

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. I. No. 46.

CHICAGO, JANUARY 11, 1908.

50c. a Year.

The Work in New England

The Central Committee of the New England locals met Sunday, December 29, at 81 Dyer street, Providence, R. I. Plans were mapped out for the next four weeks for Organizer Thompson. He will spend a week in Providence from December 30 to January 5; New Bedford, January 6, 7, 8; Fall River, 9, 10, 11; Hartford and Bridgeport, 12 to 26. A conference of all New England locals of the I. W. W. has been called for January 26, Sunday at 2 p. m. Basis of representation, one delegate for each local union or branch.

Organizer Thompson submitted a report for four weeks ending December 26. Extracts from same follow: On Sunday, December 1, a meeting was held in Lawrence, Mass., under the auspices of Local No. 20, I. W. W. (Textile Workers). A good meeting. A French branch was organized with thirty-one charter members. Arrangements were set on foot for another meeting, to be held on Sunday, December 8, in the Franco-Belgian hall. The meeting was a success from every point of view; nineteen applications were turned in, making a total of fifty members in the new branch, and from all indications the outlook is good for a further increase in the near future. The organizer reports that there is splendid material in this new French branch, and great things are expected from the new recruits, some of them having received their training in the French Confederation of Labor, "Confederation Der Travail." Thompson reports having spent considerable time amongst the shoe workers of Lynn.

At a meeting of lasting machine operators the organizer spoke to a good crowd. This meeting was for election of officers, and after routine business the meeting was thrown open and a crowd was invited in from the smoking and sitting rooms. After a talk of an hour's duration several questions were asked and answered to the apparent satisfaction of all. The president of the union and several others spoke in favor of the proposition. The fact were enthusiastic about it, and although there were many members of other unions present, not one spoke against it. An action was taken at this meeting, but the question is sure to come up again. The outlook is bright indeed among the shoe workers.

On December 12 Thompson attended a smoke talk given by the I. W. W. Shipbuilders' Local of Quincy. The hall was packed to the doors. Knowledge was shown and results are sure to follow.

December 9 the organizer appeared before a local of "turned workmen" of Lynn. A good meeting was present, all of whom seemed to be interested. Meeting lasted till 1 o'clock. A greater pro-

only a failure, but a nuisance and a stumbling block in the path of the workers. The only thing to keep ever before the workers is the fact that they alone can accomplish their emancipation from the shackles which hold them to the machine owned by their master, and that they must make their own experience; no other can make it for them. The I. W. W. cannot win as an aggregation of "teachers" and "lecturers." Actual leaders and fighters are the ones wanted. It is easy to work in a shop all the week and never say anything to your fellows concerning their real power and dignity, and then on Sunday pose as a great radical by lecturing (God save the man!) on the "Life and History of something after the style of a molly-codder, whatever that is. Easy indeed is that kind of fighting (!); but the real fighter is the man who knows nothing and cares less of the "thowness and the witness of the business of the hour, but is eternally striving to organize the worker in his own shop, factory or wherever he may work. The real fighter will also tell the working class who is a labor faker."

Get among the workers and organize them; don't preach at them.

Yours for the revolution,
George M. Conover.

Another Outrage

On Tuesday, December 17, a member of Local 222, I. W. W., Spokane, named Paul Scidler, while posing a W. F. of M. notice, "Stay away from Goldfield," in a restaurant here was brutally attacked and badly beaten by a special policeman. The assault was seen by a number of people in the place. An effort was made to start proceedings against this villain, but the only available witnesses were not to be found when wanted. Several union men, including Brother Jones of the Phoenix (B. C.) Miners' Union, who was doing picket duty here, called on Hughes, the editor of the Labor World, the local A. F. of L. sheet. He (Hughes) was asked to publish an account of the outrage, but refused, saying he did not want to antagonize the police department. Hughes poses as an enthusiastic Socialist.

A committee called on the chief of police, who refused to notice the affair, but told us the special officer was not directly under his command, but was a deputy sheriff, under the orders of the county sheriff. In fact, the chief quoted law to us and turned us down, as, of course, we expected.

James Wilson,
M. W. Bennett,
Committee.

Were-Wolves Hunting Down Workers

COVINGTON HALL

In the olden folklore we read of a terrible thing, half-man and half-wolf, which our forefathers called the were-wolf. This terrible thing, more cowardly than the wolf, more heartless than a Pinkerton detective, was never known to meet its victim in open battle, but, skulking and slinking along through dark and gloomy forests when the snow lay deep and soft upon the ground, it hung upon the trail of its victim hour on hour, stopping ever and anon in the pursuit to send its demonic howl, blood-curdling, through the darkness; and so, hour by hour, it hunted until its victim, lamed and exhausted, unable longer to offer resistance, sank upon the lonely snow-clad road, and then the were-wolf leaped from the jungle and sent its fangs down into the throat of its helpless prey. The were-wolf never sprang until its victim fell, and of all blood it loved best the blood of the brave, the innocent and the pure.

The patron saints of the were-wolves were Belial and Moloch, the gods of lust and gold—gods in whose temples women were outraged, and on whose altars babies were sacrificed in an awful but vain endeavor to sear out of the human heart forever the memory of the death of their children. The were-wolves, like their gods and masters, hated right and justice; honor and virtue were to them but infamies; a criminal fit only for the gallows; liberty they were willing to revoke for the corpses of the nations their gods and masters had enslaved, degraded and dehumanized.

The were-wolves bred in all colors—white, black, yellow, brown, red; but whatever their color, they always bred true to their nature, while-livered and merciless towards every race to do the bidding of their gods and masters, no matter how low the work or how pitiless the deed.

The were-wolves were never lean and gaunt and hungry, for though their masters despised them, the masters knew that the were-wolves would lap even their polluted blood were they denied their usual feed for a moment's time.

Treason was their father, Hypocrisy their mother, and the scab is an offshoot from them through the jackal.

Such was the were-wolf.

Brothers! You and I and all of us who must sell our brains and hands in order to eat, we know that even for the strongest man the way through earth is strewn with thorns and fire. How much harder, then, must it be for her whose earthly duty it is to bear and rear the race?

And knowing this, what kind of men are we who refuse to come together and organize to strike the might, the might of a united working class, which alone can put an end to all this shame and misery?

Are we so educated and steeped in the philosophy of graft that we are lost to manhood and honor; that we would rather continue on the road of slavery, with the chains of slavery linking round us, than to make a supreme effort to re-establish the republic?

Is Socialism to be done to death by Faction?

Are we going to surrender all hope of democracy, all that makes us human and life worth the living without one single effort?

I, for one, do not believe you have fallen so low, and I plead with you to leave the camps of Faction and to march as one against the citadels of Oppression!

I plead with you to gather around the blood-red banner of the I. W. W.—the banner of peace, the banner of justice, the banner of freedom—and banish slavery from the earth, finally and forever!

Answer the roll call, O my comrades!
Covington Hall.

Olive Picking in California

Having been enticed by the truthful papers as to what a beautiful city Los Angeles was, and that there was plenty of work at munificent wages, I arrived in L. A. expecting any way to get a job at average wages; but as matters stood, they were no such thing. I was told by the lying capitalist newspaper; because when I got there I found hard times had struck L. A.—banks closed, scrip in circulation (although I did not get any of it).

Along First and Second streets the workmen were lined up by the thousands, hungry, looking for a job and scanning the vacant boards, waiting in vain for the promised job to turn up.

Seeing that the competition for jobs was so fierce in L. A., and being nearly broke, I and two more fellow workers left the I. W. W. headquarters in the midst of an argument. We left the beautiful and prosperous city of L. A. behind us and struck southeast towards the land of sunshine, fruit and flowers. We arrived in Redlands after two days' long walk through a country composed of low hills and sand dunes.

After looking around we hunted up two fellow workers, where they initiated us in all the intricacies of orange and olive picking. First you have to furnish your own pick and then you have your own clippers to clip the other fellow's oranges with, your own blankets, of course, to sleep under a tree, where the sky is the roof and the ground is your bed. The whole is a hell of a business, and the best of it is, the hell of it is, filled with these beautiful prospects as a starter, we seized our first job with avidity born of despair. We had found a master at last. So into the wagon we tumbled, supplied with all the necessities we had, and off we went. We started for the Moreno Valley, to the far-famed olive orchards of that locality. With us rode a German who had been in South Africa in the war with the British. While our condition was none of the best, his was certainly fierce. He had no blankets, no grub, no picking sack, without which he could not get work. He did not seem to care whether he was going or coming, so at our journey's end he got something to eat and struck across the country. We went to work olive picking. The foreman spoke of a great sulphur spring just about eight miles away in the hills. After working about two weeks and making about for our poor board, we got laid off. So we thought we had a good chance to go to the famous springs.

We packed our blankets, a few provisions and off we started. We arrived at the city of Moreno. There was one church, a store and several buildings had been erected, but the windows were all broken and furnished nothing but the homes of bats. We were afterwards told that there was a boom in 1891-92. Everything bore a desolate appearance. Water seems to be in great demand. So we left the town and pursued our way to the springs. After we had covered a good many miles with heavy blankets on our shoulder we met a teamster on a wagon, who told us that a big capitalist owns the whole country and copped the springs for his own benefit. After taking a little rest we got up and saw two automobiles packed with hunters. One of them fired at a bird and laid about eight miles away in the hills. After working about two weeks and making about for our poor board, we got laid off. So we thought we had a good chance to go to the famous springs.

Goldfield Miners Are Firm

From Goldfield word comes to The Bulletin that on December 26th there were no new developments. The miners are in good spirits and determined to stand together; there have been no desertions from the ranks, but more of the strike-breakers have quit. The mine owners have not enough men to work a single mine. On Christmas day—the "greatest gold camp on earth"—over 1,500 men were fed by "charity," not only miners, but busted stockholders. The small business men are reported to be in a pitiable condition as well. And all this because the miners refused to accept unsecured scrip as wages in place of lawful money. There is a rumor current in the camp that some of the leasers are going to start up with union miners on the old basis. The mine owners are fighting among themselves and if some start work others will follow.

Workers Starving at Seattle

The following brief letter received at general headquarters in Chicago, Wis., of Seattle, Wash., shows in a graphic manner the conditions prevailing in many places in the West:

In the city of Seattle there are all kinds of workmen that are broke. They are willing to do any kind of work, but they can't find it. I have seen workmen going to a restaurant where the owners put out the stale bread and doughnuts in boxes in front of the building. The starving workers come and help themselves and then go in the alley to eat it. The bread and doughnuts is the accumulation unsold for about three days, but the jobless workers are glad to get it."

Pettibone Acquitted

After one night's session the jury in the case of Geo. A. Pettibone, falsely charged with conspiracy to murder former Governor Steiensen of Oregon, returned a verdict of not guilty. This marked the end of the famous conspiracy against the Western Federation of Miners.

Luthebon is seriously ill as a result of his long confinement. He was immediately removed from the court to a hospital. His final recovery is in doubt. The case against Moyet was dismissed on motion of the district attorney.

Mine Owners Violate Laws & Constitution

At a regular meeting of Local Union 173, Industrial Workers of the World, held at its hall in San Francisco, Cal., December 12, 1907, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, The mine owners of Goldfield, Nev., issued checks to their employees that were not worth their face value, and when asked to guarantee these checks to be the amount printed thereon the mine owners refused to do so; and

"Whereas, This same check system was merely a scheme to compel the miners to receive less money for labor performed than they had formerly received; and

"Whereas, The miners were then compelled to strike in order to force the mine owners to pay them living wages, and immediately upon taking this action the President of the United States, on an appeal from Governor Sparks of Nevada, sent federal troops to Goldfield in direct violation of the constitution of the United States; and

"Whereas, These war-dogs were sent to Goldfield for other reasons than to receive a bloody scene of the Couer d'Alenes and Cripple Creek and to do their utmost with brute force to crush that gallant fighting organization known as the Western Federation of Miners; and

"Whereas, We find it to be a deplorable fact that it was union men which manned the trains that brought the dogs of war into Goldfield; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, By Local Union 173, Industrial Workers of the World, that we extend to our struggling fellow-workers in Goldfield our heartfelt sympathy, and we denounce the action of President Theodore Roosevelt in having sent his \$14 per month terrorists into a peaceful community to crush a strike of peaceful workmen that were doing what was their right under the laws of the land; and, be it

"Resolved, That we realize that laws are made in this country, as in all other countries, by the masters for the workers, while those who make these laws break them with impunity; and, be it further

"Resolved, That we give warning to Theodore Roosevelt that the time will not always be when the tramp of troops can be heard marching to crush labor in its struggle for better conditions, but the time is not far distant when the counter-march of thousands upon thousands of organized workmen will be sounding through the land, resolutely and irresistibly marching to their goal—the emancipation of the Working Class—and in their onward march they will

Utility of Mixed Locals Questioned

BY GEO. M. CONOVER

Mixed locals were, I believe, started for the purpose of organizing toolers in different industries where industrial unions did not exist to at once organize industrial unions, wherever sufficient members from an industry had become members, to be a recruiting station only. The idea is a good one, but like other ideas it can be and is misused. To make a club of it, either for discussion or study, and stick to that feature, can only lead to disaster. Unless the mixed local is used primarily as a rallying point for actual workmen who desire to become members only until such time as they can organize their own industry and get into position for the carrying on of warfare in the shop wherein they work, and against a particular enemy, then it is not a local of the I. W. W., but a cross between a debating society and a club for the study of abstruse problems, such as astronomy, geology and all the other "ologies" and "isms" that the freak can dink of.

The unit of organization is the industrial local, and in moments of an industrial union they necessarily discuss their grievances and troubles with their employer, they educate themselves thereby. Every defeat brings knowledge, every discussion means more light, and there is a continual growing in intelligence, of class-consciousness. There is no lack of education along real revolutionary lines either. Continual struggle fits them for greater conflicts and makes them more determined in their purpose than ever. The idea that this organization requires the theorist and hairsplitter, the poser and the allegedly educated to lead us out of our stupor into the heights of intelligence is a misleading one. Unless the I. W. W. is an active, vigorous working-class body, fighting the battles of the working class and teaching that working class in the only way possible, letting them work out their own destiny, then will it be not

Expression of Thanks

The Socialist Club and Library Federation of Waterbury, Conn., which federated with the Russian Socialist Democrats, expresses its great appreciation of the kindness shown by The Industrial Union Bulletin in supplying our library with a file of that publication.

With Socialist greetings and regards,
The Federation.

Foodstuffs Industry

The Bulletin of December 28, 1907, published an article on the organization of the "Foodstuffs Industry," the suggestion being made that an organizing fund be started for work in that industry. His long-time information concerning the receipt from Charles Fritze, secretary of Bakery Local No. 31, Louisville, Ky., of \$3.00 to be applied to that fund.

Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio Villarreal, Librado Rivera and Lazaro de Lara, now confined in the county jail of Los Angeles, Cal., have issued a manifesto to the American people setting forth the reasons and outrages committed upon them and through the instigation of Mexican authorities with the aid of American police. We hope to be able to give space to the document next week.

In the meantime information concerning these persecuted men and their defense may be obtained by addressing their attorney, Job Harriman, Room 619, corner Third and Main streets, Los Angeles, Cal.

Der Arbeiter of New York is the only paper in Yiddish that supports the I. W. W., and for that reason deserves and is entitled to the support of those reading this language. The address is 28 City Hall place, New York, and the subscription price 30 cents a year.

OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

National Office: 310 Bush Temple, Chicago

212 Bush Temple.
Chicago, Ill., Jan. 1, 1908.

This circular letter should be read and acted on at the next meeting.

Fellow Workers: Rapid growth in numbers cannot always be the measure by which the extent of propaganda should be judged; mass movements, if they are to leave their lasting imprint on the shaping of affairs in the social fabric, are preceded by transitory periods, during which forces are at work to tear down the old and prepare for the construction of the new.

Those elements have been incessantly at work in the dissemination of the fundamental truths of industrial unionism. The ground had to be prepared; the mind of the workers trained so that they could fully understand the most important aim of the Industrial Workers of the World, "the organizing of the power to take possession of what rightly belongs to the producers."

Fifteen thousand dollars in one year expended for propaganda and education of the workers from headquarters and approximately \$5,000 (by subordinate bodies) speak better than any other elaboration what is the real measure of progress made by the I. W. W.

The time has arrived that we are ready to reap the harvest of three years of constant and strenuous efforts. "Power is to be organized in important industries"; element hitherto disconnected, but gravitating toward the same center, are to be brought together in cohesive, powerful units, which will

again gather and augment more power when once merged into formidable bodies.

It is not always wise to disclose plans mapped out in order to reach desirable results with the least resistance. For this reason all details of the arrangements made so that 12,000 harbor workers of New York, Brooklyn, Hoboken and New Jersey can become members of the Industrial Workers of the World will not be published in full in The Industrial Union Bulletin; but we can give the members the assurance that these harbor workers, now organized in eighteen branches, all subordinated to one central union, have had enough training during their last strike in New York City, at which the I. W. W. expended approximately \$1,500 for literature and for organizers to take advantage of the opportunity for a most gratifying propaganda among these men. That there is no doubt about the final outcome of the referendum vote which will be taken among them after the Central Committee has acted on the propositions.

The General Executive Board of the I. W. W. met in New York City from December 22 to December 2, inclusive, and made such provisions that the harbor workers of that district could retain the central organization and form the strongest nucleus for the formation of a national industrial union of maritime transportation workers, subdivisions of the Transportation Department of the I. W. W., which would be organized with the co-operation of all harbor workers in different places now organized under charters of the I. W. W.

As this matter brought the G. E. B. face to face with a problem which had never been tackled by conventions of the I. W. W., the G. E. B. assumed the right to determine the scope and the proper alignment of a national industrial union.

The industries to be published will soon.

(Continued on Page 9)

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CHICAGO, JANUARY 11, 1908
To the establishment of the workers' republic, or the Co-operative Commonwealth, no consideration will be as important as the self-imposed discipline of the Industrial Union.

"APPEAL" CLAIMS CHALLENGED

In making announcement of the great things it is going to accomplish in the year 1908, the "Appeal to Reason" says the "old lies and glib promises will no longer deceive the people, and their eyes and ears are open for the truth and the facts."

But when the "Appeal" says, as it does in the issue for January 4, that it, and nothing but it, caused the president to revoke his order and withdraw the troops from Goldfield, we challenge the statement.

The truth and the facts are these: The troops entered Goldfield on Saturday, Dec. 7. On the 8th telegrams were sent from general headquarters of the I. W. W., Chicago, to important industrial centers from San Francisco to New York, calling on the workers for immediate public protest.

Will the "Appeal" staff claim that these meetings of workmen held in San Francisco and Philadelphia on Sunday, the 8th of December, were the result of its "Extra" which reached most of those TO WHOM IT WAS SENT on December 13 and 14? Will the "Appeal" staff now deny that long before they got to work on the "Extra" the indignation of the working class was flaming out all over the country?

The fact is that the claim was AUDAHOUS; it was presumptuous impudence; it threw aside all decent restraints and put the "Appeal" in a division by itself among the Socialist and working class papers, with none to envy its distinction and none to praise its "victory."

PROOF OF MINERS' CHECK-OFF

Since it is only by ocular demonstration that many can be convinced of anything, we have taken pains to reproduce an actual "Pay-Roll Statement" of an Illinois miner, which reveals the conditions under which coal is mined in this state.

Form 22. PAY-ROLL STATEMENT.

Table with columns: WORK, TONS, YARDS, ROOM TURNING, DAYS, DEDUCTIONS, RENT, COAL, BLACKSMITHING, SHOT FIRING, POWDER, STORE ORDERS, UNION, CHECK WEIGHMAN, COLLECTIONS, TOTAL EARNINGS, TOTAL DEDUCTIONS, DUE CO., BALANCE DUE.

THE ABOVE STATEMENT IS ONLY FOR THE INFORMATION OF EMPLOYEES, AND IS NOT TRANSPARENT.

There is no good reason why all pure and simple reactionaries in the labor movement should not be united under one head, and for that sort of a union Gompers is in every respect an ideal head.

On the other hand, there is no good reason why all Socialist workers should not be united in an economic organization which, industrially formed, must be the basis of the Socialist order.

Father Gordon does not agree with the Wall Street journal which says that the A. F. of L. is the "greatest bulwark against Socialism." He thinks that distinction belongs to the Catholic Church.

The I. W. W. men of Dawson, Yukon Territory, are planning a campaign for an eight-hour day at 75 cents an hour for the report that the S. P. Railroad has special police on the line to keep the boys who have been thrown out of work off the trains.

Two industrial unionists, F. H. Little and Chris Hanson, are traveling through the desert of Arizona in a wagon drawn by four desert burros and "living on sage brush, cacti and Gila monsters."

A small group of A. F. of L. men in Chicago sent in a contribution to headquarters for the Preston-Smith fund, proving that not all members of that organization can be poisoned by their leaders.

Joseph Shannon, prominent in the W. E. M. and president of the Montana state organization, with other Butte labor men, has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment for violating an injunction restraining interference with the Rocky Mountain Bell Telephone Company.

Official Announcements

(Continued from Page 1)

tain brief arguments on the subject matter. The sum and substance of the counter-argument was that preparatory to the formation of "Departments of Industries" there must be organized the proper subdivisions or national industrial unions. Three thousand members, organized in five or more unions of the I. W. W., to constitute the nucleus of a National Industrial Union.

The lumber and timber workers will also be called upon to form a "National Industrial Union" as a subdivision of the Department of Wood Industries the convention will be held in August in a locality to be decided on in about two weeks. A manifesto will be prepared and printed in four languages: English, Finnish, French and Swedish.

Lynn, Mass., the center of the shoe industry, has a very progressive class of workers. Thousands of shoe workers are organized independently from any body. Directed by I. W. W. organizers, they have concluded to organize central bodies, and now they are ready to respond to a call which would emanate from general headquarters of the I. W. W. and meet in convention to form a national industrial union of shoe workers.

"What are my wages? I get \$5 a day and expenses here. The pay depends on the risk. Strange as it may sound to you in towns where the unions are well organized, there is less danger than in the unorganized towns. In union towns, the rank and file look to the leaders and these leaders realize they will be held responsible if anything serious happens. This is a general principle. There are exceptions.

"We strike breakers do not confine ourselves to any line or trade. We are ready to become electricians one day, carpenters the next, motormen the next, and so on. I have worked or pretended to work as a coal miner in Colorado, a teamster in Chicago, a street car man in San Francisco, and an electrician in Butte. My present wage is the usual one.

"The unions offer nothing to me; why should I belong to one? The men who belong to the unions do so to better their condition. It is a selfish proposition. I find that I can better my condition by not belonging to one.

"The striker talks about his wife and babies. Well, I have a wife and babies, and my chief concern is for them. In the days when I was a union man I often found myself idle for days at a stretch. Now I am steadily employed at much better wages than I formerly received.

"I just want to show you how much the average unionist cares about anybody except his own little clique. Let us take the local unions. In Great Falls, for instance, I am told your Stationary Engineers' union has a law that one must pay \$125 initiation fee.

"See the point? A man cannot pay that amount if he is in need of a job, therefore that little clique could hold all the jobs in the town.

"Your Butte, I believe, have an initiation fee of \$25. Just picture a hobo barber with \$25 in his pocket. Another scheme to make the traveling journeyman fight shy of the town and allow the home guard to have things their own way.

"Now I'll ask you what consideration from idle men should a union which does this sort of thing receive? We will take another case. The bakers, plumbers and some of the other unions have an apprenticeship rule. It means that very, very few boys can get a chance to learn the trade.

"What is the result? Why, the supply of tradesmen is kept down and the fortunate members are able to command fancy wages. But how about the boys denied a chance to learn a trade? They join the ranks of unskilled workers, and there being so many of them in proportion to the number of jobs, they are compelled to work for anything they can get. The unskilled workers can not organize to keep down the supply. What is the result? Why, we have on one hand the unionist receiving \$3 a day and the unskilled working for \$2 and less. Remember this wage, both the low and the high, is the result of union regulation.

"I've studied this union question. The union was organized to get more from the employer, not to discriminate against other union men nor to sell into cahoots with the boss to fix the selling price of goods. Your Miners' union? Yes, that's a real union. Any man can go to work and join the union. They haven't any apprenticeship regulations and they don't try to take a month's wages for the initiation fee. And they get one work up on the pay day.

"They are trying to get more money from the employer, who, by the way, is not selling his produce back to the working class. This applies to the Mill and Smelters, too. Unions of unskilled workers are just that. It is 1908 will be made epoch-making in the history of the American labor movement through your earnest and enthusiastic co-operation, we remain Yours for industrial freedom, W. E. Trautmann, General Sec'y-Treas.

Vincent St. John, General Organizer, Asst. Sec'y, P. S. All voluntary organizers who have secured credentials last year and up to this time are herewith requested to file new applications through the local unions or district council of the respective locality. All credentials issued so far to voluntary organizers are canceled herewith. Those voluntary organizers who are located at places where no union is in existence, or who are constantly drifting from one place of employment to another, must also make new application for renewal of their credentials, so that headquarters can be kept informed about their work and doings. Vincent St. John, General Organizer.

Strike-Breaker Talks on Labor Situation A Montana newspaper prints the statement which follows from a professional strikebreaker, which is not without interest, showing as it does the mental attitude of the confirmed enemy of organized labor: Bill Smith, he called himself when he wandered into the News office, adding that the name Smith was "as good as any other."

"I notice that the newspapers give columns of space to the union men," he began. "You let them break into print whenever they want to. Now I ask in fairness to the strike breaker, that you print our side just for the novelty of the thing."

It was assumed that he would be given publicity for anything he wished to say of public interest on his own behalf, and he continued: "Perhaps I stated my line of employment improperly. I am a strike breaker, call me 'Strike breaker' is the term used by my employers. I have helped to break strikes in 20 different places and having finished here, am ready for the next job."

"My picture, well as that of scores of others, is in half the union halls of the country. In fact, I hold membership in some of the unions which display my picture and advertise me as a scab. I was run out of town here. What of it? That is part of the business. I have been kicked out of dozens of towns by men who call themselves union men and who, if they had won the fight, would have gone back to work for less wages than I received for helping to break the strike.

"Some of the boys told me about a dealer named Adams who sold patent medicines for 50 per cent less than the druggists. That was money in the pocket of the working class. Well, one of your local unions said, 'That's wrong. We want that 50 per cent to go to the druggists,' and so they compelled Adams to charge them more. That's unionism up to date. There are your barbers. Charge 25 cents for a shave. Sounds like the Klondike or California in '49, doesn't it? Well, the barbers have a union, and in their union they said, 'We will sock our brother workmen for 10 cents more on each shave, and we will divide our boss's wage, and all of you said 'Hurrah for the barber.' Sure! They cut your wages every time you buy a shave. I am not through with your plumbers. They have secured the passage of an ordinance requiring that house-owners, many of whom are workmen, to buy a certain kind of grease trap. Now, there is another kind—in fact, several kinds—that cost about one-fourth the price of the prescribed type, and they do not work better, but the union soaks their brother workers for the more expensive kind."

"I want to say to you that from my standpoint the only time the union creates a job is when it goes on strike, and then it howls because those of us who understand the labor situation take advantage of our opportunities same as any man do when they get a chance. No, never mind that matter. It may be Jones, Smith or Brown. No matter, I am a strike breaker. I may work for Captain Thiele and I may not. The point with me is simply to give you a picture of the labor situation from the standpoint of a 'professional scab.'"

"Are there women in this business as well as men?" "Sure. Some were shipped to Montana from Detroit a few months ago. You will find these women strike breakers wear better clothes, dine on more expensive fare and take life much easier than these union girls.

"Perhaps we are union people, too. Strike-breakers' union. How does that sound? In which case ours is the better order of the two, for it pays us better wages than the strikers' union can obtain."

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ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

How Social Institutions Came into Existence Through Changing Methods of Production

FROM THE PAST TO THE FUTURE

BY WORD H. MILLS

CHAPTER VIII.

We have seen that under the simple democracy of purely gentile society production was for use only and that property used in common was collectively owned...

at least subordinate." Out of this discovery came the metallic hammer and anvil, the ax and the chisel, the plowshare and the iron sword. It marks the heroic period in human history, and upon it as a basis civilization rests.

At this point the differentiating industries developed an increasing variety and display in the arts of production to such an extent that handicrafts became a distinct factor. Thus occurred the second great division of labor. Hitherto slavery, which had been but comparatively a sporadic factor, now became an essential feature of the newly developing social system.

Along with the production of marketable commodities, as heretofore noted; along with the tilling of the soil by individual cultivators for their own account on individually owned land, came money, which supplanted cattle as a medium of exchange, and constituting a new social power.

This transition from communal to private property was a gradual process, and precisely when it occurred is not definitely known. It was accompanied, however, simultaneously with the transition from the pairing family to monogamy. It was then that the monogamic family began to be the economic unit of society.

When the producers no longer consumed their own product, but released their hold upon it in exchange for another's product, then they lost control of it. They no longer knew what became of it. It became possible to utilize this product by turning it against the producers for the purpose of exploiting and oppressing them.

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By reason of modern stupendous concentration of wealth in the ownership of a few individuals, the independent mercantile order is gradually becoming relegated; but until now the mercantile class has skimmed the cream of production at home and abroad as a reward for services of production.

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The growth of the idea of property in the human mind, through its creation and enjoyment, and especially through the settlement of legal rights through respect to its inheritance, are the fundamental bases upon which the establishment of this form of the family rests.

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so henceforth does the mortgage cling to private ownership in land.

Usury came into existence as the concomitant of the mortgage. The inventor of debt is credited the Athenians. The old gentile constitution knew nothing of advance and debt; it was incompatible with money rule.

and the new interests inaugurated by the use of money and marketing of commodities had created a society characterized by conditions that were irreconcilable. Here was a society that could exist only by a continual open struggle of all classes, each against the other.

"Industrial expansion, money, usury, private land and mortgage thus progressed with the concentration and centralization of wealth in the hands of a small class, accompanied by the increasing impoverishment of the masses and the increasing mass of paupers.

Here, then, we have arrived at a point in the evolution of society when wealth is esteemed as the thing most desirable, and the old institutions of gentile society have been abused to justify its forcible robbery.

Gentile society originally knew no slavery, and was therefore ignorant of the agency which existed in the form of a mass of bondsmen in leath.

There was yet missing the institution that not only secured the newly acquired private wealth of individuals, but also stamped the gradually developing new forms of acquiring property, of constantly increasing wealth, with the universal sanction of society.

"FUNDAMENTALISM"

BY ARTHUR KEEP

During the last convention of the I. W. O. I understood myself compelled to listen to a great amount of nonsense which can be best denominated as above, on the subject of "mass vs. integral organization."

the working class were rotting in jail on trumped up charges. Jaures knew of those cases, and also stamped the gradually developing new forms of acquiring property, of constantly increasing wealth, with the universal sanction of society.

The whole thing could be summed up by saying that the general who commanded an army and thought that the general attack was out of date, and that battle should be given the enemy only by scattered divisions as divisions, would be a first-class chump for his own side.

It was not ignorance that led Millerrand to take a position in the cabinet of France, but it was ignorance that led Kautsky and the International Council to whitewash Millerrand, Jaures and the others with him by adopting the famous Kautsky resolution.

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their business of setting themselves free in the manner best suited and with the tools that are handiest. Don't worry, Mr. Workingman is due to prove all the fundamentalism and other villainisms wrong. He'll do it in his own sweet way and in his own sweet time.

Industrial Unionism and Politics

The I. W. U. and its relation to politics continues to be the basis of much discussion in spite of the claim that this matter was settled at the last I. W. U. convention. To say that a thing is settled today and by that means that it is for all time is taking a position that is out of harmony with evolution;

Workers and Organization

For years those among the working class who were clearest of mental vision and cleanest of heart strove to root out of the American labor movement the infamous graft, corruption, and treachery that had time and again stifled the struggling and victimized workers and prevented them from achieving their deserved victory.

For instance, two plans are up before a legislative or an executive body, one is adopted, the other rejected, scarcely by unanimous, however, if the plan adopted is one of those who were opposed are satisfied, but if it fails they will say the other would have been the plan, when in fact it might have been even a worse one.

In this momentous and unequalled struggle of the capitalists and the labor betrays on one side and the betrayed and plundered on the other, the honest workers fought heroically; often the fight looked desperate for the proletarians. But hope springs eternal in the human breast with success.

I would especially recommend the careful study of the text-book of the world-wide labor movement, the Manifesto of the Communist Party, by Marx and Engels. Quoting from the joint preface of this document, they say: "However much the state of things may have altered during the past 25 years, the general principles laid down in the manifesto are, on the whole, as correct today as ever."

They saw established an organization of the working class formed on the basis of the universal fact of the class struggle in society, on the principle that there is no character that makes the proletarian the fencer and the fencible, on the broad principle that the producers of wealth, the working class, must organize industrially to fulfill their historic mission.

Let us see. They are numbered from one to ten. Judging from present conditions, all except No. 10 have become antiquated, even the first paragraph of No. 10 is to be thrown in with the rest, the remainder is as follows: "When in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character."

Even the Nazarine was denounced as a disturber and an enemy of the state and of the established order of things, and to satisfy the desires of the profit mongers and the political tyrants he was crucified. But from the persecution of these who cried "Crucify him!" sprang the organized Christian church. It has had its martyrs.

Applying the above quotation to the present, as well as to the future, proves that all the preceding measures have become antiquated. Why? Because the adoption of these measures would have been the work of a political power (political party) and circumstances are forcing the workers to organize as a class, and not political character of public power is to go by the board.

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Lawson's Arraignment of the Bankers

A recent contribution to the exposure of the financial pirates of the country is Thomas W. Lawson's letter addressed to the president. It contains facts of tremendous and far-reaching importance, which almost the entire press of the land has suppressed. The following is the portion of his letter dealing with the big financial wreckers of New York and Chicago...

"The Swindle of the Age," and had spread them continuously before the public and banking officials for over fourteen months, nor is any comment made that at the very time of this exposure there were in New York City alone a number of similar affairs, each one as rotten as those I have outlined. CORTELYOU'S ADVISER A FINANCIAL PIRATE. Over three years ago I publicly described in detail one particular swindle, which was engineered from a New York national bank, one of the largest banks in the world, and I set forth the evidence whereby the public were boldly and openly robbed of over \$100,000,000, and that \$46,000,000 of this amount was in a single transaction, and I showed how the banking rooms were openly used as headquarters, and yet no action has been taken by the national banking authorities. The head of this bank and the man concerned with the looting is one of the swindlers of your secretary of the treasury in the present "crisis." Three years ago I showed, in detail, how a monopoly had been created for the absolute control of one of the great industries of the country, copper. It is shown how this monopoly was absolutely controlled by one man, how through the workings of this monopoly the price of copper to the people had been raised from 11 to 20 cents per pound, and how overnight through this monopoly, it was dropped back to 11 cents, and how the people were thereby robbed of over \$200,000,000 and investors of over \$100,000,000, and yet after such exposure there was not only no action taken by the government, but until that time arrives it is the most peaceful organization existing. Referring again to the middle class, according to the text-book, as well as part history of the movement, "The bourgeoisie historically has played a most revolutionary part." Any one who has educated and trained the working class, which has been done through the various political parties as educational and propaganda societies. But it is a natural that these societies die that the new may live, as it is for a grain of wheat to die that new wheat be produced. This is not condemning the middle class individual or the position he takes, but simply putting them in their place; their time and place having passed away, it is blocking the progress of the working class movement for them to still hold to the old views and continue in existence their old societies. And worse still for them to hold that they must continue to be the brains to function in the working class movement. Referring again to this text-

book, you will find that it is not a socialist Manifesto, and the reasons are stated therein, read them. I could wish for nothing better than that every worker would read and study carefully this Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels, to be had from New York Labor News Co., 28 City Hall Place, New York City, or 218 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill. In conclusion it will be seen that Marx and Engels as they studied out and wrote this document, saw the necessity in the not distant future of a distinctive working class organization which would carry out the program of the emancipation of the workers from wage slavery. And to my mind the I. W. W. has the foundation. Its success, however, will depend upon its standing upon that foundation, giving no quarters and asking none. Continuing thus as the same is taking root in other countries it will not be long until a call will be made for organization to organize the real International workingmen's organization. I want to close with two quotations from the text-book, from the preface: "Whatever portion of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of a total social change, that portion, then, called itself communist. It was a sect, not a party; it was a movement, not of communists; still it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough among the working class to produce the utopian communism, in France of Cabot, and in Germany of Weitling. Thus, Socialism was, in 1847, a middle class movement, communism a working class movement. Socialism was on the continent at least respectable, communism was the very opposite. And as our nation from the very beginning, was that the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself, there could be no doubt as to which of the two names we must take. Moreover, we have ever since been far from repudiating it." Then the closing paragraph of this document which is so often, but partially, quoted: "Finally, they labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the Democratic parties of all countries. The communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries unite."

showing that the preamble means for the workers to keep up two organizations. It is plain to me, that the preamble embodies all, and all within the one organization. The I. W. W. is both an economic and a political organization, but not a political party. Marx says, every class struggle is a political struggle. Why? Because we live in a political state, and so it will be until the political state is abolished; hence all action of the workers outside of the shop, mill, mine or factory is political action. And in all this they must be united; farther than this the I. W. W. does not go. It does not provide for political party activity, but distinctly states it will not endorse any political party, neither does it desire the endorsement of any political party. And it is not any socialist political party that is a shield providing a freedom of political agitation (all the agitation of the I. W. W. is political agitation), for the I. W. W., any more than it is any capitalist political party; true the political government of the then small capitalists by the adoption of the constitution of the United States provided for their freedom of agitation for all organizations who openly and above board carry on agitation, observing the laws governing such agitation, it naturally makes it a political agitator. And the capitalists can't trample upon this and place their trample upon themselves. Hence, the I. W. W. standing alone is not a physical force only organization. When the time arrives, however, it will be prepared to do the physical force act, but until that time arrives it is the most peaceful organization existing.

OUR BOOK LIST

BELLOW we give a partial list of books which we are prepared to supply to readers of this paper. As will be seen the list contains many of the books which the contents of which Industrial Unionists should be familiar. They range from light, but instructive pamphlets, to the scientific and philosophical works of Labriola, Morgan and Marx. Any book in the list will be sent, postage paid, on receipt of price, and we ask all members of the organization and readers of this paper to order their books from us.

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Table listing book titles and prices, including Capital, Volume I. Marx, The Communist Manifesto, and various works by Engels, Labriola, and others.

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It would be an insult to your intelligence for me even to call your attention to the unsoundness, the vicious unsoundness, of this entire transaction, which works out just as if the people of a community, having captured a bank burglar who had squandered the proceeds of one bank's lootings, furnished him with new tools with which to rob the remaining banks of the community of sufficient money to make good what he had been arrested for stealing.

At the time this transaction was made, during the panic, it was stated by the System's representatives that they were justified in committing this crime because if it was not committed other New York banks and trust companies, which were in even a more rotten condition, would have their real standing exposed, and the entire structure would topple.

John R. Walsh, at the head of one of the System's branches in Chicago, and head of only a few of many other banks and trust companies in the west, by accident was caught. He is now being criminally tried. The testimony has brought to light the fact that for years it was his custom to personate himself as a coal miner or railroad worker and immediately sell them to one of his banks for \$1,000,000 of the depositors' money, and almost immediately have the bank which bought sell them to one of his trust companies for \$1,000,000 of his deposits, and that he repeated these operations to the extent of looting the banks and trust companies of which he was the head of many millions. And that it was his custom when he had no mines or railroads handy to order his secretary to forge as high as six different names at one time to notes for hundreds of thousands of dollars and to exchange these notes for the banks' and trust companies' deposits.

But what the testimony does not show is that when Walsh was caught, a committee of other banks and trust companies relieved his banks and trust companies of these "securities" by purchasing them for their banks and trust companies with their deposits, thereby enabling the Walsh banks and trust companies to avert an open crash, which means that the other banks not yet caught have their paper titles instead of real money. And another thing which is not shown by the testimony is that Walsh is only one of scores of others who have not yet been exposed and who, to prevent exposure, are active in trying to show you how badly the country needs new currency and banking laws.

Only a few weeks before the panic \$15,000,000 to \$25,000,000 worth of Atlantic Steamship securities were combined in one trust and were issued against them \$25,000,000 of mortgage bonds, \$2,500,000 of other bonds and \$2,500,000 of stock, or \$150,000,000 in all. These \$150,000,000 of "securities" were then exchanged for scores of millions of deposits in banks and trust companies. This was done openly and with great newspaper publicity and at a time when you were working overtime in your exposure of the ancient Chicago & Lyon looting.

At the same time and in conjunction with this "financing," a notorious confidence man from Montana swooped down on financial New York and over night turned \$2,500,000 worth of mining property into \$200,000,000 worth of "securities," which he used as instruments for the withdrawal of scores of millions of dollars of the people's deposits in banks and trust companies, and which he used as instruments to personally take possession of a number of banks and trust companies in and about New York City.

This was not secretly done, but was done with the greatest publicity and while your bank examiners and other officials stood by without entering protest. It was only by the merest accident these two cases were exposed, with the result that a number of banks and trust companies failed, one of which locked up, perhaps forever, \$50,000,000 of the people's money, the president of this one promptly committing suicide. All this is now a matter of notoriety, and yet in all the publicity there is no mention made of the fact that I had set forth these exact conditions, now exposed, in great advertisements under the heading,

FINANCIALS STEAL WHILE THEY TALK. Only a few weeks before the panic \$15,000,000 to \$25,000,000 worth of Atlantic Steamship securities were combined in one trust and were issued against them \$25,000,000 of mortgage bonds, \$2,500,000 of other bonds and \$2,500,000 of stock, or \$150,000,000 in all. These \$150,000,000 of "securities" were then exchanged for scores of millions of deposits in banks and trust companies. This was done openly and with great newspaper publicity and at a time when you were working overtime in your exposure of the ancient Chicago & Lyon looting.

Industrial Unionism and Politics (Continued from page 3) of action; for they say, to repeat, "If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled to organize itself as a class, etc., etc.," and again from the preface, "the practical application of the principles will depend everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing." Applying these quotations, I hold that the time has arrived for the proletariat to organize as a class. And this is the position of the I. W. W. This being true, I hold that the Bourgeoisie (the middle class) must be excluded from the proletarian organization. This the I. W. W. has done. Quoting from the preamble, "these conditions will continue until the toilers come together on the political as well as the industrial field," not Bourgeois, not politicians but the toilers, the working class come together. I hold that the preamble as first adopted is the proper basis of a proletarian organization, prepared to embrace any and all methods that conditions may require, for the overthrow of the present system and the inauguration of the new, the industrial management of affairs, or industrial government, if you please. I know the argument is advanced that the political ballot is a peaceful weapon, and the political party as a shield affording a peaceful solution guaranteeing freedom of agitation, etc., etc. I interpret this interpretation as only a pretext, making a place for the middle class to still hang on to the movement. This is the chord, the vital spot. There has been no argument yet produced

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PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party. The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trades union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers. These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making injury to one an injury to all. Therefore, without endorsing or desiring endorsement of any political party, we unite under the following constitution.

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