

THE SYNDICALIST

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WHOLE No. 61

The Passing Show

SETTLING THE MINERS' STRIKE.

The West Virginia coal miners' strike was settled in a peculiar way. A convention was called to consider terms of settlement. Governor Hatfield appeared before the convention and submitted terms that he was willing to put into effect. He was the newly elected "friend of labor" who had promised all kinds of stuff to the gullible people in return for their votes. Here he was on the job, ready to do his "duty" and all that kind of rot.

What were his terms? Bunk; simply that the miners return to work as they came out. Worse, there was no provisions offered for the return of the active men who had led the fight and who would surely be blacklisted. There was no representative of the mine owners there to make an agreement with. Nothing, just the verbal promise from the oily tongued politician that the men lay down and go back to work.

The officials of the mine workers' organization evidently had been in on the frameup, for they urged the miners to accept the generous proposition.

But there was a radical minority in the convention that refused and showed signs of making trouble for the "settlers." There was a healthy fear the miners would not accept these flattering terms and go back to their jobs without the smallest concession after more than a year of the bitterest struggle these men ever had.

Fred H. Merrick, editor of "Justice," an Industrial-Socialist paper, was clapped in jail with Boswell, editor of the "Labor Argus," Mother Jones and nine others, all held on the specious charge of "inciting insurrection."

The officials of the U. M. W. of A., accompanied by the governor, visited the strike zone on a special train and advised the men to return to work or have their strike benefits cut off. The men went back. It was a case of being deserted by their friends, of being forced to lay down.

The Socialists raised such a row about this betrayal of the miners that the National Committee sent Debs and Berger to investigate.

Two Socialist papers had been suppressed, their property destroyed and three Socialist editors were in jail, and martial law still ruled when these Socialist "investigators" landed.

They saw the governor and visited the strike zone under a personal escort from his office. They prepared a report in which they whitewashed the officials of the U. M. W. of A. and Governor Hatfield for all they had done.

Fred Merrick, in "Justice," charges Debs with absolute falsehood in that report. Evidently some things Debs wrote are not so, and Merrick says Debs was not deceived and that he lied deliberately in order to curry favor with the United Mine Workers of America, who had imposed this surrender upon the West Virginia miners in order to get the further trouble and expense of maintaining the strike off their hands.

The charge seems to be maintained by the facts and this strike has turned out to be a repetition of what is becoming now to be recognized as a great evil in the labor movement—the power of the international union officials to influence a local strike. The international unions are the source of centralized authority, and the task of the Syndicalists is to attack the evil and destroy it before it destroys the organizations of labor.

That men of the stamp of Debs and Berger should be awed into putting their stamp of approval upon the snide work of international officials is not surprising. The aim and object of Debs and Berger is first and last to build up the party machine and pile up the party vote. By so doing they increase the power at their command. Thus they make common cause with the miners' officials, their brothers in a common end—self-aggrandizement at the cost of the rank and file.

It is now up to the militant workers to make common cause against these professional labor and political skates and by a united and persistent effort take back the power these parasites have usurped from the local unions.

A PEEP BEHIND THE CURTAIN.

You have read Colonel Mulhall's "revelations," of course, so I need not go far into the details of his story. But it is a remarkably interesting tale and the colonel shows that he was "some" fixer. Of course he is telling the story himself and that helps it some. This is the first peep the gaping public has had into the capitalist tent. Mulhall has only lifted the corner of the curtain, however. He has told all he knows, of course, but he doesn't know it all. He was the official fixer of the association, which includes only a comparatively small number of the capitalists. All the big bosses feel they can take care of their own interests individually. They can send their own stock owners to Congress, men that can be trusted because their material interests are permanently tied to these corporations.

So the Senate is composed of members of the big interests, and the House has its full quota. And the big things are pulled off in committee in the regular way, the question being only on the distribution of the spoils. When that is settled the committees report back, the bills are passed and that is the end of it so far as you and I are concerned.

Mulhall is only a tin soldier compared with the capitalist generals in Congress. He makes a big noise, of course, when he falls, but that is only because he is tin.

It is very hard to see rascality when it is coated thick with legality. The gentlemen who are investigating the lobby look very pious and prim and will no doubt express their horror in some drastically harmless legislation when the show is over, and you and I will be profoundly impressed by their patriotic action and we will feel that the further corruption of our sacred legislative body is forever beyond the pale of possibility.

There are two ways to "fix" a politician. One is to "see" him before election, the other is to see him after election. All modern, up-to-date corporations first see that he is fixed and then see that he is elected. The Mulhall way of doing it is crude and unrefined. Stuff a wad of stocks into a politician's pocket and you can trust him anywhere.

Mulhall was a bait used by the association of manufacturers to catch members. He was sent around to help non-members to "show" them what the association could do. Mulhall has shown those of us who are simple enough to think there is something in politics that we are right, only the "something" goes to the politician and not to the people who elect him. He has shown us how neatly we have been duped by our "friends" in Congress and has actually revealed us to ourselves a nation of come-easies.

INCIDENT AND CO-INCIDENT.

A gang of hoodlums from the war ships in Seattle harbor wrecked the I. W. W. and the Socialist headquarters of that city on the evening of July 18th. A few of their number got roughly handled the evening before at a street meeting where they butted in and the raid was organized in revenge.

While they were engaged in this playful diversion their big boss, Secretary of the Navy Daniels, was banqueting with the plutocratic Seattle Ranier Club, at which he made a speech, and, quite by coincidence, it is said, denounced the red flag and all who believe in it as undesirables.

"The red flag has no place in this country and people who believe in the red flag should be driven from the country," said the "honorable" secretary. These patriotic sentiments brought down the house, you may be sure, and his "boys" were putting them into effect before they were out of his mouth. Strange coincidence.

Of course, Daniels' mouthing is pure and simple

bunk, intended to tickle the plutes who gave him the feed. It was poetry for the bunch, the kind they understood, realistic stuff that touched the stomach.

Thus Dan. paid for his lunch and passed on to the next club for another one. And the "boys" went back to their ships intoxicated with victory and revenge. And the reds were red, as they ought to be, redder if possible than ever before, and that was their compensation for the night's fun. And all retired.

WANTED, A SUBSTITUTE.

Desperate and more desperate is becoming the struggle between capital and labor. The organized masters with millions to back them. The organized workers with millions to back them. The masters with millions of dollars. The workers with millions of men. The masters' dollars will buy slugs with guns, governments with jails and hangmen. What will the workers' millions buy? What will the workers put up to match the masters' force effectively? Do you know of anything that will match force effectively, except force?

Prayer won't do it; God has been cast aside as a useless mediator in the conflicts of life.

Ballots won't do it; the fellow with the biggest weapons counts the votes.

Arbitration won't do it; the man behind the guns will tell you there is nothing to arbitrate, and what are you going to do about it?

Appeals to humanity won't do it; there seems to be no humanity behind the masters' millions.

Is there anything else we could think of as a substitute for the genuine article? If you know of any we will be glad to give you immortal fame as the greatest benefactor the human race has ever had—provided your dope works.

THE JOHANNESBURG STRIKE.

A strike of the kind that is coming was the strike of the Rand miners. It would have been peaceful enough had not the police attempted to prevent the strikers from holding a mass meeting. That was more than the men would stand, for they happened to be men.

Then the war began, as a result of which some sixty men were killed. A general strike took place. Street cars, newspapers, everything was stopped. Stores were sacked. Men took what they needed. The strike reported settled to the advantage of the men. Why not?

Men with the courage to fight for what they want will get it. But the fight is not finished. It has only begun. This strike is a mere skirmish, only a small beginning. Men are learning the reason for things. They are getting a glimpse of what ought to be. Such men are dangerous. The horde is growing. There are trying times ahead.

A LESSON IN EXPROPRIATION.

Speaking of direct action, the mayor of Cincinnati gave us a fine example when he forcibly took possession of the ice plants of the city, gave the strikers their demands and begun delivering ice. This brought the ice trust to treat with the union and the strike was soon settled.

Some day there will be a public opinion that will support the forcible possession by the workers themselves of the factories. "Public welfare" will demand that the men and women who do the actual work are the ones to do the thinking in connection with it, and where there is a director he will be hired by the workers as they now hire their union secretaries and business agents.

The Cincinnati mayor gave us a primary lesson in expropriation. We will follow it up to its final analysis. JAY FOX.

The Marine Transport Workers of New Orleans are engaged in a desperate struggle with the shipping interests. Forty-three men are in prison on the usual charge of "inciting to riot." Three workers have already been killed in this strike, and the story is yet to run.

THE SYNDICALIST

FORMERLY THE AGITATOR

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The recovery of freedom is such a splendid thing that we must not shun even death when seeking to recover it.—Cicero.

TWENTY QUESTIONS ON DIRECT ACTION.

XVI.

Is not "direct action" a form of violence subject to punishment by our courts?

If the working class had kept within the limits of the law in their attempt to gain reform they would be where they were at the beginning of the last century, when it was a crime in England, punishable by death, for two workmen at the same time to ask for a higher wage.

In spite, however, of all legal enactments against "coalitions of workers" and drastic laws forbidding workmen's associations, strikes continued, and in proportion as pressure was brought to bear from without, concessions were "granted" by the law-makers.

No government, whether monarchical or democratic, ever has granted to the working class any concessions which have not first been won through the organized economic might of the workers and the threatening power resulting therefrom.

The state which is the privileged minority always has fought to the last ditch all organization of the workers.

Only as they have organized and operated on lines of strikes and direct action, entirely apart from politics, have the workers been able to wring concessions from the masters.

The state, in endeavoring to save its "dignity," has graciously granted to the workers whatever liberties they already had forcibly appropriated.

Legal sanction of reform never has come through change of heart within, but through irresistible pressure from without.

XVII.

But our splendid school system! Is it not by education that the children of the poor will be enabled to fill a useful place in society?

With a school population of 24,000,000 in this country, our census reports show the astounding fact that only 17,000,000 are enrolled in the schools.

The ever-increasing demand for child labor is constantly decreasing the number of school children among the poor.

Among 1,000 children employed in the textile mills of the South, it was found that only 23 could read or write.

As the child is paid but one-fifth the wages of the adult, it is readily understood why machinery is now being made with short legs for the use of the little tots.

In the past ten years the number of children employed in the state of Illinois was increased 217 per cent against only 76 per cent increase in the employment of adults.

So long as fat profits may be ground out of the bodies of little children, the public schools will claim an ever-decreasing number of children of the working class.

XVIII.

When you attack the laws and the institutions of our country are you not attacking the home, which is the foundation of our civilization?

Capitalism has already destroyed the home for great numbers of workers, for it has forced the wives

and children of the workingman into its service. To be the home-keeper has become a luxury which fewer and fewer wives of workingmen can afford. Besides breaking up the homes of the workers to furnish labor for the big industries, they are broken up to supply menials for the homes of the rich.

The historic foundation of the home is authority and property. Its fundamental purpose is to insure to the possessor the right to bequeath to his children the enjoyment of this authority and property. Since the worker possesses neither authority nor property, he has been forced to substitute for them a class solidarity and an ideal of mutual helpfulness that looks beyond the dominant arrogance of the "head of the house" to the more important welfare of the child.

In order to "preserve the home" of the capitalist the children of the working class have been denied all right to a normal existence. The working class has decreed that all children, regardless of birth or parentage, shall enjoy to the full of its need the bounties which the whole earth has to offer.

The best that education, art, science, the brain and hand of man have produced. That one child could be denied this right condemns the whole capitalist system.

The preponderating importance of the "head of the family" no longer supercedes the combined claims of all society as it did in the early history of the race.

XIX.

Is it not true that the working class as a whole is unable to govern or care for itself, or to carry on the work of production and distribution?

Every person engaged in the work of production and distribution today receives a pay envelope. The only service rendered by the "brainy" financier is the cunning by which he has diverted the social product of the workers into the private pockets of the "owners."

His sole contributions to industry consist in securing secret rebates, in forcing small business men to the wall, in limiting output to keep up prices, in keeping in reserve an army of unemployed to keep down wages, in maintaining an expensive lobby, in bribing courts and in corrupting legislatures.

The organizers, boards of directors, stockholders and dividend-mongers contribute in no way to the work of production or distribution.

The managers, superintendents and heads of all departments receive a pay envelope which in no wise partakes of the swollen profits.

The special activities of the owners of our great industries consist of acts the most baneful, the most pernicious and hurtful to the public welfare of any class of criminals operating against society today. With the great compelling and coercive power of wealth they employ an army of the most brilliant and unscrupulous lawyers to defend and uphold their stolen privileges; with the press and the machinery of government representing their interests, they have succeeded in extracting from the producing class the largest amount of service with the least amount of labor of any class of criminals in the history of the world.

XX.

But why resort to force when the millionaire philanthropists already are asking what they can do for the poor?

The appeal of the WORKING POOR to the IDLE RICH! How absurd! Haven't the working class built your homes, produced your food, made your clothing? Haven't they built your automobiles, your yachts, your railroads, your streets? Haven't they built palaces for your idle dependents and shacks for their own women and children who toil for you? Haven't they built churches for you and prisons for themselves?

Haven't they built your factories and furnished the human machines to weave the cloth into rich fabrics for your wives and daughters? Haven't they risked their lives in the black hells of coal mines that you might sit in warmth and comfort? Haven't they faced the arctic terrors that your women might go clad in fur garments? Haven't they been scorched by the burning sands of the torrid zone that sweet spices might flavor your delicate viands?

Haven't their women died off like flies in your sweat shops, and haven't their children been robbed of childhood and opportunity by being condemned to a living death in your factories and workshops?

Haven't they given their daughters for your brothels that the "sanctity" of your home might be protected?

And haven't they given their sons for your army to shoot them down when they go on strike, and to serve as bullet stoppers when you seek new fields for exploitations?

A few proletarians furnish you with all the inventions, music, art, and the drama, and finally they make your coffins and dig your graves.

Who makes anything for the poor?

They take the shoddy leavings, the misfits and the damaged odds and ends, the meat between the horns, the coarse cotton for their clothes; and when they are broken down and no longer able to work, they are regarded as enemies of society and the state at once sets about getting them out of sight—in the poorhouses and the prisons; branding them as "unfit," and in nine states they are candidates for "sterilization" which is now being employed for the purpose of exterminating the "incapables."

What can the rich do for the poor?

Absolutely nothing!

You cannot even help yourselves off their backs, and by "direct action" they expect to assist you to dismount.

The working class has fought the battle of every class on earth but their own, and every victory has left them out.

Now for the first time in history they are out to win a battle for themselves. EVA TREW.

OUR AUSTRALIAN LETTER.

Dear Comrade:—Compromise has conquered. The upstart Australian Labor party has fallen. After backing and shoving in every direction it has come to grief. The labor federal attorney general, "Billy" Hughes, stumped the country, denouncing monopolies and trusts. Meanwhile his opponents published information about Billy possessing 300 shares in the New Castle coal trust. Billy explained that he had earned the money by politics, honestly (?) and had the right to get all the money possible while the system continued.

If only for one action, conscription, sending boys to jail for refusing to obey military despotism, the Labor party deserves chucking. And it has got it. Very little notice was taken of the elections. Twenty-two thousand in the constituency in which I live never voted, though they have no idea of direct action. They recognize the failure of political action.

We had an I. W. W. man from America who stated the Australians were the slowest people he had ever known, and felt nothing but contempt for them, and intended getting back at once.

I recently lectured at the Gaiety Theater on the Mexican revolution, mentioning that the Mexicans were in the van of the world's coming social revolution. Was well received and loudly cheered when mentioning that Mexican rifles did more effective propaganda than the ballot.

Australia is in a funny position, as the Liberals have a majority of one in the assembly while the Labor party has a strong majority in the Senate. But I suppose they will give and take. Money is the main desire of the politician. Australia is inevitably coming to civil war. The dispossessed are facing property. Collision will be the upshot, finishing with a social revolution. J. W. FLEMING. Victoria, Australia.

COMPULSORY VOTING.

Governor Cox of Ohio has become a warm advocate of compulsory voting. He has been driven to this by the fact that the people of the state have in a large measure lost interest in politics and won't turn out on election day. A new referendum law has gone into effect in Ohio, after years of arduous lobbying on the part of the single taxers and other reformers, and now the ungrateful mob won't appreciate the liberty won for it, and go to the polls and make its own law.

If I had the liberty to make my own law I wouldn't make any. Maybe these careless Ohio people feel the same way about it. FRED MOE.

Whether in chains or in laurels, Liberty knows nothing but victory.—Philips.

Louis F. Post, editor of "The Public," has been appointed assistant secretary of labor. The editor of this paper is still among the unemployed.

SOCIALISM IN THE UNIONS.

The machinists' union of Chicago, the largest organization of the kind in the world, has been divided. Where there was one solid district organization, representing twenty years of hard work, the greatest part of which was voluntary work, there are now two organizations, each fighting the other, instead of both fighting the bosses.

It is a deplorable condition, and it is doubly deplorable when it is known that its authors are misguided friends of labor. "Socialists," they call themselves, but they prove to be the most unsocial creatures in the world when they come in contact with those who do not immediately fall for their dope. It would not be so bad if the unsociability of the Socialist was confined to individuals, but the virus of it gets into the workers' unions and there it plays hell. This is the second serious attack the machinists' union has had of the dread disease.

Some years ago a number of these unsocial Socialists wormed themselves into District 15, New York, and split up the organization when they could not run it in accordance with their peculiar notions, in opposition to the notions of the rank and file.

They then organized the seceders into "The Brotherhood of Machinists," and the harsh word and bitter feeling began passing from vise to vise and across the machines, and the house of the machinist became divided against itself and the bosses were glad of the Socialistic brotherhooding.

Since then the machinists of the country have elected a Socialist to the office of international president, not because the majority of the rank and file are Socialists, but for the reason that they grew tired of enduring O'Connell, a reactionary, member of the Civic Federation, the militia of Christ, etc., and president for 23 years.

At New York the Socialist minority was ruled against by the international president and they lost no time in withdrawing. It was rule or ruin with the social brotherhoodists.

In Chicago the case has been reversed—a Socialist president has ruled in favor of the Socialist minority, and the majority has not withdrawn, although it had to appeal to the courts to protect itself from being disbanded by the Socialist president, who believes in the class struggle, abolition of the capitalist system, the brotherhood of man, and so on.

Cause of the Chicago Split.

The initial cause of the Chicago trouble was a scurrilous circular issued by some Socialist members and published in a local German Socialist paper, attacking the machinists' district lodge and its representatives. The district lodge naturally wanted to find the authors of the circular, which led to the suspension of the local and appeal to the Socialist president, Johnson, who proved himself absolutely incompetent as a leader and officer of a labor organization.

Clearly the best interests of the machinists lay in their being reunited, and a leader of ability would have brought them together. Johnson not only failed in this respect, but actually caused them to draw further apart by his bungling of the affair. His orders for the dissolution of the old district at the behest of the minority of Socialists was not only arbitrary and unfair, it was foolish. For he surely knew the men would not obey such a despotic command, and it is to the eternal credit of the Chicago machinists that they repudiated the dictatorial orders of Johnston and still fought to hold their membership in the International Association.

They recognize the importance of solidarity and, instead of breaking away and starting a dual union, like their Socialist brothers in New York did, they cling tenaciously to the old organization and by their perseverance and common sense will eventually bring about one big machinists' union in Chicago again.

Mulhall, the professional strike breaker, has given us some practical evidence of the great detriment to the workers of dual unions. Writing to his boss, Van Cleave, on his success in breaking the shoe workers' strike, he said: "There are, fortunately, most always two different organizations in the same industry that are jealous one over another and that can easily be used against each other."

Fortunately—for the bosses—there are still those among us, honest enough no doubt, who think nothing of creating a split in our ranks, and who, in-

deed, hail it as a victory for the "cause" when a split does take place.

Writing of the machinist strike that he was engaged to break six years ago, Mulhall has a different story to tell. There was no dual union he could use against them and he found it a very difficult matter to proceed successfully with his nefarious work. But he found a way to work. He used the internal strife racket. He writes:

"We had to try to bring several people into the organization who, by raising some internal question, had to direct the attention of the members away from the questions that mostly interested us."

Quite so. That is the trick. Get us squabbling about something that don't relate to the boss and we are safe. And Johnson and his Socialist comrades are doing in the machinists' union of Chicago the very work that Mulhall, the expert strike breaker, figured out was the best possible way to make the machinists' union impotent.

Johnson and his Socialist comrades did even more, or tried to do more, in the interest of Mulhall's masters.

The Chicago machinists demanded a 25c raise and a half holiday the year round. A strike occurred in Maywood. Johnson sent his emissary to the boss to try to scab an agreement for his Socialist comrades, cutting the holiday down to three months. Still the Chicago machinists continued to believe in the International Association and they sent Johnson's tool out of town with a mild but firm injunction to tell his master that they were handling things here and that they would brook no interference from him or anyone else.

Johnson organized the locals his comrades control into a district and legally dissolved the old one on paper. The old one is doing duty at the old place and pays no attention to its legal demise.

Johnson and his comrades in Chicago and their predecessors in New York give us examples of how Socialists administer the affairs of trade unions, and the effect has been so disastrous that we are forced by the sequence of logic to seek for the cause and to examine into the proposition of what effect the ideas of Socialism has upon a union man.

Socialism and Its Effect.

This brings us to an examination of Socialism and what its tactics are. For only by knowing what it is can we judge its effect upon the individual. We are concerned here only with the general, practical proposition of the Socialist party.

Socialism, then, is the doctrine that we shall elect men to office who will declare all land and factories and ships and railroads public property, and that all these be run by said officials in the interest of all and every worker will have a job, work short hours, and get the full product of his toil.

Now when a man gets that flowery picture into his mind and gets to believe it, what becomes of his trade unionism, with its hard, step by step, strike by strike, idea of progress? Naturally it takes a back seat in his head, and where tolerated it is only a means to the Socialist goal. He can't believe in it any more like he used to. He is bound to regard the trade union and its tactics as crude, antiquated, outworn means of assaulting the system, good enough in years gone by before the trusts were evolved and Socialism was discovered. Nowadays the intelligent worker strikes at the ballot box, and he doesn't strike for a few paltry pennies, but for the whole thing.

I repeat: how can a man who believes all that, as every Socialist does, and more, have any toleration for plodding, unromantic trade union tactics? And might we not reasonably ascribe the failure of Socialists as trade union officials and members even to these very palpable facts?

There is no logical reason for a man taking an interest in an institution his philosophy tells him is moss-covered and worm-eaten, except to make propaganda for his new ideal—and the union, as we all know, is a fertile field for Socialist propaganda.

Naturally, where the Socialists control the union they have a free hand to use it and its funds to further their Utopia. Logically they can't have any love for the trade union as a trade union; and the only way we can account for their activity in the union is, first, that they may get into the official positions, which furthers their personal ends, and, second, that they may make use of the organization for the propaganda of Socialism, which furthers their collective ends.

JAY FOX.

ATTENTION, I. W. W.

This paper has been criticised for some few things it has said in criticism of a tendency long prevalent in the I. W. W. That members of the I. W. W. should object to criticism while they are themselves the most unmerciful critics in the country is one of the inconsistencies of unreasoning enthusiasm.

We have from time to time given a voice to the supposed thought of the militant members of the I. W. W., to whom their own press has been closed. About a year ago it was brought to our attention that articles in criticism of the policy of the organization, or that did not meet with the personal approval of the editors of the I. W. W. papers were refused publication. While these papers were shouting in large red letters for free speech, and while the general office was issuing manifesto upon manifesto calling upon the rank and file to rally to the defense of free speech, and go to jail and get beaten up by vigilantes in behalf of the grand principle, this same red letter press and this same general office was denying free speech to their own membership.

This flagrant abuse of a fundamental principle, this glaring inconsistency, first discovered by a few, soon grew to be common knowledge and began to be a matter of discussion among the membership; but no word of it was allowed to get into the official press.

Now it has got to the pitch where locals are taking action, as the following resolutions will testify.

We publish these resolutions only because the official I. W. W. press has not done so. This is not the first time we have given space to the militant I. W. W.'s, and while we may not believe in all their contentions, we do believe in free speech. We do not think the I. W. W. or any other organization is above criticism, and we believe the common man in the ranks has as much right to be heard as the fellow he has elevated to the seat of power, and we propose that he will be heard as far as this paper can carry his voice.

J. F.

Resolutions of Local 322.

Vancouver, B. C., June 4th, 1913. To all I. W. W. locals and members of the I. W. W.:

Fellow Workers:

At the last regular meeting of L. U. No. 322, I. W. W., Vancouver, B. C., the following resolutions were adopted, and ordered to be sent to all I. W. W., and the press:

1st.—Resolved, That Walker C. Smith be retained as editor of the Worker, seeing that he was elected from the rank and file of the I. W. W.

2nd.—That Heslewood be immediately fired from the Worker or any office concerned with same.

3rd.—That we demand the fullest discussion on all questions pertaining to the revolutionary movement, whether they agree with the editor's views or not, and that no official communication from any local be suppressed if intended for publication; we demand free press from our papers for ourselves.

4th.—That we question the right of Vincent St. John to dictate to the I. W. W. membership as to the policy of the Worker and who shall edit the same.

5th.—That we demand the full explanation of the Heslewood, Smith and Biscay controversy from the persons involved, and we also demand that Vincent St. John and the G. E. B. admit or refute the charges made by W. E. Trautmann in the Miners' Magazine, May 24th, the Weekly People, and the New York Call.

6th.—That we demand that these explanations shall be given through the columns of all I. W. W. papers by the 1st of July, so that the membership shall not be kept in ignorance any longer.

7th.—And be it further resolved, that if such an action is not forthcoming, that Local 322 I. W. W. will use direct action upon the papers by canceling all the bundle orders and also cut off the per capita tax to general headquarters and we call on all the locals to do the same.

Yours for the rule of the rank and file.

R. GOSDEN,
WM. MCKENZIE,
WM. HORNE,

Committee.

The local further refuses to contribute to the strike fund of the Ipswich Defense League because J. S. Biscay is associated with it and handling the money.

TRAUTMANN MAKES SERIOUS CHARGES.

William E. Trautmann, ex-general secretary and organizer of the I. W. W., has another lengthy letter in the "New York Call," in which he claims that the steel trust was behind the prosecution of Ettore and Giovanitti and prevented their release on bail. The steel trust, he says, was anxious to ruin the woolen trust, which it could not control, and planned to precipitate another strike by the conviction of Ettore and Giovanitti, when it would offer employment to the strikers in its Pittsburgh mills, which were running shorthanded.

Now comes the astonishing charge that St. John entered into this scheme and that an I. W. W. organizer, Harry Goff, under St. John's directions, joined the detective agency operated by the steel trust and entered into a contract with the Commercial Employment Agency of Pittsburgh for the purpose of carrying out the plan of furnishing the steel trust with 15,000 workers.

The trust was to pay the fare and in addition was to pay two dollars for each one that went to work. These two dollars were to be divided between the employment agency and the I. W. W.

Trautmann asserts he has plenty of data on file to back up his highly sensational charges.

He asserts that only the failure to secure conviction of Ettore and Giovanitti prevented the gigantic conspiracy from going through, whereby the I. W. W. would reap a harvest of \$15,000.

The story reads like a romance and one is inclined to think Trautmann is daffy. We surely need a lot more proof than the circumstances he has cited to attach any suspicion upon the character of Vincent St. John.

THE I. W. W. ANSWERS.

The I. W. W. has made answer to the court investigating the disposition of the funds of the Lawrence strike, which found a \$10,800 shortage and returned an indictment against Trautmann, N. Yates and others on the charge of misappropriation.

In "Solidarity" of July 19th Francis Miller explains that the money alleged to be short was taken from the fund by a secret finance committee, and afterwards distributed among the strikers.

This action was taken, Miller explains, as a precaution against capitalist raids and injunctions, which came a week after the transfer, when the affairs of the committee were tied up by the courts, but there was only 49 cents caught, and that the distribution of funds went on just the same from the secret committee appointed by Haywood.

LOCKOUT IN KANSAS CITY.

When an I. W. W. member is asked, "Why build dual unions?" his answer is: "The A. F. of L. is a bosses' union." And yet the master builders and contractors of Kansas City have organized and are willing to spend a million dollars to break this "bosses' union." Six thousand building trades union men have been locked out by the master contractors and it seems that K. C. is about to witness a labor war such as it never before witnessed.

The workers are supposed to be enjoying free speech here. The Socialists have been talking votes on the street corners without being molested. The I. W. W. was supposed to have won free speech here about a year ago, but, now, when the lockout was declared, the Syndicalist got busy on the street corner talking the general strike and sabotage. The chief of police gave orders that no street meetings will be permitted while the lockout lasts. How pathetic.

While this labor war is on between the building trades council and the master contractors one set of patriotic Socialists are wailing "bosses' union! bosses' union!" and another set of Socialists are singing the old time song of "Votes! Votes!" But the Syndicalist League is on the job carrying its agitation into the labor temple and the local unions, and, as a result of this agitation, union men are talking general strike and SABOTAGE. In fine, Syndicalist tactics and ethics are being discussed without prejudice or hostility. It is almost certain that the master contractors will have to swallow one of those sure-cure pills known as GENERAL STRIKE and SABOTAGE.

The Syndicalists of K. C. are now learning by practical experience that "boring from within" is a success and that action speaks louder than words; and that the Revolution on the job means more than a revolution in the weekly papers.

MAX DEZETTEL.

A VISIT TO MEXICO.

I have recently been in Mexico. I did not go there to locate but to find out at first hand about the revolution. This is what I discovered: I found that the Mexicans are far ahead of the Americans and Europeans and of all radicals. You may not believe this, but I assure you it is absolutely so.

These Mexican comrades are under arms and they are going to keep under arms and give their lives for "Land and Liberty" if need be. The country people are fighting the city people. The government is composed of city people and the country people want to decentralize it and they have so far succeeded in their work that all hell won't save it now.

I found the people there so communistic that if they have anything you want they give to you without a question, each one ready to divide his last loaf with you.

The rebels have all left the cities for the country and they are going to stay there till they win. I found they have an airship among their equipment and are going to get some more.

They are burning down churches and courthouses and will kill off any capitalist who will attempt to monopolize the land or anything else. And they know that the workers of the entire world will have to do the same thing in order to free themselves.

They are not afraid of the United States government, but they fear that this government may combine with other governments to crush them.

C. E. SWIFT.

ON THE PICKET LINE.

The Syndicalists of St. Louis are publishing a daily paper, "The Unionist," in connection with the waiters' and telephone girls' strikes.

At Ipswich, Mass., a number of strikers have been indicted on the familiar charge of "inciting to riot."

The I. W. W. woodsmen's strike on Puget Sound has been called off for want of pickets.

The shingle weavers' strike in Seattle still continues, and the men are standing solid.

Send in a dollar for a year's subscription and get a copy of Puget's famous book, "Sabotage," free.

The Paterson strike still continues. It is reported some have returned to work. Pat Quinlan has been sent to jail for two to five years in connection with this strike and several more are yet to be tried.

There are 200,000 native black men corralled like cattle, treated like prisoners and exploited as slaves in mines around Johannesburg. If these black men ever get a voice that will arouse them to the fact of their own strength and infuse them with ideas of liberty I won't give thirty cents for the life or property of every white man in the Rand.

USE PICKETS IN FARM STRIKE.

London.—The farm laborers on strike in north-west Lancashire for more pay and a 1 o'clock stop on Saturdays have established a system of picketing the farms involved.

Everywhere pickets are out in force and are scouring the countryside on bicycles, preventing whenever possible the work being done. In many instances they forced carts with farm produce for Liverpool to return yesterday and compelled men and women engaged in the fields to go back to their homes.

Permits have been issued by the strike committee to those farmers who have recognized the union.

GIRLS USING SABOTAGE.

St. Louis.—It was reported to the police stations again that telephone wires in Granite City, Madison and Venice, Ill., near here, were cut early this morning.

This is the fourth instance of wholesale vandalism attending the strike of the local Bell Telephone Company's operators.

FOR KANSAS CITY.

To all Revolutionary Barbers, Syndicalist, Socialist, or otherwise. It is very important that you communicate with

JOHN L. GALEN,
521 East 15th St.,
Kansas City, Mo.

Secretary of the Barbers' Educational and Organizing Committee.

ENJOYS OUR CRITICISM.

Editor The Syndicalist:—

Fellow Worker:—Enclosed find one dollar for which please forward The Syndicalist to this local for one year, as this local wants to keep informed of the effect of the boring from within policy, and enjoys your criticisms of the I. W. W.

Yours for industrial autonomy,
ALEXANDER MACKAY, Sec.
Eureka, Cal. 431 I. W. W.

MARTYRS' SPEECHES IN JEWISH.

A Jewish translation of the now world famous speeches of the Chicago martyrs is being prepared for Group Solidarity, New York, and will be in book form for the twenty-sixth anniversary of their legal murder, November 11th.

The book will have about 300 pages and will be sold for 25 cents, by mail 30 cents, if you send in your order now to Dr. B. Liber, Treasurer, 272 East Tenth street, New York City.

Freedom is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards.—Lowell.

Books and Pamphlets For Sale by the Syndicalist Publishing Association.

A Physician in the House, Dr. J. H. Greer.....	\$2.00
Ancient Society, Lewis H. Morgan.....	1.50
Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, Berkman....	1.50
The Labor Movement in France, Louis Levine.	1.50
What Is Property? P. Proudhon.....	2.00
Life of Albert R. Parsons, with a history of the Anarchist trial	1.50
Liberty and the Great Libertarians, Sprading..	1.50
Flowers of the Mind, the best poems.....	1.00
Anarchism and Other Essays, Emma Goldman.	1.10
Love's Coming of Age, Edward Carpenter.....	1.00
Syndicalism and the Co-Operative Commonwealth, Pouget & Pataud.....	1.00
The Physical Basis of Mind and Morale, Fitch..	1.00
Thoughts of a Fool.....	1.00
The Materialistic Conception of History, Labriola	1.00
The Positive School of Criminology, E. Ferri..	.50
Origin of the Family, Property, State, Engels..	.50
The Evolution of Property, P. Lafargue.....	.50
Slavery of Our Times, Tolstoy.....	.65
Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies, P. Lafargue.	.50
Human, All Too Human, Nietzsche.....	.50
Francisco Ferrer; His Life, Work and Martyrdom25
Sabotage, Emile Pouget.....	.25
God and the State, with portrait, Bakunin....	.20
Modern Science and Anarchism, Kropotkin....	.20
Law and Authority, Peter Kropotkin.....	.10
Non-Governmental Society, Edward Carpenter.	.10
The State; Its Historic Role, Kropotkin.....	.10
Syndicalism, Ford and Foster.....	.10
The Tiger's Claws, Criticism of Schools. R. Markus10
Industrial Conspiracies, Clarence Darrow.....	.10
Concentration of Capital, a Marxian Fallacy...	.05
Direct Action, Volairine de Cleve.....	.05
Law and Authority, Kropotkin.....	.05
The Wage System; Revolutionary Government.	.05
Appeal to the Young, Kropotkin.....	.05
Evolution and Revolution, Recluse.....	.05
Trade Unionism and Anarchism, Jay Fox.....	.05
The Pyramid of Tyranny, Nieuwenhuis.....	.05
The Mexican Revolution, W. C. Owen.....	.05
Anarchist Communism, Kropotkin.....	.05
Direct Action vs. Legislation, J. B. Smith.....	.05
The Rational Education of Children, Ferrer....	.05

COMMUNISTIC LIBRARY.—Meets every Thursday night from 8 to 10 o'clock; every Sunday morning from 10 to 12 o'clock. Free lessons in English and Esperanto. Books in any language free. 700 Hudson street, Trenton, N. J.

FOR SALE—Cheap—In Home Colony; an acre with four-room house, chicken house, bearing trees; good view. Apply M., Rasnick Home, Lakebay, Wash.

"WHY?" A magazinelet of the Revolution. 1423 S. Washington street, Tacoma, Wash. Monthly, 60c a year.

THE SOCIAL WAR. A revolutionary weekly. 227 West St., New York. Subscription voluntary.

MOTHER EARTH. Monthly. Social science and literature. 55 W. 28th St., New York. Yearly, \$1.