

THE DECLINE OF THE I. W. W.

BY

JOHN S. GAMBS, M. A.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE
FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

THE primary purpose of this study is to tell the story of the Industrial Workers of the World from 1917 to 1931. The organization has been in existence for more than a quarter of a century. The first half of its life has been chronicled by Professor Paul F. Brissenden. This present book essays to supplement Mr. Brissenden's work and to continue the story into the present; to contain between two covers a tolerably complete and reliable record of I. W. W. activities during the past thirteen or fourteen years.

A story is always colored by the prejudices of the storyteller. The historian always has a moral up his sleeve. It is therefore wise to acquaint the reader with the attitudes which went into the compounding of this record. I am, first of all, interested in social change; and only incidentally interested in the history of labor at large or of the I. W. W. in particular. I am interested in the philosophy of social change, in political reform, education, revolution, economic upheavals and technological advances. The history of the I. W. W. is important to me only if it has thrown some light on social change. Thus, some of the more specific questions which have occurred to me are:

1. To what degree can an American working-class organization hold fast to an ideal of revolutionary social change and at the same time attract a large and permanent following?
2. Is the theory of social change held by the I. W. W. fundamentally sound in spite of its apparent failure?
3. The American scene considered, have the Communists substituted better theories of social change?

4. Can any group in America achieve social change by the application of theories similar to those of the I. W. W. and the Communists?

In the pages that follow these questions will not be answered for all time. It is to be hoped, however, that some not too unsubstantial notions can be got from this discussion regarding the position of the I. W. W. as a revolutionary organization and the rôle, if any, that it has played in social progress.

To Mr. R. Jacob Baker I must express thanks for having suggested this study and for having given me much valuable information. I am under too many obligations to Lois Hayden Meek to be able to express my gratefulness here. Many members of the I. W. W. have given me time and have taken the trouble to write letters and to send press clippings and other material, which could not easily have been found without their help. Professor Carter Goodrich has given me much encouragement, and has made many helpful suggestions. Professor Leo Wolman has been good enough to read the manuscript and to give me a point of view on the place of the I. W. W. movement. From Professor Robert MacIver I have received some important cues for the first chapter.

I owe a great debt to Professor Paul F. Brissenden who, aside from having given generously of his time and counsel, has placed at my disposal a large number of I. W. W. publications, which, because of their ephemeral nature, could probably not have been procured elsewhere. He has also put into my hands much material which, because of its being out of print—and for other reasons—cannot be procured from the general headquarters of the I. W. W.

I am indebted in various ways to John Beffel, Annabelle Day, Joseph Dorfman, Nelson Frank, Harrison George, Frank Palmer, Howard Scott and Vern Smith.

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APPENDIX I

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL APPEALS TO THE I. W. W. (FROM SOLIDARITY, AUGUST 14, 1920)

Comrades and Fellow Workers:

The Executive Committee of the Communist International in session at Moscow, the heart of the Russian Revolution, greets the revolutionary American proletariat in the ranks of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Capitalism, ruined by the World War, unable any longer to contain within itself the tremendous forces it has created, is breaking down.

The hour of the working class has struck. The Social Revolution has begun, and here, on the Russian plain, the first vanguard battle is being fought.

History does not ask whether we like it or not, whether the workers are ready or not. Here is the opportunity. Take it and the world will belong to the workers; leave it—there may not be another for generations.

Now is no time to talk of "building the new society within the shell of the old." The old society is cracking its shell. *The workers must establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat which alone can build the new society.*

An article in the ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY, your official organ, asks, "Why should we follow the Bolsheviks?" According to the writer, all that the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia has done is "to give the Russian people the vote."

This is, of course, untrue. The Bolshevik Revolution has taken the factories, mills, mines, land and financial institutions out of the hands of the capitalists, and transferred them to the **WHOLE WORKING CLASS.**

We understand, and share with you, your disgust for the

principles and tactics of the "yellow" Socialist politicians, who, all over the world have discredited the very name of Socialism. Our aim is the same as yours—a commonwealth without State, without Government, without classes, in which the workers shall administer the means of production and distribution for the common benefit of all.

We address this letter to you, fellow workers of the I. W. W., in recognition of your long and heroic services in the class war, of which you may have borne the brunt in your own country, so that you may clearly understand our Communist principles and program.

We appeal to you, as revolutionists, to rally to the Communist International, born in the dawn of the World Social Revolution.

We call you to take the place to which your courage and revolutionary experience entitles you, in the front ranks of the proletarian Red Army fighting under the banner of Communism.

COMMUNISM AND THE I. W. W.

The American Capitalist class is revealing itself in its true colors.

The constantly rising cost of living, the growing unemployment, the savage repression of all efforts of the workers to better their condition, the deportation and imprisonment of "Bolsheviks", the series of anti-strike laws, "criminal syndicalist" laws, "red flag" laws, and laws against propaganda advocating the "forcible overthrow of government and the unlawful destruction of property"—all these measures can have but one meaning for every intelligent worker.

BUT NOW THE CAPITALISTS OF THE WORLD—THE AMERICAN CAPITALISTS AS WELL AS THOSE OF FRANCE, ITALY, ENGLAND, GERMANY, ETC., ARE PLANNING TO REDUCE THE WORKERS ONCE FOR ALL TO ABSOLUTE AND HOPELESS SERFDOM.

Either this, or the Dictatorship of the Working Class—there is no other alternative. And the workers must chose *now*.

Capitalism is making desperate efforts to reconstruct its shattered world. The workers must seize by force the power of the State, and reconstruct society in their own interests.

THE COMING SLAVE STATE

Before the American Civil War, the Negro slaves of the South were bound to the land. The industrial capitalist of the North, who needed a floating population to operate their factories, declared slavery to be an outrage, and abolished it by force. Now the industrial capitalists are attempting to bind the workers to the factories.

In every country, during the world war, it was practically forbidden for the workers to strike, or even to stop work. You will remember the "Work or Fight" laws in your own country.

And now that the war is over, what has happened? The cost of living has gone up and up, while the capitalists have actually tried to reduce wages. And when the workers, faced by starvation, are forced to strike, the whole power of the State is mobilized to drive them back to the machines. When the railway shopmen walked out, the United States Marshal of California threatened to bring in Federal troops to force them to work. When the Railroad Brotherhoods demanded higher wages or the nationalization of the railways, the President of the United States menaced them with the full armed power of the Government. When the United Mine Workers laid down their tools, thousands of soldiers occupied the mines, and the Federal Court issued the most sweeping injunction in history, forbidding the Union leaders from sending out the strike order or in any way assisting in conducting the strike, and forcibly preventing the payment of strike-benefits. And finally, the Attorney General of the United States declared officially that the Government would not permit strikes in "industries necessary to the community."

Judge Gary, head of the Steel Trust, can refuse the demand of the President of the United States to meet a committee of his workers. But when the steel-workers dare to go on strike for a living wage and the elementary right to join a Union, they are called Bolsheviks and shot down in the streets by the Pennsylvania Cossacks.

And you, fellow workers of the I. W. W., with your bitter memories of Everett, of Tulsa, of Wheatland, of Centralia, in

which your comrades were butchered; with—your thousands in prison—you who nevertheless must do the “dirty work” in the harvest-fields, on the docks, in the forests—you must see plainly the process by which the capitalists, by means of their weapon, the State, are trying to inaugurate the Slave Society.

Everywhere the capitalists cry: “More production! More production!” In other words, the workers must do more work for less wages, so that their blood and sweat may be turned into gold, to pay for the war-debts of the ruined capitalist world. In order to accomplish this the workers must no longer have the right to leave their jobs; they must be forbidden to organize so that they may be able to wring concessions from the bosses, or profit by capitalist competition. At all costs the Labor Movement must be halted, and broken.

So save the old system of exploitation, the capitalists must unite, and chain the workers to the machines of industry.

OR THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Will the capitalists be able to do this?

They will, unless the workers declare war on the whole capitalist system, overthrow the capitalist governments, and set up a Government of the working class, which shall destroy the institution of capitalist private property and make all wealth the property of all the workers in common.

This is what the Russian workers have done, and this is the **ONLY WAY** for the workers of other countries to free themselves from industrial slavery, and to make over the world so that the worker shall get **ALL HE PRODUCES**, and nobody shall be able to make money out of the labor of other men.

But unless the workers of other countries rise against their own capitalists, the Russian Revolution cannot last. The capitalists of the entire world, realizing the example of the danger of Soviet Russia, have united to crush it. The Allies have quickly forgotten their hatred for Germany, and have invited the German capitalists to join them in the common cause.

And the workers of other countries are beginning to understand, in Italy, Germany, France and England the tide of Revo-

lution is rising. In America, too, even the conservative members of the A. F. of L. are realizing that strikes for higher wages and better conditions don't mean anything, because the cost of living is always higher and higher. They have proposed all sorts of remedies, reforms, such as the Plumb Plan, nationalization of mines, etc. They have founded a so-called "Labor Party", which works for municipal and Government ownership of industry, more democratic electoral machinery, etc.

But these reforms wouldn't solve the problem, even if they could be achieved. **SO LONG AS THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM EXISTS, THE SAME MEN WILL BE MAKING MONEY OUT OF THE LABOR OF OTHERS. ALL REFORMS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF SOCIETY SIMPLY FOOL THE WORKER INTO BELIEVING THAT HE ISN'T BEING ROBBED AS MUCH AS HE WAS BEFORE.**

The social Revolution has begun, and the first battle is on in Russia. It will not wait for the Workers to experiment with reforms. The capitalists have already destroyed the Hungarian Soviet Republic. If they can dominate and break the Labor movement in the other countries, then will follow an industrial Slave State.

BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE, the class-conscious workers of the world must prepare to meet the shock of the capitalist assault, to attack and destroy capitalism, and root it out of the world.

THE CAPITALIST STATE

The war and its aftermath have revealed with startling clearness the real function of the capitalist State—with its legislatures, courts of justice, police, armies and bureaucrats.

The State is USED to defend and strengthen the power of the capitalists, and to oppress the workers. This is particularly true in the United States, whose constitution was framed by the great merchants, speculators and land-owners, with the deliberate purpose of protecting their class interests against the majority of the people.

AT THE PRESENT TIME THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS OPENLY ACTING AS THE WEAPON OF THE CAPITALISTS AGAINST THE WORKERS.

The I. W. W. should realize this more clearly than any other body of workers, for it has been savagely persecuted by the Government—its leaders imprisoned, its papers suppressed, its members deported, jailed on false charges, refused bail, tortured, its headquarters closed, and its propaganda declared illegal in many States.

Any worker can see this fact with his own eyes. All the people vote for Governors, Mayors, Judges, and Sheriffs; but in time of strike the Governor calls in the militia to protect the scabs, the Mayor orders the police to beat up and arrest the pickets, the Judge imprisons the workers for "rioting", disturbing the peace", and the Sheriff hires thugs as deputies, to break the strike.

Capitalist society all together presents a solid front against the worker. The priest tells the worker to be contented; the press curses him for a "Bolshevik"; the policeman arrests him; the court sentences him to jail; the Sheriff seizes his furniture for debt; and the Poor House takes his wife and children.

In order to destroy Capitalism, the workers must first wrest the State power out of the hands of the capitalist class. They must not only SEIZE this power, but ABOLISH THE OLD CAPITALIST APPARATUS ENTIRELY.

For the experience of Revolutions has shown that the workers cannot take hold of the State machine and use it for their own purposes—such as the Yellow Socialist politicians propose to do. The capitalist State is built to serve capitalism, and that is all it can do, no matter who is running it.

And in place of the capitalist State the workers must build their OWN WORKERS' STATE, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Many members of the I. W. W. do not agree with this. They are against "the State in general." They propose to overthrow the capitalist State, and to establish in its place immediately the Industrial Commonwealth.

The Communists are also opposed to the "State." They also wish to abolish it—to substitute for the government of men, the administration of things.

But unfortunately this cannot be done immediately. The destruction of the capitalist State does not mean that capitalism automatically and immediately disappears. The capitalists still have arms, which must be taken away from them; they are still supported by hordes of loyal bureaucrats, managers, superintendents, foremen, and trained men of all sorts, who will sabotage industry—and these must be persuaded or compelled to serve the working class; they still have army officers who can betray the Revolution, preachers who can raise superstitious fears against it, teachers and orators who can misrepresent it to the ignorant, thugs who can be hired to discredit it by evil behavior, newspaper editors who can deceive the people with floods of lies, and “yellow” Socialists and Labor fakers who prefer capitalist “democracy” to the Revolution. All these people must be sternly suppressed.

To break down the capitalist State, to crush capitalist resistance and disarm the capitalist class, to confiscate capitalist property and turn it over to the **WHOLE WORKING CLASS IN COMMON**,—for all these tasks a government is necessary—a State, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, in which the workers, through their Soviets, can uproot the capitalist system with an iron hand.

This is exactly what exists in Soviet Russia today.

BUT THIS DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS ONLY TEMPORARY.

We, Communists, also want to abolish the State. The State can only exist as long as there is class struggle. The function of the Proletarian Dictatorship is to abolish the capitalist class as a class; in fact, do away with all class divisions of every kind. And when this condition is reached then the **PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP, THE STATE, AUTOMATICALLY DISAPPEARS**—to make way for an industrial administrative body which will be something like the General Executive Board of the I. W. W.

In a recent leaflet, Mary Marcy argues that, although the I. W. W. does not theoretically recognize the necessity for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, it will be forced to do so **IN FACT** at the time of the Revolution, in order to suppress the capitalist counter-revolution.

This is true, but unless the I. W. W. acknowledges beforehand the necessity of the Workers' State and prepares for it, there will be confusion and weakness at a time when firmness and swift action are imperative.

THE WORKERS' STATE

What will be the form of the Workers' State?

We have before us the example of the Russian Soviet Republic, whose structure, in view of the conflicting reports printed in other countries, it may be useful to describe briefly here.

The unit of government is the local Soviet, or Council, of Workers', Red Army, and Peasants' Deputies.

The city Workers' Soviet is made up as follows: each factory elects one delegate for a certain number of workers, and each local Union also elects delegates. These delegates are elected according to political parties—or, if the workers wish it, as individual candidates.

The Red Army delegates are chosen by military units.

For the peasants, each village has its local Soviet, which sends delegates to the Township Soviet, which in turn elects to the County Soviet, and this to the Provincial Soviet.

Nobody who employs labor for profit can vote.

Every six months the City and Provincial Soviets elect delegates to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which is the supreme governing body of the country. This Congress decides upon the policies which are to govern the country for six months, and then elects a Central Executive Committee of two hundred, which is to carry out these policies. The Congress also elects the Cabinet—The Council of People's Commissars, who are heads of Government Departments—or People's Commissariats.

The People's Commissars can be recalled at any time by the Central Executive Committee. The members of all Soviets can be recalled very easily, and at any time, by their constituents.

These Soviets are not only LEGISLATIVE bodies, but also EXECUTIVE organs. Unlike your Congress, they do not make the laws and leave them to the President to carry out, but the members carry out the laws themselves; and there is no Supreme Court to say whether or not these laws are "constitutional."

Between the All-Russian Congress of Soviets the Central Executive Committee is the SUPREME POWER in Russia. It meets at least every two months, and in the meanwhile, the Council of People's Commissars directs the country, while the members of the Central Executive Committee go to work in the various government departments.

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

In Russia the workers are organized in Industrial Unions, all the workers in each industry belonging to one Union. For example, in a factory making metal products, even the carpenters and painters are members of the Metal Workers' union. Each factory is a local Union, and the Shop Committee elected by the workers is its Executive Committee.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the federated Unions is elected by the annual Trade Union Convention. A Scale Committee elected by the Convention fixes the wages of all categories of workers.

With very few exceptions, all important factories in Russia have been nationalized, and are now the property of all the workers in common. The business of the Unions is therefore no longer to fight the capitalists, but to RUN INDUSTRY.

Hand in hand with the Unions work the Department of Labor of the Soviet Government, whose chief is the People's Commissar of Labor, elected by the Soviet Congress with the approval of the Unions.

In charge of the economic life of the country is the elected Supreme Council of People's Economy, divided into departments, such as, Metal Department, Chemical Department, etc., each one headed by experts and workers, appointed, with the approval of Unions by the Supreme Council of People's Economy.

In each factory production is carried on by a committee consisting of three members: a representative of the Shop Committee of the Unions, a representative of the Central Executive of the Unions, and a representative of the Supreme Council of People's Economy.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALIZATION

The Unions are thus a *branch of the government*—and this government is the **MOST HIGHLY CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT THAT EXISTS.**

It is also the most democratic government in history. For all the organs of government are in constant touch with the working masses, and constantly sensitive to their will. Moreover, the local Soviets all over Russia have complete autonomy to manage their own local affairs, provided they carry out the national policies laid down by the Soviet Congress. Also, the Soviet Government represents **ONLY THE WORKERS**, and cannot help but act in the workers' interests.

Many members of the I. W. W. are opposed to centralization, because they do not think it can be democratic. But where there are great masses of people, it is impossible to register the will of individuals; only the will of majorities can be registered, and in Soviet Russia the government is administered only for the common good of the working class.

The private property of the capitalist class, in order to become the **SOCIAL** property of the worker, cannot be turned over to individuals or groups of individuals. It must become the property of *all in common*, and a centralized authority is necessary to accomplish this change.

The industries, too, which supplies [*sic*] the needs of all the people, are not the concern only of the workers in each industry, but of **ALL IN COMMON**, and must be administered for the benefit of all. Moreover, modern industry is so complicated and interdependent, that in order to operate most economically and with the greatest production, it must be subject to one general scheme, and one central management.

The Revolution must be defended against the formidable assaults of the combined forces of capitalism. Vast armies must be raised, drilled, equipped and directed. This means centralization. Soviet Russia has for two years almost alone fought off the massed attacks of the capitalist world. How could the Red Army, more than two million strong, have been formed without central directing authority?

The capitalist class has a strongly centralized organization, which permits its full strength to be hurried [hurled?] against the scattered and divided sections of the working class. The class war is war. To overthrow capitalism, the workers must be a military force, with its General Staff—but this General Staff elected and controlled by the workers.

In time of strike every worker knows that there must be a strike Committee—a centralized organ to conduct the strike, whose orders must be obeyed—although this Committee is elected and controlled by the rank and file. SOVIET RUSSIA IS ON STRIKE AGAINST THE WHOLE CAPITALIST WORLD. THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IS A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST THE WHOLE CAPITALIST SYSTEM, THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS THE STRIKE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

Probably the coming proletarian revolutions in America and other countries will develop new forms of organization. The Bolsheviki do not pretend that they have said the final word in the Social Revolution. But the experience of two years of Workers government in Russia is naturally of the greatest importance, and should be closely studied by the workers of other countries.

POLITICS

The word "politics" is to many members of the I. W. W. like a red flag to a bull—or a capitalist. Politics, to them, means simply politicians—usually "yellow" Socialist candidates trying to catch votes to elect them to some comfortable office, where they can comfortably forget all about the workers.

These "anti-political" fellow workers oppose the Communists because they call themselves a "political party", and sometimes take part in political campaigns.

This is using the word [word?] "politics" in too narrow a sense. One of the principles upon which the I. W. W. was founded is expressed in the saying of Karl Marx, "EVERY CLASS STRUGGLE IS A POLITICAL STRUGGLE." That is to say, every struggle of the workers against the capitalists, is a struggle of the workers for the POLITICAL power—the State power.

This is the sense in which we, Communists, also use the word "politics."

The "yellow" Socialists believe that they can gradually gain this political power by using the political machinery of the capitalist State to win reforms, and when they have elected a majority of the members of Congress and the Legislatures, and the President, Governors, Mayors and Sheriffs, they can proceed to use the State power to legislate capitalism peacefully out, and the Industrial Commonwealth in.

This leads the "yellow" Socialists to preach all sorts of reforms of the capitalist system, draws to their ranks small capitalists and political adventurers of all kinds, and finally causes them to make deals and compromises with the capitalist class.

The I. W. W. do not believe in this, and **NEITHER DO THE COMMUNISTS.**

We, Communists, do not think that it is possible to capture the State power by using political machinery of the capitalist State. The State being the particular weapon of the capitalist class, its machinery is naturally constructed so as to defend and strengthen the power of capitalism. Capitalist control of all agencies molding public opinion—press, schools, churches, and labor fakery, capitalist control of the workers' political conduct through control of their means of living, make it extremely improbable that the workers under the present capitalist "democracy" could ever legally elect a government devoted to their interests.

And at this time when the capitalist class the world over is launching a desperate campaign of repression against all conscious working class organizations, it is unthinkable.

But even if it were possible for the workers to win the State power by means of the political machinery, the capitalist State could never be used to introduce the Industrial Commonwealth. The real source of capitalist power lies in **CAPITALIST OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION.** The capitalist State exists for the purpose of protecting and extending this ownership and control—it cannot therefore be used to destroy it.

So far the Communist and the I. W. W. are in accord. The capitalist State must be attacked by **DIRECT ACTION**. This, in the correct meaning of the word, is also **POLITICAL** action, for it has a **POLITICAL** aim—the seizure of State power.

The I. W. W. proposes to attain this end by the General Strike. The Communists go farther. History indicates clearly that the General Strike is not enough. The capitalists have arms—and the experience with White Guards in Russia, Finland and Germany proves that they have sufficient organization and training to use these arms against the workers. Moreover, the capitalists possess stores of foods, which enable them to hold out longer than the workers, always on the verge of actual want.

The Communists also advocate the General Strike, but they add that it must turn into **ARMED INSURRECTION**. Both the General Strike and the insurrection are forms of **POLITICAL ACTION**.

REVOLUTIONARY PARLIAMENTARISM

If this is so, if the Communists do not believe in capturing the State power by means of the ballot-box, why do the Communist Parties participate in elections, and nominate candidates for office?

The question of whether or not Communists should participate in elections is of secondary importance. Some Communist organizations do, others do not. But those who do act on the political field, do so only for **PROPAGANDA**. Political campaigns give an opportunity for revolutionists to speak to the working class, pointing out the class character of the State and **THEIR** class interests as workers. They enable them to show the futility of reforms, to demonstrate the real interests which dominate the capitalist—and “yellow” Socialist—political parties, and to point out why the entire capitalist system must be overthrown.

Communists elected to Congress or the Legislatures have as their function to make propaganda; to ceaselessly expose the real nature of the capitalist State, to obstruct the operation of capitalist government and show their class character, to explain

the futility of all capitalist reform measures, etc. In the halls of the legislative assembly, against the sounding-board of the Nation, the Communist can show up capitalist brutality and call the workers to revolt.

Karl Liebknecht showed what a Communist in the Parliament can do. His words, spoken to the German Reichstag, were heard around the world.

Others in Russia, in Sweden (Hoglund) and in other countries, have done the same thing.

The most common objection to electing candidates to capitalist legislatures, is that, no matter how good revolutionists they are, they will invariably be corrupted by their environment, and will betray the workers.

This belief is born of long experience, chiefly with Socialist politicians and Labor Fakers. But we, Communists, say that **A REALLY REVOLUTIONARY PARTY WILL ELECT REAL REVOLUTIONISTS, AND WILL KNOW HOW TO KEEP THEM UNDER ITS CONTROL.**

Many members of the I. W. W. are bitterly opposed to making ANY use of legislatures and other Governments [*sic*] institutions for purposes of propaganda. But the I. W. W. as an organization has often used them. In the Lawrence Strike of 1912 the I. W. W. made good use **EVEN OF VICTOR BERGER, THE SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN**, who advertised the strikes and the I. W. W. on the floor of the House of Representatives. William D. Haywood, Vincent St. John, and many other I. W. W. leaders voluntarily testified before the Industrial Relations Commission of the United States Government using this method to make propaganda for their organization. But the most striking example of using the political machinery of the State for purposes of propaganda occurred in 1918, when the Federal Court in Chicago was turned into a three-months-long I. W. W. agitation meeting—extremely valuable for us—by one hundred I. W. W. leaders on trial there.

These are all cases of using the political machinery of the capitalist State to make revolutionary propaganda among the masses. This method of propaganda should be used as circumstances dictate—as should parliamentary action. **NO** weapon should be totally condemned.

The special and particular business of the I. W. W. is to train the workers for the seizure and management of industry. The special function of the Communist political party is to train the workers for the capture of political power, and the administration of the Proletarian Dictatorship. All workers should at the same time be members of the revolutionary industrial union of their industry, and of the political party which advocates Communism.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND THE FUTURE SOCIETY

The aim of the I. W. W. is "to build the new society within the shell of the old." This means, to organize the workers so thoroughly that at a given time the capitalist system will be burst asunder, and the Industrial Commonwealth, fully developed, shall take it [*sic*] place.

Such an act requires the organization, and discipline, of the great majority of the workers. Before the war there was reason to believe that this might be feasible—although in the fourteen years of its history the I. W. W. had been able to organize comparatively only a small fraction of the American workers.

But at the present time such a plan is utopian. Capitalism is breaking down, the Social Revolution is upon us and HISTORY WILL NOT WAIT UNTIL THE MAJORITY OF THE WORKERS ARE ORGANIZED 100% ACCORDING TO THE PLAN OF THE I. W. W. OR ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION. There is no longer before us the prospect of normal industrial development which would alone allow the carrying out of such a plan. The War has hurled the peoples of the world into the great Cataclysm, and they must plan for IMMEDIATE ACTION—not for the working out of schemes which would take years to accomplish.

The new society is not to be built, as we thought, within the shell of the capitalist system. We cannot wait for that. THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IS HERE. And when the workers have overthrown capitalism and have crushed all attempts to re-establish it, then, at their leisure, through their Soviet State, they can build the new society in freedom.

In the face of the Social Revolution, what is the immediate important work of the Industrial Workers of the World?

They, as the most important organization based on revolutionary Unionism in America, should take the initiative in trying to establish a basis for the uniting in one organization of all Unions which have a class-conscious revolutionary character, of all workers who accept the class struggle—such as the W. I. U., the One Big Union, and certain insurgent Unions in the A. F. of L. This is no time to quibble about a name, or minor questions of organization. The essential task is to draw together all workers capable of revolutionary mass action in time of crisis.

They, as revolutionists, should not repel the attempts of the American Communists to come to an agreement with them for common revolutionary action. The political party and the economic organization must go forward shoulder to shoulder, toward the common goal—the abolition of capitalism by means of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the formation of Soviets, and the disappearance of classes and the State.

The Communist International holds out to the I. W. W. the hand of brotherhood.

G. ZINOVIEV

President of the Central Executive Committee

January, 1920.

APPENDIX II

STATEMENT OF THE I. W. W. IN REGARD TO VIOLENCE.¹

“Ruthless persecution fails to draw a red herring across the trail and swing Industrial Workers of the World from its work of organization on the job to the advocacy of destruction or violence as a means of accomplishing industrial changes.

“Its historic attitude in opposition to violence was reaffirmed at its 12th convention which unanimously turned down a communication favoring change in its tactics. The convention without a dissenting vote, reindorsed this resolution passed several years ago by the General Executive Board:

‘WHEREAS, The Industrial Workers of the World has heretofore published, without editorial adoption or comment, many works on industrial subjects, in which the workers have a natural interest, including treatises on ‘Sabotage’ and

‘WHEREAS, The industrial interests of the country, bent upon destroying any and all who oppose the wage system by which they have so long exploited the workers of the country, are attempting to make it appear that ‘Sabotage’ means the destruction of property and the commission of violence and that the Industrial Workers of the World favor and advocate such methods; now,

‘THEREFORE, In order that our position on such matters may be made clear and unequivocal, we the General Executive Board of said Industrial Workers of the World, do hereby declare that said organization does not now, and never has believed in or advocated either destruction or violence as means of accomplishing industrial reform; first, because no principle was ever settled by such methods; second, because industrial history has taught us that when strikers resort to violence and unlawful methods all the resources of the government are immediately arrayed against them and they lose their cause; third; because such methods

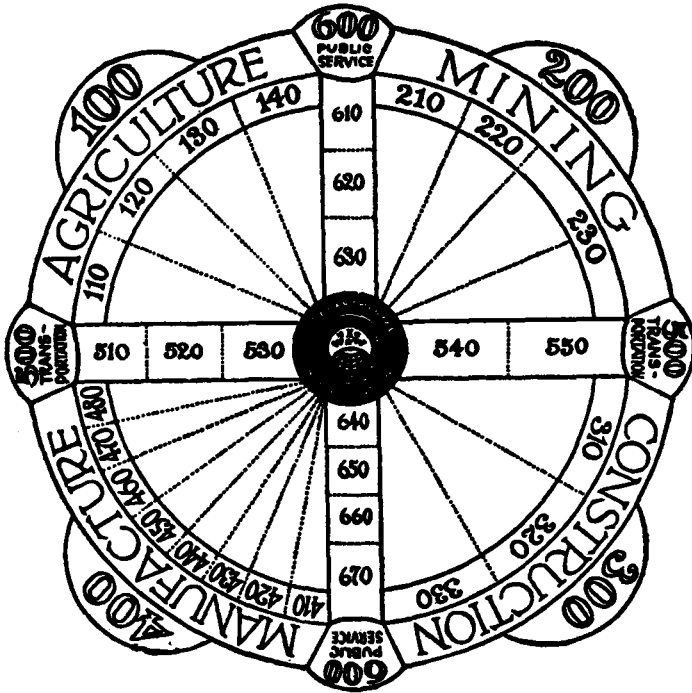
¹ *Solidarity*, whole no. 81, May 22, 1920, p. 1.

APPENDIX II

destroy the constructive impulse which it is the purpose of this organization to foster and develop in order that the workers may fit themselves to assume their place in the new society, and we hereby reaffirm our belief in the principles embodied in Report of this body to the Seventh Annual Convention, extracts from which were later re-published under the title, 'On the Firing Line'."

APPENDIX III

STRUCTURE OF THE I. W. W.¹



“ A systematic revision of the Industrial Union numbers has been needed for a long time. It has been generally recognized that the present system of numbering was long ago outgrown. No matter how perfect the One Big Union plan of organization might be it will always be imperfect if the numbers of the vari-

¹ From *One Big Union Monthly*, vol. ii, no. 10, whole no. 20, Oct., 1920, pp. 36-37.

ous Industrial Unions are meaningless. An efficient organization requires efficient order and arrangement in its industrial groupings as well as in its fundamental plan. The last convention decided to rectify the old system and the present General Executive Board, carried out these instructions. The changes will go into effect as soon as the General Office can issue formal instructions to the various Industrial Unions.

“Numbers that have been issued to the various Unions run from 8 to 1500. These numbers, while they have served their purpose in the past, are at present arbitrary and meaningless. First of all it is easy to misconstrue the I. W. W. One Big Union Chart unless a scientific system of numbering is used. For instance: No. 620, Boot and Shoe Workers Industrial Union is a misnomer. There should be a Leather Workers Industrial Union charter for a branch organization. The same thing applies to 470, Rubber Workers Industrial Union, which should by right be a branch of the Chemical Workers Industrial Union.

“Numbers, in these days, are used to convey the idea of relationship. All big business concerns have their departments keyed with certain numbers to help simplify the intricacies of business management and control. In the I. W. W., however, the number “400” has been spread over three separate and distinct Departments—not to mention industries: 400, Agriculture. 450, Mining and 470 and 480 in Manufacture. This is hopelessly misleading and confusing.

“The Decimal system, by Melwill [*sic*] Dewey, is used largely by big corporations in organizing the various units of their business. It is also used in every library in the land. It is so simple that a child can understand it at a glance. This system permits of ten classes, ten sections and ten divisions. But since there are only six logical divisions for the Department of modern industry we need only six of the decimals for our Industrial Departments. The industrial Unions follow in their natural order—each one being branched off from its Department. The number will show the exact relationship at a glance. In due time it is possible to number the branches in the

same manner. In this way each number MEANS SOMETHING—it shows the Department the Industrial Union, and, if necessary the Branch [*sic*]. The confusion of the old system of numbering is done away with and Delegates are no longer in doubt as to just how to make out cards for new members. We are indebted to Fellow Worker Robert Russel of Minneapolis for this adaptation of the Decimal System to fit the needs of the I. W. W.

“Members are urged to study the chart carefully and to be guided by it in the future. A list of the Industrial Unions as they appear in the light of this scientific system of numbering appears below:

“List of Industrial Unions to be used for the information of Delegates in lining up new members:

Department of Agriculture—100

Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 110

Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 120

Fishermen's Industrial Union No. 130

Floricultural and Horticultural Workers' Industrial Union
No. 140

Department of Mining—200

Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 210

Coal Miners and Coke Oven Workers Industrial Union No.
220

Oil, Gas, and Petroleum Workers Industrial Union No. 230

Department of Construction—300

Railroad, Road, Canal, Tunnel and Bridge Construction
Workers' Industrial Union No. 310

Ship Builders Industrial Union No. 320

House and Building Construction Workers Industrial Union
No. 330

Department of Manufacture and General Production—400

Textile and Clothing Workers Industrial Union No. 410

Woodworkers Industrial Union No. 420

Chemical Workers Industrial Union No. 430

- Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 440
- Printing and Publishing House Workers Industrial Union No. 450
- Foodstuff Workers Industrial Union No. 460
- Leather Workers Industrial Union No. 470
- Glass and Pottery Workers Industrial Union No. 480

Department of Transportation—500

- Marine Transportation Workers Industrial Union No. 510
- Railroad Workers Industrial Union No. 520
- Telegraph, Telephone and Wireless Workers Industrial Union No. 530
- Municipal Transportation Workers Industrial Union No. 540
- Aerial Navigation Workers Industrial Union No. 550

Department of Public Service—600

- Health and Sanitation Workers Industrial Union No. 610
- Park and Highway Maintenance [*sic*] Workers Industrial Union No. 620
- Educational Workers Industrial Union No. 630
- General Distribution Workers Industrial Union No. 640
- Public Utility Workers Industrial Union No. 650
- Amusement Workers Industrial Union No. 660
- “Initiating new members be sure and place members in the Industrial Union to which they belong [*sic*].”

APPENDIX IV

PARTIAL LIST OF STRIKES IN WHICH THE I. W. W. HAVE TAKEN PART

The most important strikes are marked with an asterisk. A complete file of I. W. W. periodicals published during the year 1918 is not available to me; in those periodicals consulted, no mention of strikes was made during that year. Inquiries addressed to members of the I. W. W. and other persons brought forth the opinion that certainly the I. W. W. did not engage in any important strikes during 1918, and probably even the small strikes were of no consequence. Most strikes of the I. W. W. during the period of this book, especially between the years 1919-1924, have included as one of the demands the release of "class-war" prisoners. This demand is not listed under the column "issue", in the following table.

Year and Month Called	Place	Class of Workers Affected	Issue
1917			
Jan.....	Virginia, Minn.	Lumber workers	Wages, hours, night work, discrimination.
Jan.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	Longshoreman	Sympathy with sugar strikers.
April * ..	Pacific Northwest	Lumber workers	Eight-hour day, wages, camp conditions.
May....	Erie, Buffalo, N. Y....	Longshoremen.	Wages, hours.
May....	Rockford, Ill.....	Construction workers..	Wages, hours.
May....	Jerome, Ariz.....	Metal miners	Method of payment, working conditions.
June * ..	Butte, Mont.	Metal miners	General dissatisfaction, lack of safety appliances.
1919			
Feb.* ..	Seattle, Wash	General strike.....	General strike sympathy.
Feb....	Patterson, N. J.	Silk textile workers ...	Hours.
Feb....	Butte, Ariz.....	Metal miners	Against cut in wages.
Feb....	Los Angeles, Cal.	Orange pickers	Wages.
Sept....	Oatman, Ariz.....	Metal miners	Wages, hours.
Oct.	Idaho, Montana.....	Lumber workers	Troops, in Russia, wages, camp conditions.
1920			
Feb....	Bingham district, Utah.	Metal miners	Hours, wages, working conditions.
April * ..	Butte, Arizona	Metal miners	Six-hour day, blacklist, wages, working conditions.
May....	Superior district, Wis., Mich., Minn.	Lumber workers.	
May....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	Marine transport workers	20% wage increase.
Aug....	Cazadero, Oregon	Construction workers..	Hours, camp conditions.
1921			
May....	Tonopah, Nev.....	Metal miners	Wage reduction.
July....	Duluth.....	Longshoremen	Speedup.
Sept....	Burke County, N. D..	Agricultural workers..	Local persecution.
1922			
April....	Wenatchee, Wash	Construction workers..	Hours, wages, camp conditions, fortnightly pay days.
May....	Portland, Ore.....	Marine transport workers	Sympathy strike.
Aug....	Skagit, Wash.....	Tunnel workers	Wages, work conditions.
Aug....	Portland and vicinity, Ore.	Construction workers..	Hours, camp conditions.

Year and Month Called	Place	Class of Workers Affected	Issue
Sept	Butte, Mont.	Metal miners	Hours, wages, working conditions, blacklist, safety.
Oct.* ...	Philadelphia, Pa.	Marine transport workers	44-hour week.
Oct.* ...	Groveland, Cal.	Construction workers..	Hours, camp conditions, blacklist.
Oct.* ...	Portland, Ore.	Longshoremen	Discrimination against I. W. W., overtime, wages, working conditions.
Nov	Big Creek, Cal.	Construction workers..	Hours, camp conditions.
1923			
Jan.	Friant, Cal.	Construction workers..	Wages, hours, piece-work, camp conditions.
Jan.	Portland, Ore.	Longshoremen.	
April ...	Near Wenatchee, Wash.	Construction workers..	Wages, hours, camp conditions.
April *..	Pacific Northwest....	Lumber workers	Protest ("general" strike).
April *..	General	Marine transport	Protest ("general" strike).
May *...	Cazadero, Ore.	Construction workers..	Protest ("general" strike).
July *...	San Pedro, Cal.	Marine transport workers	Protest ("general" strike).
July	Kimberly, Nev.	Metal miners	Wages, working conditions, bonus system.
July	Hoboken, N. J.	Longshoremen	Wages, overtime.
Sept.* ..	Pacific Northwest....	Lumber workers.....	Protest ("general" strike).
Sept.* ..	New Orleans, La.	Marine transport workers	Protest ("general" strike).
Dec.	Whitefish, Mont.	Lumber workers.....	Camp conditions.
1924			
Jan.	Cranbrook, B. C.	Lumber workers....	Hours, camp conditions.
Feb.	Winnemucca, Nev....	Metal miners	Camp conditions, working conditions, wages.
March ..	Coos Bay, Ore.	Lumber workers.....	Wage cut.
March ..	Park City, Utah	Metal miners	Discrimination against I. W. W.
March ..	Del Ray, Cal.	Tunnel workers	Pay, contract work, camp conditions.

Year and Month Called	Place	Class of Workers Affected	Issue
April ...	Stettin, Germany.....	German marine workers	Sympathy with general strike.
May	Raymond, Wash.....	Lumber workers	Wage cuts.
May	Santa Eulalia, Mex....	Metal mine workers ..	Better conditions.
May	Golconda, Nev.....	Railroad workers.....	Better conditions.
May	Leavenworth, Wash...	Lumber workers.....	Wages, camp conditions.
Aug	Salt Lake City, Utah..	Metal miners	Camp conditions.
Sept....	Klamath Falls, Ore...	Construction workers..	Camp conditions.
Oct.....	Concrete, Wash.....	Construction workers..	Protest against discharge of 40 men who demanded higher pay.
Nov	Whitefish, Mont.....	Construction workers.	
Nov	Hornbrook, Cal.....	Construction workers..	Wages, camp conditions.
1925			
April....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	Longshoremen	Employer discrimination against I. W. W.
Aug	N. Y. C. and Mobile, Ala.	Marine transport workers	Sympathy with British seamen.
Dec.....	Wayne, Alberta.....	Coal miners	Abolition of check-off.
1926			
May	New York, N. Y.....	Marine transport workers	Blacklist, hours, wages, working conditions.
Sept....	Thunder Bay, Ont....	Lumber workers.....	Camp conditions, Sunday work.
1927			
Aug *...	Walsenburg, Colo.	Coal miners	Protest, Sacco-Vanzetti.
Oct. *...	Colorado	Coal miners	Wages, hours, working conditions.
1929			
March ..	Oakfield, N. Y.....	Gypsum miners	Wages, safety, sanitary conditions.
Nov	Port Arthur, Can.....	Pulp workers.	
1930			
May	Nyack, Summitt, Mont.	Construction workers..	Wages, hours, camp conditions.

APPENDIX V

I. W. W. SONGS AND POEMS

The most significant changes in the I. W. W. song book since Brissenden wrote are the omission of "Hallelujah! I'm a Bum" and the inclusion of many new songs or poems relating to federal and state prosecutions, and to I. W. W. "martyrs." The three "martyrs" are Wesley Everest, Joe Hill and Frank Little. The first and last were lynched; Joe Hill, best beloved of the three, was put to death by the authorities of the state of Utah on what the I. W. W. believe to have been an unjust conviction. Eight poems in the current (23rd) edition of the song book are dedicated to these men.

The two outstanding writers of songs and poems for the I. W. W. were Ralph Chaplin and Joe Hill. The former has greater technical mastery than the latter. Hill has gusto and humor. T-Bone Slim probably follows the two leaders in excellence. In addition to writing poems and songs he has from time to time conducted a column of humor in *Solidarity*.

There are several poems relating to organization, industrial action and working conditions which seem to be important to an understanding of the I. W. W. temper.

The following poems and songs, mostly taken from the twenty-third edition of *I. W. W. Songs*, are selected on the basis of their relation to the discussion above. None of the songs reprinted by Brissenden are given here.

APPENDIX V

TO MY LITTLE SON¹

By Ralph Chaplin

I cannot lose the thought of you,
 It haunts me like a little song,
 It blends with all I see or do
 Each day, the whole day long.

The train, the lights, the engine's throb,
 And that one stinging memory;
 Your brave smile broken with a sob,
 Your face pressed close to me.

Lips trembling far too much to speak;
 The arms that would not come undone;
 The kiss so salty on your cheek;
 The long, long trip begun.

I could not miss you more it seemed,
 But now I don't know what to say.
 It's harder than I ever dreamed—
 With you so far away.

JOE HILL

By Ralph Chaplin

High head and back unbending—fearless and true,
 Into the night unending; why was it you?

Heart that was quick with song, torn with their lead;
 Life that was young and strong, shattered and dead.

Singer of manly songs, laughter and tears;
 Singer of Labor's wrongs, joys, hopes and fears.

Though you were one of us, what could we do?
 Joe, there was none of us needed like you.

¹ Does not appear in *I. W. W. Songs*. It appears on many *I. W. W.* pamphlets published about 1922.

We gave, however small, what life could give;
 We would have given all that you might live.
 Your death you held as naught, slander and shame;
 We from the very thought shrank as from flame.
 Each of us held his breath, tense with despair,
 You, who were close to death, seemed not to care.
 White-handed loathsome power, knowing no pause,
 Sinking in labor's flower murderous claws;
 Boastful with leering eyes, blood-dripping jaws . . .
 Accurst be the cowardice hidden in laws!
 Utah has drained your blood; white hands are wet;
 We of the "surging flood" NEVER FORGET!
 Our songster! have your laws now had their fill?
 Know ye, his songs and cause ye cannot kill.
 High head and back unbending—"rebel true blue",
 Into the night unending; why was it you?

JOE HILL'S LAST WILL

(Written in his cell, November 18, 1915, on the eve
of his execution)

My will is easy to decide,
 For there is nothing to divide.
 My kin don't need to fuss and moan—
 "Moss does not cling to rolling stone."
 My body? Ah, if I could choose,
 I would to ashes it reduce,
 And let the merry breezes blow
 My dust to where some flowers grow.
 Perhaps some fading flower then
 Would come to life and bloom again.
 This is my last and final will,
 Good luck to all of you,

—JOE HILL

THE RED FEAST

By Ralph Chaplin

Go fight, you fools! Tear up the earth with strife
 And spill each other's guts upon the field;
 Serve unto death the men you served in life
 So that their wide dominions may not yield.

Stand by the flag—the lie that still allures;
 Lay down your lives for land you do not own,
 And give unto a war that is not yours;
 Your gory tithe of mangled flesh and bone.

But whether in the fray to fall or kill
 You must not pause to question why nor where.
 You see the tiny crosses on that hill?
 It took all those to make one millionaire.

It was for him the seas of blood were shed
 That fields were razed and cities lit the sky;
 That he might come to chortle o'er the dead—
 The condor Thing for whom the millions die!

The bugle screams, the cannons cease to roar.
 "Enough! enough! God give us peace again."
 The rats, the maggots and the Lords of War
 Are fat to bursting from their meal of men.

So stagger back, you stupid dupes who've "won,"
 Back to your stricken towns to toil anew,
 For there your dismal tasks are still undone
 And grim Starvation gropes again for you.

What matters now your flag, your race, the skill
 Of scattered legions—what has been the gain?
 Once more beneath the lash you must distil
 Your lives to glut a glory wrought of pain.

In peace they starve you to your loathsome toil,
 In war they drive you to the teeth of Death;
 And when your life-blood soaks into their soil
 They give you lies to choke your dying breath.

So will they smite your blind eyes until you see,
 And lash your naked backs until you know
 That wasted blood can never set you free
 From fettered thralldom to the Common Foe.

Then you will find that "nation" is a name
 And boundaries are things that don't exist;
 That Labor's bondage, world-wide, is the same,
 And ONE the enemy it must resist.

THE HARVEST WAR SONG

By Pat Brennan

(Tune: "Tipperary")

We are coming home, John Farmer; we are coming back
 to stay.
 For nigh on fifty years or more, we've gathered up your
 hay.
 We have slept out in your hayfields, we have heard your
 morning shouts;
 We've heard you wondering where in hell's them pesky
 go-about's?

Chorus:

It's a long way, now understand me; it's a long way
 to town;
 It's a long way across the prairie, and to hell with
 Farmer John.
 Here goes for better wages, and the hours must come
 down;
 For we're out for a winter's stake this summer, and we
 want no scabs around.

You've paid the going wages, that's what's kept us on the
 bum;
 You say you've done your duty, you chin-whiskered
 son-of-a-gun;
 We have sent your kids to college, but still you rave
 and shout,
 And call us tramps and hoboes, and pesky go-about.
 But now the wintry breezes are a-shaking our poor
 frames,
 And the long-drawn days of hunger try to drive us boes
 insane.
 It is driving us to action—we are organized today;
 Us pesky tramps and hoboes are coming back to stay.

THE MYSTERIES OF A HOBO'S LIFE

(Air: "The Girl I Left Behind Me.")

By T-Bone Slim

I took a job on an extra gang,
 Way up in the mountain,
 I paid my fee and the shark shipped me
 And the ties I soon was counting.
 The boss put me driving spikes
 And the sweat was enough to blind me,
 He didn't seem to like my pace,
 So I left the job behind me.
 I grabbed a hold of an old freight train
 And around the country traveled,
 The mysteries of a hobo's life
 To me were soon unraveled.
 I traveled east and I traveled west
 And the "shacks" could never find me,
 Next morning I was miles away
 From the job I left behind me.

I ran across a bunch of "stiffs"
 Who were known as Industrial Workers,
 They taught me how to be a man—
 And how to fight the shirkers.

I kicked right in and joined the bunch
 And now in the ranks you'll find me,
 Hurrah for the cause—To hell with the boss!
 And the job I left behind me.

FIFTY THOUSAND LUMBERJACKS

(Tune: "Portland County Jail")

Fifty thousand lumberjacks, fifty thousand packs,
 Fifty thousand dirty rolls of blankets on their backs.
 Fifty thousand minds made up to strike and strike like
 men;
 For fifty years they've "packed" a bed, but never will
 again.

Chorus:

"Such a lot of devils,"—that's what the papers say—
 "They've gone on strike for shorter hours and some
 increase in pay.
 They left the camps, the lazy tramps, they all walked out
 as one;
 They say they'll win the strike or put the bosses on the
 bum."

Fifty thousand wooden bunks full of things that crawl;
 Fifty thousand restless men have left them once for all.
 One by one they dared not say, "Fat, the hours are long."
 If they did they'd hike—but now they're fifty thousand
 strong.

Fatty Rich, we know your game, know your pride is
pricked.

Say—but why not be a man, and own when you are
licked?

They've joined the One Big Union—gee—for goodness'
sake, get wise!

The more you try to buck them now the more they
organize.

Take a tip and start right in—plan some cozy rooms,
Six or eight spring beds in each, with towels, sheets
and brooms;

Shower baths for men who work keeps them well and fit;
A laundry, too, and drying room, would help a little bit.

Get some dishes, white and clean; good pure food to eat;
See that cook has help enough to keep the table neat.
Tap the bell for eight hours; treat the boys like men,
And fifty thousand lumberjacks may come to work again.

Men who work should be well paid—"A man's a man for
a' that."

Many a man has a home to keep same as yourself, Old Fat.
Mothers, sisters, sweethearts, wives, children, too, galore
Stand behind the men to win this bread-and-butter war.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PARTIAL LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE I. W. W. AND OF COMPONENT INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

There probably does not exist a complete file or record of I. W. W. publications. The list below, for the most part, constitutes merely a partial enumeration of the printed matter which has been in my hands during the preparation of this study. Publications which appear in the bibliography of Brissenden's *The I. W. W.* are, in general, omitted here except when they have been relevant to the discussion contained in these pages.

In the case of most periodical publications, particularly the bulletins of component industrial unions, it is practically impossible to secure accurate information concerning dates and periods of publication. In a general way it may be said that each industrial union of the I. W. W.—or any large, homogeneous group within the organization—has always tried to publish a bulletin appropriate to its interests. Sometimes the bulletin has taken the form of a well-printed publication, distributed through the mails, issued at regular intervals over a long period of time; sometimes it has taken the form of a poorly mimeographed sheet passed around at meetings, undated, and published irregularly. Only those bulletins which have passed through my hands are listed here.

I. W. W. non-periodical publications are often undated. This is a matter of indifference rather than policy. Even periodical publications sometimes omit the year in which they are published. In the list that follows, dates are given without a question mark if the date appears on the publication cited. A date followed by a question mark indicates that good evidence points to the date given. Publications which are not followed by either a supposed or real date were, in a majority of cases, apparently published before 1925.¹

A. BALLOTS

Referendum on Constitutional Amendments and Election of General Officers. Chicago; July, 1919.

Spokane District Ballot, Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, no. 500 of the I. W. W. Spokane; December, 1919.

¹ Copies of I. W. W. publications may be secured by writing to the secretary-treasurer of the I. W. W., 555 West Lake Street, Chicago, Ill. Many of those listed below are unprocurable.

- Ballot Committee's Report; Count of the Referendum Ballots of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, no. 120 of the I. W. W.* Chicago; July, 1921.
- Official Ballot of Small Industrial Unions of the I. W. W.* Chicago; October, 1922.
- Official Referendum Ballot of the Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union, no. 440, of the I. W. W.* Chicago; January, 1923.
- Official Ballot, General Headquarters, I. W. W. Referendum on Constitutional Amendments and Election of General Officers.* Chicago; February, 1923.
- General Referendum Ballot, I. W. W.* Chicago; February, 1924.
- General Referendum Ballot, I. W. W.* Chicago; January, 1925.

B. BULLETINS

- Bulletin of the Agriculture Workers' Industrial Union, no. 110, of the I. W. W.* Chicago; Oct., Nov., Dec., 1918; Jan., Feb., 1919; March, April, June, July, Aug., 1921; Oct., Nov., 1922; May, June, 1923; Jan., March, June, 1924; Jan., 1925.
- Bulletin of the Construction Workers' Industrial Union, no. 573, of the I. W. W.* Chicago; Dec., 1918; March, Sept., 1919; Sept., 1922; May, July, 1923; and several undated bulletins.
- General Office Bulletin.* Chicago; *Special Bul.*, Sept. 17, 1920; June, July, Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov., 1921; June, Dec., 1922; Jan., Feb., April, May, June, July, Sept., Oct., Nov., 1923; Jan., July, Aug. (regular and special issues in Aug.), 1924; March, 1925.
- Bulletin of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, no. 120, of the I. W. W.* Chicago; April, May, July, 1920.
- Bulletin of the Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union, no. 440, of the I. W. W.* Chicago; Feb., March, May, Aug., Dec., 1923.
- Bulletin of the Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union, no. 210, and of the Coal Miners' Industrial Union, no. 220, of the I. W. W.* Butte, Montana; Sept., 1923.
- Bulletin of the Oil Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W.* Oklahoma City, Okla.; June, 1923.

C. CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS AND MINUTES OF MEETINGS

- Minutes of the 11th General Convention of the I. W. W.* May, 1919. Out of print; summary to be found in *New Solidarity*: no. 26, May 10; no. 27, May 17; no. 28, May 24; no. 29, May 31; 1919.
- Minutes of the 12th General Convention of the I. W. W.* May, 1920. Out of print; summary to be found in *Solidarity*: whole number 80, May 15; wh. no. 81, May 22; wh. no. 82, May 29; wh. no. 83, June 5; 1920.

- Minutes of the 3rd Annual Convention of the Textile Workers' Industrial Union, no. 1000, of the I. W. W.* Sept., 1920; New York City.
- Minutes of the 13th Convention of the I. W. W.* May, 1921; Chicago.
- Minutes of the 14th General Convention of the I. W. W.* Nov.-Dec., 1922; Chicago.
- Minutes of the 6th Annual Convention of the General Construction Workers' Industrial Union, no. 310, of the I. W. W.* Nov., 1923; Chicago.
- Minutes of the 4th Convention of Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union, no. 440, of the I. W. W.* Nov., 1923; Chicago.
- Minutes of the 4th Annual Convention of Railroad Workers' Industrial Union, no. 520, of the I. W. W.* Nov., 1923; Chicago.
- Minutes of the 15th General Convention of the I. W. W.* Nov.-Dec., 1923; Chicago.
- Minutes of the General Executive Board Meeting.* July 15, 1924; Chicago.
- Minutes of the 7th Annual Convention of the General Construction Workers' Industrial Union, no. 310, of the I. W. W.* Sept., 1924; Ogden, Utah.
- Minutes of the 4th Annual Convention of the Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union, no. 350, of the I. W. W.* Oct., 1924; Chicago.
- Minutes of the Sixteenth Constitutional General Convention of the I. W. W.* Oct., Nov., 1924; Chicago.
- Minutes of the Seventeenth Constitutional General Convention of the I. W. W.* Nov., 1925; Chicago.
- Minutes of the Eighteenth Constitutional General Convention of the I. W. W.* Nov., 1928; Chicago.

D. DEFENSE COMMITTEE PUBLICATIONS

- And All the Spies Are Free!* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago, no date.
- And in the United States Liberty Lies Crushed.* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago, no date.
- Black Page of American History, A.* Centralia Publicity Committee; Centralia, Washington; no date.
- Brissenden, Paul F. *Justice and the I. W. W.* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago; no date. 2nd ed. [1st ed., 1922.]
- Bulletin of the California Branch of the General Defense Committee.* San Francisco; Oct., 1918; Jan., Aug., Oct., 1922; Jan., March, April, May, June, July, Aug., Sept., Nov., Dec., 1923; Jan., Feb., March, May, June, July, Aug., Sept., Oct., Dec., 1924; March, April, May, 1925.
- California the Beautiful and Damned.* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago, no date.
- Centralia Case, The.* Washington Branch, Seattle, 1927.
- Chaplin, Ralph. *The Centralia Conspiracy.* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago, 1924. 3rd ed.

- Citizens of California! What Have You Gained with the Criminal Syndicalism Law, etc.* California Branch, Gen. Def. Com.; San Francisco; no date.
- Civilisation—Before 1919—After.* California District Defense Committee, San Francisco, no date.
- Coll, Edward Patrick. *The Centralia Case.* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago, no date.
- Cost of the Criminal Syndicalism Law, The.* California Branch, San Francisco, no date.
- Mr. Daugherty Is Mistaken!* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago, no date.
- Defense News Service for the Labor Press.* Gen. Def. Com.; Chicago; June, July, Dec., 1922; Jan., Feb., March, April, May, June, 1923; Sept., Oct., 1924; June, 1925. Was published irregularly, sometimes as often as three times a week.
- Do You Believe in a Square Deal?* California District Defense Committee, San Francisco, no date.
- Does This Explain Reason Innocent Men Are Jailed?* California Branch of General Defense, Los Angeles, no date.
- Eight Men Buried Alive.* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago, 1924.
- Evolution and the I. W. W.* California Branch, San Francisco, no date.
- Financial Statement of the Workers' Prison Relief Committee of Paterson, N. J., July 1, 1922—June 30, 1923.* Paterson, N. J.
- General Amnesty or General Strike!* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago, 1923.
- Leavenworth Bulletin.* Gen. Def. Com.; Chicago; Oct., 1922.
- Listen to Facts!* California Branch of the Gen. Def. Com., San Francisco, no date.
- Long Talons in California.* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago, no date.
- Medieval California—Land of Orange Groves and Jails.* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago, no date.
- New Idea, A.—Why Union Men Are Persecuted in California.* California Branch of the Gen. Def. Com., San Francisco, no date.
- Open Letter from the I. W. W., to the State's Attorneys of California, An.* California Branch, San Francisco, 1924 (?).
- Open Letter to President Harding, An.* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago, 1922.
- Political Beliefs Keep Ninety-six Workers Behind Bars in California Prisons.* California Branch, San Francisco, no date.
- Public Opinion—Where Does It Stand on the Question of Amnesty for Political Prisoners?* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago, 1923.
- Right Will Win—Might of Labor Killing Criminal Syndicalism Act.* California Branch, San Francisco, no date.
- San Pedro Calls!* California Branch, Gen. Def. Com.; San Francisco; no date.
- Shame of California, The.* California Branch of the Gen. Def. Com., San Francisco; no date.

- Shame of Centralia, The.* Centralia Publicity Committee; Seattle, Washington; no date.
- Smash the I. W. W.* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago; no date.
- Smith, Walker C. *Was It Murder?* Northwest District Defense; Seattle, Washington; August, 1922.
- Suppressed Evidence in the Centralia Case.* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago; no date.
- Ten More Men Go to Prison.* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago; 1923 (?).
- These Are the Facts!* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago, no date.
- "*To the Beasts—*" California Branch of the Gen. Def. Com., San Francisco; no date.
- U. S. Army Officer's Protest against Injustice of I. W. W. Conviction.* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago; no date.
- What Do You Think of This?* Gen. Def. Com., Chicago; no date.
- Why and What Is the I. W. W.?* Los Angeles Branch, Gen. Def. Com.; Los Angeles; no date.
- Why the Criminal Syndicalism Law Should Be Repealed.* California Branch, San Francisco; no date.
- Why Newspapers Hate the I. W. W.!* Paterson Branch; Paterson, N. J.; no date.
- Workers, Judge for Yourselves about Centralia!* Northwest District Defense; Butte, Montana; no date.
- "*Ye Shall Know the Truth and the Truth Shall Make You Free.*" California District Defense Committee, San Francisco; no date.
- You Ought to Know!* California Branch, San Francisco; no date.

E. FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

- Financial Statement of the Construction Workers' Industrial Union, no. 573, of the I. W. W., Dec., 1918; Chicago.
- Financial Statement of the Construction Workers' Industrial Union, no. 573, of the I. W. W., Jan., 1919; Chicago.
- Financial Statement of the Construction Workers' Industrial Union, no. 573, of the I. W. W., Feb., 1919; Chicago.
- Financial Statement of the Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union, no. 800, of the I. W. W., April, 1919; Chicago.
- Financial Statement of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, no. 500, of the I. W. W., July, 1920; Chicago.
- Financial Statement of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, no. 110, of the I. W. W., July, 1921; Chicago.
- Monthly Financial Statement of the Industrial Workers of the World, for Oct., 1922, and Yearly Summary; Chicago.
- Financial Statement of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, no. 110, of the I. W. W., May, 1923; Chicago.
- Financial Statement of the Oil Workers' Industrial Union, no. 230, of the I. W. W., June, 1923; Chicago.

- Financial Statement of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, no. 110, of the I. W. W., July, 1923; Chicago.
- Financial Statement for the Fiscal Year, Oct. 1, 1922—Oct. 1, 1923, of General Headquarters, Educational Bureau, *Solidarity, Pioneer*, Chicago.
- Financial Statement of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W., March, 1925; Chicago.
- Financial Statement of the General Construction Workers' Industrial Union, of the I. W. W., April, 1925; Chicago.
- Financial Statement of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W., April, 1925; Chicago.
- Financial Statement of the General Construction Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W., July, 1925; Chicago.

F. LEAFLETS AND PAMPHLETS

- Agriculture*. Bureau of Industrial Research, I. W. W.; Chicago; 1921 (?).
- All Workers in the Foodstuff Industry*. Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union, Chicago, no date.
- Appeal to Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers, An*. Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' I. U., Chicago, no date.
- Attention Coal Mine Workers!* I. W. W. Publishing Bur., Chicago, no date.
- Attention! To All Longshoremen of the I. L. A.* Marine Transport Workers' I. U., Philadelphia, 1922 (?).
- Attention Workers—Strike Is On*. Marine Transport Workers' I. U., Philadelphia, 1922 (?).
- Blossom, Frederick A. *One Enemy, One Union*. Textile Workers' I. U., Paterson, no date.
- Bread Lines or Picket Lines?* The Unemployed Union of N. Y. (?); New York (?); 1931 (?).
- Building Construction: A Handbook of the Industry*. Building Construction Workers' I. U., I. W. W.; Chicago: 1922 (?).
- Chapman, C. H. *Lessons in Economics*. Educational Bur., I. W. W.; Chicago; no date.
- Coal Mines and Coal Miners*. Educational Bur., I. W. W.; Chicago; no date.
- Cole, James Kelly. *Poems and Prose Writings*. I. W. W. Pub. Board, Chicago, 1918 (?).
- Contract Work*. Educational Bur., I. W. W.; Chicago; no date.
- Construction Workers—Attention!* General Construction Workers' I. U., Detroit, no date.
- Construction Workers—Let's Organize Industrially This Summer*. General Construction Workers' I. U., Ogden, 1925 (?).

- Construction Workers! Let's Organize Our Job This Summer!* General Construction Workers' I. U., Chicago, no date.
- Craft Distinctions or Industrial Unionism. Which Do You Want?* I. W. W. seal, no place of publication, no date.
- Cut Down the Hours of Work!* I. W. W. seal, no place of publication, no date.
- Delaney, Ed, and Rice, M. T. *The Bloodstained Trail.* Industrial Worker, Seattle, 1927.
- Doree, E. F., and Nef, W. T. *Philadelphia Controversy, The.* Philadelphia Branch, Marine Transport Workers, I. W. W.; Philadelphia; 1921 (?).
- Duff, Harvey. *The Silent Defenders, Courts and Capitalism in California.* I. W. W., Chicago, no date.
- Ebert, Justus. *The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice.* I. W. W., Chicago, 1921 (?). 2nd ed.
- Economic Interpretation of the Job, An.* Agricultural Workers' I. U., I. W. W.; Chicago; June, 1922.
- Extracts from the Verbatim Report of the 16th General Convention of the I. W. W., Dealing with the 1924 General Administration Controversy.* I. W. W., Chicago, 1924 (?).
- Fellow Worker! Attention!* Coal miners' propaganda leaflet. Educational Bur., I. W. W.; Chicago; 1922 (?).
- Forty-Four Hours a Week in the Lumber Industry!* No source or place of publication, 1924 (?).
- Go Slow!* I. W. W. seal, no place of publication, no date.
- Historical Catechism of American Unionism.* I. W. W., Chicago, 1923 (?).
- History of the I. W. W., The.* I. W. W., Chicago, no date.
- I. W. W. Songs.* I. W. W., Chicago, 1928. 23rd ed.
- I. W. W., The—What It Is and What It Is Not.* I. W. W., Chicago, No date.
- Lane, Winthrop D. *Uncle Sam: Jailer.* I. W. W., Chicago, no date.
- Lewis, Austin. *A War Measure.* I. W. W. Publishing Bur., Chicago, no date.
- Lorton, Bert, and others. *To the Members of the I. W. W.* A leaflet on the clemency quarrel. Published by authors, New York, 1924 (?).
- Lumber Industry and Its Workers.* I. W. W., Chicago, no date. 3rd ed.
- Manifesto to the Workers in the Textile and Clothing Industries.* Gen. Organization Com., I. U., no. 410; Paterson; 1920 (?).
- Marcy, Mary E. *Shop Talks on Economics.* I. W. W., Chicago, 1922 (?).
- Marine Transport Workers, Organize into One Big Union.* Marine Transport Workers' I. U., New York, 1922 (?).
- One Big Key That Unlocks All Jail Doors for the Centralia Victims of the Criminal Lumber Trust, The.* No place, date, or agency of issue.

- One Big Industrial Union in the Textile Industry.* Textile Workers' I. U., Chicago, no date.
- One Big Union of All the Workers.* I. W. W., Chicago, no date.
- Open Shop, The.* I. W. W. seal, no place of publication, no date.
- Organize Industrially, Railroad Maintenance Men!* Railroad Workers' I. U., Chicago, no date.
- Organize to Live—Do You Want to Live?* Agricultural Workers' I. U., Chicago, no date.
- Poison Versus Dynamite.* I. W. W., Chicago, no date.
- Preamble and Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World.* I. W. W., Chicago, 1929.
- Public Utility Workers! Attention! Attention!* Public Utility Workers' I. U., New York, 1922 (?).
- Raids! Raids!! Raids!!!* I. W. W. seal, Chicago, 1919 (?).
- Scab Pat.* (Pat Keane, "Selfconfessed Shipowners' Stool Pigeon.") Marine Transport Workers' I. U., I. W. W. (?); New York (?); 1922 (?).
- Shorten the Workday!* I. W. W., Chicago, 1922 (?).
- Something Must Be Done!* I. W. W., Chicago, 1923 (?).
- Suchy, Augustine. *The Workers and Peasants of Russia and Ukraine, How Do They Live?* Editorial Bur. of I. W. W., Chicago, 1922.
- Stabbed in the Back.* Folder on textile strike. Paterson, N. J.; 1920.
- Statement of Facts Concerning the Controversy over the Commutations of June 25, 1923,* no agency, no place, 1923 (?).
- Story of the Sea, The.* I. W. W., Chicago, no date.
- Strike!! At Hetch-Hetchy and U. C. Camps.* Strike Committee, no place, 1922 (?).
- Struck Job vs. the Job Strike, The.* General Strike Committee, Northwest; no place of publication; 1923 (?).
- To All Marine Workers—Why Black and White Workers Should Unite.* Marine Transport Workers' I. U., I. W. W.; Philadelphia (?); 1922 (?).
- To All the Workers on the Railroads!* Railroad Workers' I. U., Chicago, no date.
- To the Producers and Distributors of Food.* I. W. W. seal, no place of publication, no date.
- To the Workers Who Feed the World.* Foodstuff Workers' I. U., Chicago, no date.
- Thompson, James P. and others. *Twenty-Five Years of Industrial Unionism.* I. W. W., Chicago, 1930 (?).
- Unemployed Soldiers Listen!!!* I. W. W. seal, no place of publication, no date.
- Unemployed, The: What Shall They Do?* I. W. W., Chicago, no date.
- Vermin: the Employment Agencies.* I. W. W. seal, no place of publication, no date.

- Warning: the Deadly Parallel.* Comparison of I. W. W. and A. F. L. policy respecting war of 1914-1918. I. W. W. seal, no place of publication, no date.
- What Is Rank and File Rule?* I. W. W., Chicago, 1924 (?).
- What is the I. W. W.?* I. W. W., Chicago, 1922 (?). 2nd ed.
- What Is the I. W. W. Preamble?* I. W. W., Chicago, 1922 (?).
- Where Do You Belong?* Domestic Workers' I. U., Chicago, no date.
- Why Eleven Members of the I. W. W., Imprisoned at Leavenworth, Refused Conditional Pardon.* Issued by H. F. Kane, July 30, 1923, 452 North Franklin St., Philadelphia, acting upon instructions given him at the U. S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kan. by 11 industrial prisoners.
- Williams, George. *The First Congress of the Red Trade Union International at Moscow, 1921.* I. W. W., Chicago, 1921 (?).

G. PERIODICALS

For an exhaustive list of periodicals published by the I. W. W. about 1918 and before, see *The I. W. W.*, by Brissenden, second edition, pp. 395 *et seq.* During 1922 the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. announced in various publications, that the periodicals listed below were "authorized". Those periodicals marked with an asterisk were being "issued by the General Executive Board" in July of 1930.²

From the point of view of the investigator, the most important periodical throughout I. W. W. history has been *Solidarity*. Its name has varied. When it was suppressed in the fall of 1917, it was superseded by the *Defense News Bulletin*. This name was changed to *New Solidarity* in November, 1918. This, in turn, gave way to the old name, *Solidarity*, in 1920. The present name, *Industrial Solidarity*, has been used since 1921.

The only important I. W. W. periodical publications omitted in the "authorized" list below are the *One Big Union Monthly* and *Bérmunkás*. The former was first published in March, 1919. The name was changed to *Industrial Pioneer* in February, 1921; and in 1926 the periodical ceased to be published. *Bérmunkás* has been published irregularly since before 1919. It is a Hungarian weekly published in Chicago.

A Felszabadulás. Emancipation, Hungarian. Chicago, weekly.

Golos Truszenika. The Voice of the Laborer, Russian. Chicago, twice monthly.

* *Il Proletario.* The Proletarian, Italian. Chicago, weekly (In 1930, published in Brooklyn, N. Y.).

* *Industrial Solidarity.* Official organ of the I. W. W. Chicago, weekly.

* *Industrial Worker.* Seattle, weekly.

² *Industrial Solidarity*, whole number 711, Aug. 2, 1930, p. 2.

- * *Industrialisti*. The Industrialist, Finnish. Duluth, daily.
- * *Jedna Velka Unie*. One Big Union, Czecho-Slovakian. Chicago, monthly (In 1930, published weekly).
- Muncitorul*. The Worker, Rumanian. Chicago, twice monthly.
- Rabotnicheska Mysl*. Workers' Thought, Bulgarian, Chicago, weekly.
- Snaga Radnika*. Power of Labor, Croatian. Chicago, twice monthly.
- * *Solidaridad*. Solidarity, Spanish. Chicago, twice monthly (In 1930, published in New York City).
- * *Tie Vaputeen*. Road to Freedom, Finnish. Chicago, monthly (In 1930, published in Duluth).

H. SOME PUBLICATIONS BY THE EMERGENCY-PROGRAM GROUP

Ballots

- General Referendum Ballot of the I. W. W. as Adopted by the 16th Annual Convention of the I. W. W. Ogden, Utah; July 15 to August 3, 1925.*
- Official Ballot Issued by General Construction Workers' Industrial Union, No. 310, I. W. W., as Adopted by G. C. W. I. U., No. 310 Convention, Held at Ogden, Utah, September 20-29, 1924.* Chicago; Jan., 1925.

Bulletins

- Emergency Joint Branch Bulletin, I. W. W.* Portland, Oregon; Portland Branches of Industrial Unions 120, 460, 310, 510; March 20, 1925.
- General Construction Workers' Bulletin.* Ogden, Utah; No. 5, March 15, 1925.
- General Office Bulletin.* Chicago, Box 1125 (address of E. P. during 1924); August, 1924.
- Lumber Workers' Bulletin.* Chicago; No. 48, Aug., 1924; No. 49, Sept., 1924; No. 50, Oct., 1924; No. 52, Jan., 1925; No. 53, Feb., 1925.
- Northwest District Bulletin No. 7.* Portland, Oregon; sent out by General Construction Workers' Industrial Union, No. 310, I. W. W. (reorganized), Box 892, Ogden, Utah; Oct., 1925.
- The Weekly Bulletin.* Chicago; vol. i, no. 1, August 28, 1924; suspended.

Leaflets and Pamphlets

- Emergency Program Submitted to the Membership by the General Executive Board of the I. W. W.* Chicago; Oct. 27, 1924.
- Look Back of the Injunction and Learn the Causes.* Chicago (?); Aug., 1924. Bears the seal of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120, I. W. W. and the signature of James Rowan.
- More Power to You.* Published by the Los Angeles General Membership of the I. W. W. Reorganization Movement. 1926 (?).
- Pie-Card Gang Raids I. W. W. Headquarters with Guns and Drives the G. E. B. into the Street.* Chicago (?); Aug., 1924 (?).

- The Rank and File versus Dictatorship.* Spokane; Jan. 7, 1925.
Reorganization or Abandonment of Principles. No place of publication given; signed by Pat Cantwell; Jan. 12, 1925.
To the Members of the I. W. W. New York (?); Aug., 1924 (?). Authorship probably by or under the direction of one or more of the following persons: F. A. Blossom, Bert Lorton, Jim Quinlan.

Letters

- Circular letter, signed by Leonard Bolton, Ogden, Utah, July 27, 1925; addressed to "All Class War Prisoners." States that only by organization at point of production can freedom of prisoners be secured. Signed by P. D. Ryan, Chicago, Dec. 1, 1924; addressed to "Fellow Worker." A tentative plan of reorganization is outlined.
 Sent by Frank Shamblin, E. Busse, Paul R. Tucker, and Ed. Moriarty, from Los Angeles, California, Nov. 14, 1924; addressed to "Fellow Workers." A call urging members to repudiate 16th convention of Chicago faction and to repudiate advocacy of violation of Busick injunction.
 Signed by Caesar Tabib, no place of writing, no date; addressed "To the Membership of the I. W. W." Tabib protests against his unseating as a delegate to the 16th (1924) convention of the I. W. W.
 Sent by True Tuttle, William Ford, and Wm. H. Rockwood; Portland, Oregon; March 7, 1925; addressed "To the Membership of the I. W. W." Discussion of plans for forthcoming *Industrial Unionist*.
 Sent by True Tuttle, William Ford, Wm. H. Rockwood, and fourth person, name illegible; Portland, Oregon, March 21, 1925; addressed "To All Members and Branches of the I. W. W." Discussion of plans for forthcoming *Industrial Unionist*.

Minutes of Meetings

- July 22-26, 1924; Chicago; General Executive Board Meetings of the I. W. W.
 Aug. 14, 1924; Chicago; Minutes of the regular business meeting of the Chicago Branch of the Metal Workers' Industrial Union, no. 440.
 Dec. 15, 1924; Stockton, California; Southwest District Conference of no. 310, General Construction Workers' Industrial Union.
 March 26, 1925; Ogden, Utah; 310 Emergency Business Meeting.
 April 1-9, 1925; Portland, Oregon; Northwest District Conference of Industrial Union, no. 310.
 April 15, 1925; Sacramento, California; Conference of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, no. 110.
 July 15, 1925; Ogden, Utah; The Sixteenth General Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World (Reorganization).
 Oct. 25-29, 1925; Missoula, Montana; Annual Convention of Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, no. 120.

Periodicals

- Industrial Unionist*. Portland, Oregon; weekly; first issue, April, 1925; suspended, June, 1926.
- New Unionist*. Box 1013, Los Angeles, California; monthly; first issue, June, 1928 (?); now being published.

II. STATE AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

- Colorado—Industrial Commission of Colorado. *Tenth Annual Report*. Denver, 1928.
- Minnesota—*Fifteenth Biennial Report of the Department of Labor and Industries of the State of Minnesota, 1915-1916*. Minneapolis, 1916.
- New York—*Revolutionary Radicalism, Its History, Purpose and Tactics*. Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities; filed April 24, 1920, in the Senate of the State of New York. Albany, Lyon, 1920. 4 v.
- United States—Albrecht, Arthur E. *International Seamen's Union of America*. Bul. of the U. S. Bureau of Lab. Stat., no. 342, Misc. ser. Washington, Gov't Print. Off., June, 1923.
- Application for Executive Clemency. Form used by prisoners who apply for executive clemency. Washington, Gov't Print. Off.
- Congressional Record*. v. 55, pp. 5896, 5949, 6104, 6264; v. 56, pp. 3821, 3822; v. 62, pp. 2124 *et seq.*, pp. 4500 *et seq.* Washington, Gov't Print. Off.
- Huddleston, George. *For the Release of Political Prisoners*. Speeches of Hon. George Huddleston of Alabama in the House of Representatives, Dec. 11, 1922. Washington, Gov't Printing Office, 1922.
- Howd, C. R. *Industrial Relations in the West Coast Lumber Industry*. Bul. U. S. Bureau of Lab. Stat. no. 349, Misc. ser. Washington, Gov't Print. Off., 1924.
- Report of President's Mediation Commission to the President of the United States*. Washington, Gov't Print. Off., 1918.
- U. S. Congress. House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. *I. W. W. deportation cases*. Hearings before subcommittee. 66th Congress, 2nd session, April 27 to 30, 1920. Washington, Gov't Print. Off., 1920.

III. PUBLICATIONS OF INVESTIGATING AGENCIES

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION ²

- An Appeal in the Name of Justice.* Philadelphia Committee, no date.
- Do We Need More Sedition Laws?* N. Y. C., no date.
- The Fight for Free Speech.* N. Y. C.; Sept., 1921.
- The Record of the Fight for Free Speech in 1923.* N. Y. C.; May, 1924.
- Free Speech in 1924.* N. Y. C.; April, 1925.
- Free Speech 1925-1926.* N. Y. C.; April, 1926.
- Free Speech 1926.* N. Y. C.; April, 1927.
- Index of Statutes Restricting Freedom of Speech* (mimeographed bulletin). N. Y. C.; 1925.
- Justice to the I. W. W.* N. Y. C.; no date.
- Kirchwey, George W. *A Survey of the Workings of the Criminal Syndicalism Law of California.* N. Y. C.; Dec., 1926.
- The "Knights of Liberty" Mob and the I. W. W. Prisoners at Tulsa, Okla.* N. Y. C.; Feb., 1918.
- Memorandum Regarding the Persecution of the Radical Labor Movement in the United States.* N. Y. C.; March, 1919.
- Mob Violence in the United States.* N. Y. C.; March, 1923.
- The Persecution of the I. W. W.* N. Y. C.; April, 1921.
- Since the Buford Sailed.* N. Y. C.; June, 1920.
- State Laws Against Free Speech.* N. Y. C.; Jan., 1929.
- A Strike is Criminal Syndicalism—in California.* N. Y. C.; March, 1931.
- The Truth about the I. W. W.* N. Y. C.; April, 1918.
- The Truth about the I. W. W. Prisoners.* N. Y. C.; April, 1922.
- The War on the Colorado Miners.* N. Y. C.; Feb., 1928.
- Why Two Governors Freed Political Prisoners.* N. Y. C.; Feb., 1923.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

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