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ONE CENT.

UNTITLED EDITORIAL

{TRAUTMANN'S OPEN LETTER TO HAYWOOD.}

By DANIEL DE LEON

RESERVING for later our comment upon the Open Letter, addressed to William D. Haywood by Wm. E. Trautmann¹ and published in this issue,² and just because the Open Letter calls for comment, we urge our readers to read it carefully, line by line, and to pass it on, and induce as many of their fellow proletarians and fellow Socialists as they can likewise to read it carefully, digest it, and read it over again.

In the meantime we repeat the closing words of our editorial article on the Conviction of Quinlan:³

“The policy of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Chicago I.W.W. is one that marches on a route at the other end of which rise gallows for leaders, and at the feet of which gallows lie massacred masses of proletarians—masses and leaders the victims of conspiracies, the conspirators themselves enjoying in safety and in all walks of life the Judas penny-pay of their felony.”

In the meantime, also, guided by the light thrown across our path by the giant intellect of Marx, let us all intonate the battle cry:

No scavengers, whether of clean or dirty shirt, in the Labor or Socialist Movement! No pure and simple politicianism, nor its shadow—pure and simple bombism!

¹ [See “Bad Business’—and Worse,” *Daily People*, June 5, 1913.]

² [See page 2.]

³ [See “The Conviction of Quinlan,” *Daily People*, May 22, 1913.]

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AN OPEN LETTER TO WM. D. HAYWOOD—A FEW QUESTIONS.

By WM. E. TRAUTMANN

[By “Industrial Workers of the World,” referred to in the Open Letter to William D. Haywood by Wm. E. Trautmann, {only} the Chicago I.W.W., not the Detroit I.W.W., can be meant.—ED. DAILY PEOPLE.]

Pittsburgh, Pa., May 19, 1913.

Mr. Daniel De Leon,

Editor *Daily and Weekly People*,

New York City, N.Y.

Greetings:

Would you be so kind as to release the enclosed writeup in your valuable paper this week, Friday or Saturday? Copies have been mailed to several papers, upon request, and since *The People* has always been advocating revolutionary industrial unionism, despite the differences on tactics and on occurrences with the organizations destined to champion industrial unionism, I believe that you will not object having this open letter to Haywood given space.

If it is not asking too much I would also ask you to announce that the undersigned has not joined either the Socialist party or Socialist Labor Party, as announced in one publication, in a recent issue, although I am and will be an advocate of political action of the working class, such political action though to be the reflection and the exercise of the economic demands of the proletariat, and so expressed in and through an Industrial Revolutionary Union.

Thanking you for the grant of favors asked for, I remain,

Yours for industrial freedom,

Wm. E. Trautmann.

437—3rd avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

To William D. Haywood:—

The Supreme Court of Massachusetts has nolle-prossed the indictments, for conspiracy on eighteen (18) counts, against you and others. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts, through the master of chancery appointed, has given out a finding on the Lawrence strike

funds. Both these cases hung like a cloud over the heads of the few who know, and knew all the inside facts. The cloud is removed. Further silence would be construed as a crime against the proletarian movement.

You know I promised disclosures as early as in July last year. That time I wanted to risk my own liberty and go to jail. But others had to be considered. Silence became a supreme duty. No more so to-day. Silence would be a felony, on my part, and, I say it emphatically, on your part also.

The Industrial Workers of the World has lost the confidence of the wage earners, no longer can it be trusted as being sincere with the proletariat. You know it, and you struggled hard to make the organization redeem itself. It seems to be impossible.

Attacks on all those who disagree; insults and vilification against all who believe in working class political action through working class parties; the sneer at and jeer of ideals and ethics as strong motive forces in the struggle for working class emancipation; by an element which Karl Marx and also Engels branded as the "scavengers" of the battle field of labor, form to-day the whole DESTRUCTIVE propaganda of the Industrial Workers of the World.

You are aware of these facts. You complained about them. You promised and tried hard to use your influence for remedial enactments. Has anything been accomplished? No, decidedly no! Now, some will aver, you are an unconscious instrument in the hands of an inner circle, which unscrupulously is preparing for more Harry Orchard and McManigal frame-ups against those who are hated and therefore to be doomed by the oppressors of labor and their tools. There was a time when the workers, pitched in battle with their adversaries, enthusiastically cheered the great principles that gave birth to the Industrial Workers of the World. But can anyone wonder that they are now turning away in disgust and amazement? Don't they see that all the declarations that within the I.W.W. the workers are being trained for self-government of their jobs and their life-affairs are sheer mockeries and frauds!

Consideration for others, forcing silence on my part, no longer exists. In the Massachusetts Supreme Court your name, and also mine, are connected together in an evident desire on the part of our enemies to implicate the Industrial Workers of the World in financial wrong-doing. But on the Lawrence strike fund you and I, and all others, can claim a clean bill. And why so? In Lawrence, in Lowell, and I presume also now in Paterson, the workers, through their own committees and institutions, administered all affairs. They courted not nor countenanced outside interference. They supervised the funds, ordered and examined all expenditures. The actions, the speeches, the educational work done by the servants of the workers, and you were one of them, was subject to control by the workers and their committees. There were no volunteers, no scavenger-organizers with their pestilent air. They appeared only after the smoke of battle had cleared away, like in the Paris Commune, in the slaughter of the revolution in the Moscow uprising, the premature revolution of the Baltic provinces.

But the democratic management of affairs which marked the Lawrence and Lowell

strikes, as historic landmarks in the labor movement, was destroyed immediately after the termination of these conflicts. You are aware of the autocratic orders by which, in defiance of the expressed will of the rank and file in Lawrence, the supervising committee over the financial transaction was dissolved. "It's bad business," was your only comment. And this high-handed act engineered by the all-powerful General Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World is responsible that now it is charged, in the findings of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, that thousands of dollars have been misused. Who can contradict that statement? All loud clamors by Ebert and others to the contrary notwithstanding, it is true that books have been tampered with. The textile-worker employed in the office who called first attention to this fraud, could not be swayed to remain an abettor of the felonious acts. Her penalty is now abuse, and vilification, by the "gang" in power, but the ravings of the scavengers only prove that they will resort to the most despicable means, if need be to assassination, to silence the voice of those who still believe that the "revolutionary industrial union movement" should no longer be allowed to be the stamping ground for adventurers and reactionaries, in disguise, running amuck as rabid revolutionists.

The labor movement of America has passed, in the last seven years, through three important developments. In all of these the employing class tried to pit against the working class its resources, its wits, its political and economic agencies. The workers had nothing but their economic and meager financial solidarity to combat the evil designs of their oppressors with. Working class ethics and principles, visions that the men on the firing line were but expressions of a great economic unrest, was one of the strong powerful forces that finally carried the day for the proletariat. You as one were acquitted of the charge of a foul crime.

The Orchards and McParlands had sworn you would not leave Idaho alive. Both had worked on the inside, one in the Molly Maguires; the other within the Western Federation of Miners.

McManigal and his partner James McNamara were working on the inside, aided and abetted by an inner circle, as brought out in the Indianapolis trial. The American Federation of Labor had its hired gangmen everywhere to slaughter and to maim all who stood in their way.

But the working class turned in disgust from the gang of assassins, and they spurned the idea that the progress and success of the movement depended on the sly conspiracies of inner circles.

The proletariat vindicated itself as the great supreme force in determining the affairs and their own destinies by again rushing to the rescue of Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso when they found that it was the employing class that had conspired in a clumsily executed attempt to lay the blame for terroristic acts on the toiling, struggling masses.

The toiling and struggling mass presented to the world the object lessons of sound, honest and, above all, clean unpolluted reasoning. They have decreed; they have spoken; they, the workers. No more Orchards! No more McManigals! No more McNamaras! No more Jo-

hannsons or Tveitmoes! No more Greens, or Joys, or Donnellys, as in the Ettor-Giovanitti trial! Inner circles have to go. Tools of them have to be exposed so that the American labor movement be vindicated against the charge that some few self-selected try to overthrow the capitalist system behind the backs of the oppressors, and they think they can get off with the glories as great heroes and redeemers of the race.

You as one ought to have profited from the experience in your own career.

We are again heading towards another crisis in the labor movement. You know it! You commented again, "bad business."

But saying is not undoing. You are in possession of a letter of December, 1912. The letter conveys the information from the General Secretary of the I.W.W. that complaint should not be made that a certain person is serving in detective agencies; that he was doing so with the approval of the general officers of the Industrial Workers of the World. You promised, when getting that letter from the writer of this, to proceed immediately to stop such "bad business." Was it done? No, decidedly no!

Who knows how many are in this bad business at the instigation of the general officers of the Industrial Workers of the World? Who knows whenever the volunteers are dispatched to places where the proletarians are engaged in battle who are there with obscure intents? Who knows what they are liable to pull off so that the capitalists have the welcome excuse to put away and annihilate all whom they hate as constructive industrial Socialists? Can anyone trust his fate to such conglomerations of volunteer-destructionists, of whom no one knows what they represent, what they are on the scene of battle for? What should the men and women think who are fighting in front of the firing line, when they must be afraid all the time that the volunteers are merely "agents provocateurs" bent upon inciting trouble for others. You know of it, enough of it at least. And some day, if this practice is continued the world will with amazement awaken to the fact that Azeff incidents in the revolutionary movement of Russia, and the Mellivier "agent provocateur" stunts within the "Confederation du Travail" of France which caused the slaughter of nine workers in Ville de Neuve, will find their shocking counterpart in the movement now headed towards such calamities under the all-omnipotent direction of the one man at the head of the Industrial Workers of the World.

If you refuse to raise your voice in protest against this "bad business" as you yourself branded it, you will be held responsible in equal share with all the others, for the dire consequences that the student of contemporary occurrences can easily foresee.

There is system to this bad business. There is deliberate design in giving one kind of measure to prominent leaders, and a different treatment to the common herd.

Prominent leaders when arrested are given all the legal assistance. Press and public are used to champion their cause. There can be no objection, but it disproves the theory that the "breaking-into jail" to undo objectionable interference in the rights of workers is, after all, the evaporation of diseased brains. Yes, if all would break in, if all would be willing to share in the sacrifice;—perhaps the argument that the taxpayers would have to go bank-

rupt would hold water. But preferable to that would be the prison-ruled life under State Socialism, to be sure.

But what of the workers not so prominent? In Rhodesdale, O., imprisoned mine workers, members of the I.W.W., have appealed in vain to the fountain heads of the I.W.W. for support of their cases. Much-abused lawyers, members of the Socialist party, had to be appealed to to take up the cases of these men, one of whom was to be sent for years into the grave behind prison bars on trumped-up charges.

In Akron, O., a score of workers, all foreign born with two exceptions, were thrust into the dungeons, on the promise that their cases would be taken care of, and that the jails would be filled to break the conspiracy of the rubber kings to railroad workers into the penitentiary. But the jails were not filled. The lawyers engaged to appeal the cases of the imprisoned workers were dismissed, on the pretext that the Industrial Workers of the World does not believe in hiring lawyers. The great general Jack Whyte of Chicago was to be the defier of the authorities in the court room. But of the total of 42 arrested there are still seven members of the South Slavish Federation (Socialists) confined to the workhouse, three Sevrian members of the Socialist Labor Party and a number of others whose names the writer of this could not get. Was this deliberately done? I should say, say it emphatically, yes!

Does that look as if the injury to one is the injury to all? What a farce!

“Break into the jails! The more heads are cracked, the more lives are lost in the skirmish, so much more publicity, so much more money for the strike will come in!” This is what one of the chief volunteers of the I.W.W. declared in presence of witnesses, all strikers, all members of the contributions committee of the Akron strike.

W.D. Haywood, do you think that anyone has a right to play “Va Banque” with the lives and wellbeing of workingmen?

There in Akron, in the climax to all malfeasance, we hear General Organizer Speed tell the strikers, on February 15th, to respond to the call of County Sheriff Ferguson to enlist as special deputies. Fifty and even more follow the advice. In the great melee in the second week of March these I.W.W. deputies cracked more heads of the foreigners than on picket duty than the regular police who from the start had displayed more sympathy with the strikers than they were given credit for.

That is “political action” on revolutionary lines, as revolutionary as the filling of jails with unfortunates without legal defence. But what’s the use?

Then there are the “volunteers” with their sneers for all those who voluntarily dig up for the support of strikers. Such easy marks,—they all are. The selling for the strike fund, as a pretext, thousands of booklets and songbooks to the credulous, harvesting from February 22nd any amounts of money, for the revolution! Sympathetic people pay them 25 cents, even dollars, and it pays to follow the call for volunteers. One of them, who has never worked for three years, Swasey, got off to England; what others harvested will ever be unknown. But that is industrial unionism,—of course the fountain heads of the Industrial

Workers of the World dispatched these volunteers there and they had a right to work the suckers.

There was no such thing as control of affairs by the strikers. There is no such intent to develop the qualities, the possibilities of the workers in the factories and in the mills, as it was tried in Lowell, in Lawrence, in McKees Rocks, and other places, and frustrated whenever the inner circle so decreed. Akron furnishes the most awkward illustration of what the I.W.W. of the "scavenger" conception really is. They were given hall by the Socialist party; by the Socialist Labor Party first. The volunteers made places of pestilence and filth out of them. They slept, they "mooched," they occupied these halls, uncontrolled and unrestricted in their foul talk and perverted language; they stole clothing from the strikers, they raved and rambled, under the name of industrial unionism when supplications were made they should respect the rights of others. Driven out of the halls where they made their sleeping quarters, they clogged the sewer pipes, turned on the water, flooded the floors, broke the furniture, and hung up the red flag over their scavenger district of vandalism with an inscription "Sabotage the landlords if they refuse you halls and rooms."

Haywood, you know of this. You arrived in Akron the same day when that happened, but, of course, it was only "bad business." Karl Marx once wrote to Dr. Kugelmann: "The most despicable is the miserable slave who brags of his chains." Over the devastated fields of battle of a confiding proletariat resounds as the note-word of the scavengers, so that they can brand their trade of prey: "Hallelujah, I'm a bum, give me a handout to revive me again." Verily Karl Marx was right: "The most despicable is the miserable slave who brags of his chains."

* * *

Of course, you will say that a convention of the I.W.W. might remedy things. Convention? Even Samuel Gompers in the Rochester convention of the A.F. of L. knew that there is no such thing.

A machine rules with absolute power. The disproportionate representation at the American Federation of Labor convention is blamed as the main source of evil doings. But the highest number of votes that a group of delegates could ever control in such convention was a New Orleans in 1903 when the six delegates of the United Mine Workers controlled one-third of the voting power of the convention. And that was criticized and remedial legislation was demanded, and enacted.

But at the last convention of the I.W.W. two delegates, one of them a paid officer, admitted as delegate contrary to constitutional provisions, had about two-thirds of the voting power of the whole convention, and the other 28 or 29 delegates controlled the balance of one-third; all contrary to the constitutional enactments of 1907. Delegates opposed to the ring rules were unseated, and a delegate not elected by his Local simply transferred to another Local within two weeks time and was seated as delegate, because he was a shouter for the ring.

Such a convention nominates the candidates for office. That means that in the last con-

vention two individuals had it in their power to dictate who would go on the ballot or not. Progressive legislation was spurned, and the election of officers by referendum was to be established if the ring would have had its way. The rank and file, though, spoiled the effort.

A convention of the I.W.W. is the last place where a change of things could be expected. Only when the rank and file will get wise to the facts, will they, possibly by a referendum vote, eliminate all these features, and break the monstrous machine of officialdom that is plunging its fangs into the organization.

* * *

These lines are penned to you, to all workers, so that all may learn where you stand in this crisis. And it is a crisis.

Everywhere the lines of conflict are being drawn closer together. Opportunist Socialists are growing hot and furious in their contest against the invasion of industrial Socialists. And while in heated arguments one would think that there is added every day confusion more confounded, all these discussions and incriminations even tend to show that the baby of the revolutionary working class movement is struggling to relieve itself of its swaddling clothes. It is learning to stand on its feet, not feet of clay or hollow brass. The Socialist movement, which embraces all fields of working class expression, in spite of all dire forebodings, begins to clarify itself, and the proletariat is beginning to come to its own. The industrial revolutionary movement will be the strongest bulwark of the general labor movement, it must so be, and in spite of the debauchery of the movement by individuals the Industrial Workers of the World must be retained as the expression of working class solidarity on the industrial field. But this will in no way preclude that in other organizations the revolutionary thought will not be made the moving motive of all action and progress. But we are bound to go through these diseases to get into shape and form the creations needed for the emancipation of the toilers.

You, Haywood, are placed to-day in a position in the labor movement where no longer you can remain indifferent to the burning, paramount issues confronting the working class. You can make, you can unmake, although only for a short period will the unmaking effect the course of the labor movement. No one individual will construct, or destroy. But no longer can those who constructed the industrial union manifesto in 1905 look indifferently on how its tenets are being discarded, piecemeal; how its objects, as originally planned to bring about complete industrial and political solidarity of the working class, are distorted and destroyed.

That Magna Charta no longer is guiding star in the activities, in the work, in the (non-existing) educational propaganda of the Industrial Workers of the World. More than passing notice has to be taken of the occurrences herein narrated, and only by quick and decisive action by the great mass of toilers interested in the advance of the revolutionary industrial union movement can a road be cleared for further progress, for real constructive work, for sound and solid education, for thorough preparation of the toilers for the impending historic task that they will have to perform, the operation of industries under a newly recon-

structed social system.

If the Industrial Workers of the World have diverted from their original program it should so be known, so be advertised, so be denounced. And in laying the facts before you, in all their details, I know that thousands of toilers will ask with me, with others:

Haywood, will you help to stop the "bad business"?

Wm. E. Trautmann.

Transcribed and edited by Robert Bills for the official website of the Socialist Labor Party of America.
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