesly devotion in this path of high endeavor, each has discerned in the mental and moral inclinations of the other a striking resemblance to his own. Because of the sympathetic understanding engendered by

their common passion for pure Americanism, they have come to realize that with an exchange of environments the banker would be a peteman and the peteman would be a banker.

Those who venture with these safe and sane crusaders, will journey thru most pleasant lands, across which the bracing breezes from the mountains of boundless profits are forever wafting, and where the air is constantly perfumed with the essence of never failing springs of hooch and dope. Truly a joyous pilgrimage, with a gallant and care-free company among whom honesty and truthfulness are the markings of a rube, and subornation and perjury are admirable.

In this great enterprise for the preservation of democracy, men who govern famous universities find their moral affinities in the persons of illiterate barrel-house bums; and boot-leggers, sand-baggers, and porch-climbers, hold jovial discourse with officers of the law, to their mutual edification and profit.

Are your aspirations those of a free and untrammelled soul—do the restrictions of common decency irk you? Come, join our better element in this unleashed fraternity where everything goes and naught but an I. W. W. is vile. Fear not that your saffron streaks debar you; tho' you are hued like unto a canary, yet fourteen thousand city-editors will acclaim you as of the mighty and valorous. The in old Gomorrah your leechery would have made of you a parish, yet the godly will take you to their bosom, their spiritual shepherds will proclaim you of the blest, and a jeweled harp will await you in their paradise beyond.

Eventually, as an appreciation of your loyalty, you undoubtedly will be decorated with "The order of the Swiftly Swung Boot," and thenceforth, as your reward, you will have the consolation of duty nobly done, and the proud distinction of having marched in the ranks under Macey, Gompers, Schwab, and other great warriors in the army of Upward and Onward.

Y
tom
wan
ing
emp
can
pres
dese
W
wher
no h
isola
trol
in sl
toda
Just
to g
and
to h
tomc
hate
Q
idea
will
says
ical
mosi
thou
ity,
ulate
R
twee
ploy
any
have
exce
the i
ecut
work
the c
ther
indiv
singl
ente
tion
actio
It
they
liger
lyncl
adop
they
"viol
wage
work
and