

The Industrial Union Bulletin

PUBLISHED BY THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD 212 BUSH TEMPLE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 29, 1908

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM INDISPENSABLE

No truer declaration was ever made than this: "The working class alone can achieve working class emancipation." Upon the ability of the working class to organize and enforce its just demands depends the future, not alone of the workers themselves, but of civilization.

Taking it for granted that the freedom of the working class from capitalist exploitation means the social control and operation of the means of production and distribution—that is to say, Socialism, then the sole object of the workers should be to perfect that form of organization without which their mission can not be performed and their emancipation is impossible.

A true Constructive Socialism requires the Industrial Union of the workers; it constructs not in the interest of the capitalist class nor for the perpetuation of capitalist class power, but for the transfer of that power from capitalists to workers.

A RULER BY DIVINE RIGHT

A short time ago, in the city of Chicago, a certain well-known bishop of the Catholic church delivered a notable address in which the present incumbent of the office of president of the United States was extolled in most usual and extravagant terms.

"LAW AND ORDER" GANG AT WORK

The last Congress passed a proposed national nine-hour law for railroad telegraph operators. The same is scheduled to take effect March 1st. This law was enacted in part through the efforts of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, but mainly by the pressure of the middle class, who, as usual, care not a whit whether the operators work twenty-four hours out of every twenty-four, but see the danger to their precious lives in wrecks occurring on working minors—underpaid, inexperienced and overworked—as telegraphers.

Protest from Buffalo and a Reply Thereto

Resolutions adopted by Local No. 43, I. W. W., Buffalo, N. Y., Feb. 18th, 1908. The Bulletin of Jan. 1st has two pages filled with an attack on the W. F. M. and its officers. While professing an answer to their invitation to the proposed conference, it was in reality an attack on the entire organization as the officers were only carrying out instructions.

The last political election in New York was practically decided by less than 30,000 votes, we are told; and the "discovery" has been made that at least 30,000 fraudulent votes are cast at every election in Manhattan borough. It is now proposed as a means of eliminating these votes to require the registering of thumb prints of each elector.

The contract with employers to which the A. F. of L. is so devoted is "sacred" only so long as it serves the purposes of employers. The Rio Grande railway is charged with violation of the contract with its machinist employees. The contract provides that "if either the company or the machinists wish to change the agreement, a notice of thirty days shall be given."

B. H. Williams, member of the general executive board, had a well attended and successful meeting at Philadelphia on Sunday, Feb. 16. The organization in the Quaker city is making rapid advances. The Dyers' local recently started took in over seventy members at its last meeting, and 500 employees of a city have decided to apply for a charter.

The mine owners' thugs at Goldfield, Nevada, are beginning to throw off their reserve and display their teeth. A few days ago, William Jurgens, who is well known to readers of this paper, was beaten up by a mine owners' gunman. This incident shows that the mine bosses of Goldfield have not abandoned the methods which in the past have given them notoriety.

Of course when Gov. Hughes says that "the people of this country do not desire Socialism," he means some of the people. The governor should be a little more careful in his use of terms. He assumes too much. We are quite ready to believe that some of the people do not desire it, including the governor; but the governor don't speak for all of us.

Smart lot of fellows, those Southern Democrats! Left it to a woman to bring the facts concerning involuntary servitude and peonage in the South to the attention of Congress. Then they would have denied it in the interest of capitalists, their friends, and not the evidence submitted by Mrs. Quackenbush overwhelmed them.

A. M. Stirton, editor of the "Wage Slave," and national committeeman of the S. P. from Michigan, says: "The 'Wage Slave,' in its favor of Industrial Unionism, in fact we see no such a thing as Constructive Socialism possible without it." He also says: "We believe in the I. W. W., and in the so-called 'Trautmann faction' in particular."

It is reported from Washington that Roosevelt has made up his mind that "God knows" Taft will never do for candidate of the G. O. P. for president and will take the nomination himself.

"Hit your wagon to a star," says the preacher. It's all right; but how is a man going to get his wagon if his nose is hitched to a grindstone?

"Grape Nuts" Post Caught. It has been proved in court that "Grape Nuts" Post is conducting a fraudulent business. At Altoona, Pa., Pure Food Agent H. L. Banzhoff brought suit against one of Post's local agents on the charge of selling "Grape Nuts" in violation of the act.

Chicago Watch Sale. For the information of those interested in the disposal of a watch for the benefit of a worker in distress, which was dated for Jan. 25th at Friedman's Hall, Chicago, we wish to state that delay in holding sale was in order to enable those having stubs to send them in.

The watch has become the property of I. Mort, of Blytheville, Pa., and has been forwarded to him. H. J. FRIEDMAN, B. FISHER, ROBT. THURMAN, Committee.

General Lockout of the Capitalist Class

Doubtless there are many who have read or heard of a pamphlet called "The General Strike." Now, although there are many meritorious things advocated therein, still it is in general a false in its conception of what the function of the economically organized working class will be at the final, decisive hour of victory over Capitalism.

I desire to call your attention at this time to the condition of the resolution on receipt of same at this office, and to request in future matters sent here for publication be sent in without parts of the same struck out or interpolations inserted. The reasons for this are that this office has no way of knowing whether there is any authority for the striking out of certain parts and insertion of others in resolutions sent to this office. I have no way of knowing in what shape the local union has acted on it.

The "Answer" is not an attack either upon the officials nor upon the organization of the W. F. M., and by no manner of reasoning could an attack upon the officials be considered as attacking the organization. The officials of the W. F. M. are not the organization, however much some of them may think they are. Neither have the officers carried out the instructions as your resolution states. The instructions adopted by the 15th annual convention provided for inviting the two contending factions of the I. W. W. (see page 788 stenographic report 15th annual convention, resolution No. 175) to a conference to be held October 1st, 1907. This conference was not held, and no invitation to attend it was ever extended to this organization, although the other organizations named in the resolution were notified or invited. So much for the carrying out of instructions on the part of the officials of the W. F. M. Neither do the terms of the resolution adopted by the 15th annual convention give power to the executive board to insert any such condition as demanding the resignation of the officers of the I. W. W. as a step towards unification of labor's forces on the economic field.

No resolution submitted by local unions for publication in the Bulletin has been excluded, neither has the Bulletin in any way attacked the W. F. M. since November last. Space in the Bulletin taken up in any particular reference to the W. F. M. has always been in reply to an attack made by either some officer or member of the W. F. M. on the position of the present officers of the I. W. W. plain, and need not be repeated so far as the resignations are concerned. The Bulletin has not been used to gratify personal feuds, and no such motive actuates any one connected with this office in their attitude towards the W. F. M. or any other labor organization.

The matter of this conference was duly considered by the third annual convention of the I. W. W. and the stenographic report of that convention, No. 5, shows that a resolution providing for the I. W. W. participating in said conference was voted down 18 to 105, and that the delegate from local No. 43, W. DeLoach, one of the signers of this resolution, is recorded as not voting. The answer then can be considered in no other light than that the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. was following out the instructions given to it by the third annual convention. There is no need for the 16th annual convention of the W. F. M. to define what the first instruction passed for the guidance of their delegates to this proposed conference means. Page 854 stenographic report 15th annual convention W. F. M. discloses that those in favor of said resolution, while professing to believe that departmental autonomy was all that was meant by complete departmental autonomy. Amendment offered by Del. Barry to add "in matters pertaining to that department," and further amendment by Del. Cox, 251, page 85, to strike out the word "complete," were both voted down and it does not make any difference what the professions of a delegate or delegates may have been, the fact remains that these instructions mean what they say, not what somebody understands them to mean or interprets them to be.

I would call your attention further to page 859, last paragraph, J. C. Williams, 90, member of the committee which drafted the instructions, who states that he does not want the Industrial Workers of the World.

This answer will be published with your resolution in the next issue of the Bulletin. With best wishes to yourself and the membership of No. 43, I remain yours for real industrial unionism and economic freedom.

VINCENT ST. JOHN. Demand Freedom of Mexicans. At a regular meeting of the Pittsburgh Local No. 212, of the Industrial Workers of the World, the following resolutions were passed: "Whereas, There is now held in this country, not in accordance with justice and law, but in violation of justice and law, three Mexicans charged with various crimes and when the parties that had them arrested failed to establish charges in order to keep them in jail indefinitely, and to eventually turn them over to their enemies; and on account of these false charges and long confinement they have our sympathy and financial and moral support; and desiring that law breakers or criminals should run at large; but that all should have justice, therefore be it

Resolved, That we as citizens of the United States of America, demand that these men, Flores Magan, Antonio Villareal and Librado Riveron, now confined in jail at Los Angeles, California, be given a fair and impartial trial and that they shall not be deported to Arizona where it would be an easy matter for them to be kidnaped and taken to Old Mexico and there shot: LEWIS LEWIS, W. H. DUNN, W. R. LEWIS, Committee.

BRITISH ADVOCATES OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. Information on Industrial Unionism or the formation of Clubs can be had from any of the following Branch Secretaries in Great Britain: ABERDEEN—Wm. Greig, 27 Baker Street. BIRMINGHAM—C. Hawthorne, 159 Hingston Street, Brookfields. BOURNEMOUTH—A. Hollingsworth, 14 Wymnham Road. BRADFORD—Arnold J. Hibbert, 18 Easy Mount, Horton. DUNDEE—D. Nairn, 151 Victoria Road. EDINBURGH—E. Taylor, 9 Trincastle Place. FALKIRK—F. Fitzpatrick, 3 W. John Street. GLASGOW—Thos. Bell, 323 Westmuir Street, Pathhead. GRAYBEND—H. Forbes, 66 Ballinacree Road, Broomfield. LEITH—Thos. Drummond, 31 Glover Street. NORTH KENT—A. F. Goddard, 10 Glenview Road, Lewisham. READING—Edmund B. 81 Orchard Street. SHEFFIELD—W. D. Wood, 109 Jubilee Road, Attercliffe, Sheffield. SOUTH LONDON—C. N. Jarvis, 10 St. George's Road, Kenilworth. STROUD—G. O. E. GILL, 15 King Edward Road, Rochester. TOTTENHAM—Wm. B. 150 High Road, South Tottenham. WIDAL—Peter Hallow, 24 Dambidge Street. WOOLWICH—A. R. Smyth, 95 Browning Road, Plumstead. All secretaries of A. of I. U. clubs whose names are not on this list are requested to correspond with the above.

Los Angeles, Cal. PRESS COMMITTEE.

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

How Social Institutions Came Into Existence Through Changing Methods of Production

FROM THE PAST TO THE FUTURE

BY WORD H. MILLS

CHAPTER XVI.

From the very beginning the class that owned the wealth has ruled. First by the establishment of customs, later through the state, the instrument of civil government. Naturally, all legislation has been enacted to serve the special interests of the class that made the laws.

As it was in the beginning, so it is today. Through all the ages since production for sale began the interests of one part of humanity have traversed and antagonized the interests of another part of the people economically; and that the workers would remain wage slaves.

Inasmuch as the proposition of government ownership and control of public utilities under the political state is one with which the people will doubtless be called upon to deal in the not distant future, it is well that its nature should be understood by the working class. Let us, therefore, subject it to a more or less critical examination.

In the past, with especial reference to the United States, the attempts made towards the institution of government ownership have been confined to effort at a coalition between the small capitalist class, ever growing numerically smaller as a result of capitalist concentration, and the farm-owning farmers.

With the police and the army as a standing menace towards those who are exploited, the state has set up adjudicative institutions—courts to interpret and pass upon the constitutionality of laws. If any legal enactment is discovered to in any wise favor the working class, the courts will "quash" the law. The idea of political government ownership has no such economic basis as to guarantee its permanency.

The increasing intensity of the struggle for existence in modern times has rapidly added to the proletariat army. This host, the army of the dispossessed, realizes more each day that its interests cannot be subserved by government ownership, and that the only way to the political state, but only by the abolition of capitalist society which is based on the exploitation of wage labor.

Yet, the student of sociology knows that the result of each struggle has marked a distinct advance, a step forward and upward in human development and in the development of social organization; and that the conditions that exist today point inevitably to a higher and better form of social organization than any that has ever existed.

It has been truthfully said that every system of social organization contains within itself the germs of its own dissolution. We know that the present system—now in the throes of its collapse—is now in the throes of its collapse. Whether the age-long prejudices of the great mass of people can be overthrown and a new system of social organization be generated by the working class remains to be seen.

It is the historic mission of the working class to work out and achieve its own emancipation. This process must inevitably carry with it the destruction of economic class rule. The working class cannot become free without constituting each member of society a socially useful individual.

NOTE.—In relation to Government Ownership, one of the clearest booklets from the Socialist Party press is entitled "Hearstism," by J. B. Osborne, of Denver, published by the Socialist Voice Pub. Co., Oakland, Calif. It, however, simply shows the futility of capitalist-class administered government ownership. It does not go beyond the political state.

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ing strength seems to threaten the stability and supremacy of the ruling class, the capitalists themselves should favor the government ownership of the means of life. It would only be done as a method of making more secure the whole of capitalist property. The value of capitalist property inheres in its dividend paying capacity. Today capitalist property is owned by a small collectivity called stockholders who purchase an investment. If the stockholders were to transfer their property to the government, it would make but small difference to them that they received their profits in the form of interest on government bonds rather than dividends directly from the profits on the privately owned industry.

There would, however, be this difference: Today the stockholders own only the individual properties constituting the plants of industry; as government bondholders they would not only have a mortgage on the properties themselves, but upon the entire property of the government citizens as well as a mortgage on the productive energy of the working class of the nation for generations, and at the same time have the government under complete control to execute the will and perform the bidding of the same exploiting class that has ruled since the state first took form.

An illustration taken from Osborne's booklet (see footnote) will serve to indicate how the capitalist class profits locally through municipal ownership: If by such ownership street railway fares could be reduced it would increase demand for houses in the suburbs and the increased demand for houses in the suburbs thus created would also bring with it an increase in the price of rent to the tenant. We know today the center down town live the higher the rent, and the further out of town the lower the rent. I live down town near enough to walk to work, but have to pay fifteen dollars a month for rent. Another man lives in the suburbs and has to pay three dollars a month to go to and from town, for at present we have to pay five-cent street car fare.

"Now we will take over the street railways, municipally own and operate them and admit for the sake of argument that we could reduce street car fare to one cent. We know today the center down town live the higher the rent, and the further out of town the lower the rent. I live down town near enough to walk to work, but have to pay fifteen dollars a month for rent. Another man lives in the suburbs and has to pay three dollars a month to go to and from town, for at present we have to pay five-cent street car fare.

As heretofore pointed out, labor power under capitalist rule through the political state is a commodity whose price is determined by the cost of its production. As long as the wage system exists, whatever may be the peculiar form of political government, the entire wealth produced by labor becomes the property of the exploiting class. Out of this wealth it is the care of the capitalist class to see that the workers receive a subsistence and no more.

Among the species of animals known as "man" (often confounded with "human"), there is apparent at all times a slight difference of opinion, and caused mostly by their general opinions and the latter being received through a more individual, according to occupation and position held by such individual, from immediate contact with anything that conflicts with the stand taken for or against a certain action.

Not only does the capitalist class possess the economic and political power; they have also the money which makes both these possible. Now, the advocates of government ownership, as a rule suggest the confiscation of the socially necessary means of existence. Their talk is of purchase. Behold then the anomaly. Our government ownership friends propose to purchase the means of existence from the capitalists, and the rights of ownership would be under the necessity of borrowing the money from the capitalists. In the second they would have to buy from the capitalists the coal and other raw material necessary for duplicating the enormously vast plants of industry. The proposition critically examined becomes a *reductio ad absurdum*.

It is true that some public utilities have been acquired by the government in New Zealand, Germany and other countries, and that various municipal governments have acquired ownership of their public works. But, the railroads are small in mileage and value, comparatively, and the same is true of other utilities. Again the properties in question constitute a insignificant fraction of the aggregate of the sum of exploiting capital.

Supposing that, under the pressure of a revolutionary movement whose growth is all that continued propagation of the truth has effected. Hoping that you understand my reason for objecting to the adjective "anarchism" being applied to the actions of the invaders, and that you are not taking anything for bouquets (bouquets generally have bricks hidden amongst the flowers), I am Yours Truly, CHAS. A. MYERS, Port Kusan, B. C.

Industrial Unionism—Means and Methods—Active and Passive Action.

By Wm. A. Trautmann

CRAFT UNION BOYCOTT OFTEN A FRAUD.

As craft union methods were and are always applied to safeguard and promote the interests of groups of workers without regard for the interests of the working class as a whole, the boycott as used against so-called antagonistic firms rarely is prosecuted for the purpose of forcing them to recognize certain rights and working conditions of employees. The boycott is often decreed against firms for introducing machinery in the production of commodities; the boycott against the Cigar Trust by the Cigar-makers' International Union and the National Union of Tobacco Workers is a case in point.

The Journeymen Plumbers, another organization of the A. F. of L., boycotts every employer who is not a member of the Master Plumbers' Association; and the organization of manufacturers in plumbers' supplies, a part of such a combination, also boycotts such independent master plumbers, so to force them to become members of the master plumbers' association. Dozens of similar cases could be enumerated.

CRAFT UNION LABELS—MERCHANDISE.

The fifty-six different craft union labels, now used by the various craft unions to designate that goods bearing that insignia are made by organized labor, are used so discriminately that, like the boycott, this method of protecting the interests of workers is rendered ridiculous. The labels are granted to employers with the understanding that they would be safeguarded against any strikes in their work.

The craft union labels are the emblems of divided craft-interests; that's why there are so many of them in the market; they are used to keep the workers separated in useless and ineffective craft unions; a menace rather than a benefit.

WRONG METHODS, WRONG ORGANIZATION.

But after all, even these methods, harmful to the working class as they are, cannot be used and applied except by organizations. The combination of interests between the craft unions and the capitalist class interests and as pointed out by their mouthpiece, the capitalist class can rest safe in all its possessions as long as the craft unions do not pit worker against worker, to produce the seal and strikebreaker, to foster and encourage ignorance and hatred of one against the other. The last desperate weapon which the strikebreaker partly created by the craft unions and their methods, hurls defiance at other workers who still cling to antiquated and outworn ideas and methods, in no way harm and injure the masters who keep themselves in safety and laugh and encourage such acts of violence, as long as workers only beat and kick down other workers. Organized as these methods are, they are responsible for such conditions.

But there is hope and inspiration. Decaying organization begets the germs for new life and new organic forms; the evils of craft unions and craft union methods will be eliminated by an organization formed in such a way that its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

all that continued propagation of the truth has effected. Hoping that you understand my reason for objecting to the adjective "anarchism" being applied to the actions of the invaders, and that you are not taking anything for bouquets (bouquets generally have bricks hidden amongst the flowers), I am Yours Truly, CHAS. A. MYERS, Port Kusan, B. C.

ORGANIZED SPONTANEOUS ACTION.

"It was certainly shocking!"—What impudence of these workers in the electric power plants of Paris, part of which were even operated on the municipal ownership plan, to walk out in a body in 1907 without giving notice to the employing class! Indeed an appalling spectacle! All traffic stopped, all theatres, restaurants and amusement places dark; no lights in the streets; in fact industrial life brought to a standstill. The threats that troops would be called out scoffed at by the strikers! The prefect and municipal authorities pleading in vain for harmony and arbitration! "Frantic appeals to good citizenship and the sense of duty towards the general public of no avail! All capitalist newspapers throughout the world were commenting on the apparent new features of the strike; the papers in the United States, with few exceptions, reminding editorially the good, law-abiding workers that such horrible things could not happen in America, where employers and employes argue and arbitrate, and enter into contracts during the life of which peaceful relations prevail!"

France was at the brink of the revolution!—was the outcry, when the Paris Bydicalists (Industrial Unionists) gained every point the spontaneous action had been invoked for; worse yet, when three days later the subway employes demanded redress for their long standing grievances, these other workers who had been given everything they wanted prepared to walk out again to aid their fellow workers! That was, when three days later the subway employes demanded redress for their long standing grievances, these other workers who had been given everything they wanted prepared to walk out again to aid their fellow workers! That was, when three days later the subway employes demanded redress for their long standing grievances, these other workers who had been given everything they wanted prepared to walk out again to aid their fellow workers!

The engineers could not be pitted against the firemen, and neither be played in those industries; all made common cause in their struggle for achievements; all would have suffered in common hardships in case of prolongation of the conflict, and all were prepared to act as a united, well drilled body when the interests of their fellow workers in a kindred industry had to be protected. But because they had given a drastic display of the fighting strength and power of their industrial organization, the capitalists in other industries knew that the workers were not playing a bluff game of bluff and the strategical advantages gained (Concluded on page 4)

I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS. Leaflets in English, per 1,000—Address to Wage Workers, \$1.50 The Tortile Industry, 1.50 Food Staff Industry, 1.50 Metal and Machinery Industry, 1.50 Story of a New Labor Union, 1.50 Leaflets in Italian, 3.00 Swedish, 3.00 Polish, 3.00 Finnish, 3.00 German, 4.00 Yiddish, 3.00 Rumanian, 4.00 Japanese, Address to Wage Earners, 10.00

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INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

(Continued from page 2)

could be still more fortified by the constant vigilance exercised and preparedness for any emergency that would arise.

UNORGANIZED SPONTANEOUS ACTION.

"But"—our critics will say—"this display of suddenly aroused unity can be observed every season among the thousands of clothing workers in the various big cities of North America. Thousands of downtrodden workers act together as if they had been preparing and organizing for a long while in anticipation of an impending conflict."

ORGANIZATION ESSENTIAL FOR PERMANENT RESULTS.

It is evident that there is more required than a mere suspension of work, followed by apparently quick acquiescence of the employers, to hold and render permanent any achievement that is gained. In the cases already mentioned, the capitalists in order to have their make concessions when it is most profitable; but they know well that there is no organization vigorously guarding the advantages gained. They know that the organizations temporarily established during the strike, are disbanded immediately with the termination of the struggle.

INDUSTRIAL IRRITATION STRIKE.

What an army of workers, if well organized on right lines and trained in the adoption of most effective methods, can accomplish was best demonstrated in the many irritation strikes, notably in Odessa and Lodz, Russia; but also frequently in the United States.

The theory advanced by the craft unionists for their particular methods adopted in strikes and lockouts is that the leaving and staying out of the workshops, until the union's demands are acceded to, or a sort of compromise made, entails the opportunity of the capitalists to exit labor for profit.

The theory of the industrial unionist is that the heavy burden of the class conflict should fall as much as possible upon the manufacturers; and all methods of warfare should be governed accordingly.

The industrial unionist, as demonstrated in hundreds of cases, recognizes the fact that by leaving the workshop the same is a solely left in control of the employers and he is at liberty to employ new hands if he cares to. The industrial unionist may leave the factory, mill or mine, and return to work, only apparently defeated when he realizes that the points contended for can not be gained.

IRRITATION STRIKES IN AMERICA.

In Granite City, Illinois, and vicinity, thousands of workers are employed in the big steel and iron works. Comparatively few mechanics are organized in their respective craft unions, but the large bulk, consisting mostly of Roumanians and Hungarians, were not permitted to become members of any union, although many of them had been organized in their native land.

One morning in summer 1906, there were standing at the gates of the big mills thousands of workers; but few only who could converse in English. When the whistles blew for the starting up not a soul would move; asked

by the company officials what they wanted one shout was given in response: "No work, if not \$2.00 pay!" The mechanics could not start to work without these thousands of helpers. No committees, no arbitration offers; Either \$2.00 pay, or no work."

A victory for the corporation; the workers were defeated! Next morning the same thousands stood at the gates, murmuring their demand: "Two dollars or no work!" Again the amazing officials looked for help, but as suddenly did the workers again start up the mills.

Three days in succession the same spectacle! Finally the corporations realized they had to deal with an organized mass, and they immediately got busy ordering the employment bureau to secure strike-breakers. The workers anticipated this move; and again one morning the officials were surprised to see all these men walk to their points of strike-breakers; orders for them were cancelled; the company thought the strikers were again defeated.

A week passed and again thousands stood at the factory gates, shouting their demands: "\$2 per day, eight hours work." The bosses were stunned; again they saw the crowd resume operations the same day, after a few hours' suspension; and the same methods were repeated next day. This was enough for the companies; they demonstrated no union recognized; but the power of such well conducted action and organized effort had to be recognized; and the men went to work next day with all demands acceded to.

Such was the impression of the demonstration of working class solidarity that even the craft unionists conceived the superiority of such methods; and the lodges of the Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers even voted in favor of joining an organization, which had conducted such a conflict with such new and startling methods, and instructed their delegate to the national convention held at Cincinnati in 1906.

The lieutenants of the capitalist class in dividing these workers into small groups could only be effectively applied because of the compactness of the organization and the self-imposed discipline of the great mass of workers.

The theory of such strikes. The theory advanced by the craft unionists for their particular methods adopted in strikes and lockouts is that the leaving and staying out of the workshops, until the union's demands are acceded to, or a sort of compromise made, entails the opportunity of the capitalists to exit labor for profit.

But the employers, knowing the weakness of the craft-unions and their methods, are always prepared; and they have, when necessary, enough workers available to continue the operation of the establishments. In long-drawn-out strikes the workers alone pay the costs of conflict; "slave-bleeding," the term used by industrial unionists, implies that the resources of the striking craft unionists are exhausted by such protracted strikes; and they are then at the mercy of the employers of labor.

The theory of the industrial unionist is that the heavy burden of the class conflict should fall as much as possible upon the manufacturers; and all methods of warfare should be governed accordingly. The industrial unionist, as demonstrated in hundreds of cases, recognizes the fact that by leaving the workshop the same is a solely left in control of the employers and he is at liberty to employ new hands if he cares to.

The industrial unionist may leave the factory, mill or mine, and return to work, only apparently defeated when he realizes that the points contended for can not be gained. By maintaining the organization can be ready at any time to institute well directed actions at times and places selected by the working class organizations when chances for success are more promising.

The worker, if he agrees to the terms of a contract insisted upon by an employer as condition of employment does so under duress; he is neither legally nor morally bound to respect such contracts as a sacred pact; moreover, such contracts are used, as shown in this treatise, as instruments to keep the workers divided; the benefit of a contract is always on the side of the employer.

called "Reverse," in which the worker would agree not to join any industrial union (revolutionary union) or encourage the propaganda for the principles of industrial unionism.

The result was, not only in those mills, but hundreds of others, that the employers, although having the pledge of every employe not to belong to any industrial union, see themselves confronted by powerful economic organizations of workers, and although they do not recognize the unions in any collective bargain agreement, yet they cannot help but reckon with the power and might of that collective agency of the workers—they know now that such militant bodies are undestroyable.

Herve on Anti-Militarism

lands, the great actual countries, in their modern limits, will necessarily exist. I believe, on the contrary, that these large collectivities which make up the nations will be centralized with them, that these large communities in Europe renovated by Socialism, in the world renovated by the Social Revolution, will be replaced by social federations, which will be possibly very different from the artificial groupings which the fortunes of arms have forced upon the nations (Lively applause.)

But all that belongs to the realm of metaphysical speculation. All that does not interest me is to know whether or not the frontiers of nations will be more advantages than disadvantages. Well, I hold that at the present day to work for the proletarians much more disadvantages than advantages. Countries, nations, national federations, in France, in suppressing the dust of the Feudal States which were tearing at each others throats, in suppressing the inland revenues levied by the barons, in suggesting the administrative barriers which cause, up till 789, ancient provinces in France to be strangers to one another: I believe that national unity which became cemented at the work of the Revolution, has done a good work. I believe that in causing all frontier barriers to fall, the formation of the French nation has been a work of union, has brought men together. Likewise, I believe that Germany in suppressing the frontiers which with customs duties, has allowed the great economic development of modern Germany. I believe, likewise, that national unity in Italy, by favouring the development of the economic prospect of the Italian Peninsula, was thwarted by the dust of the little monarchic States prior to 859. I believe that there was a time when the nationalities, the fatherlands, in suppressing the frontiers of the interior, drew together by the creation of large human groupings. (Approval.)

But today this work is at an end; the nations are formed. Is it the case that the fatherland and patriotisms which the nations have the same usefulness? Is it not the case that, instead of uniting men, the fatherlands today divide them? The frontiers at of which end time are enclosed, masses more and more of the means of production and exchange, exploits a miserable herd of beasts of burden,—weaned from all joys of intellectual existence, and well-being from all the comforts which the progress of science places at the service of the privileged ones of fortune. (Approval.)

At the present time, in the inside of the National Chambers, a ruling class conspire together in a wonderful way, the members of the primary schools and the large capitalist journals with monstrous circulations, to develop in each herd a more energetic and more distasteful patriotism, hatred, and laboring regard to those in the dust of the sword, all parties of the same kind, united under the label of patriotism, allow the rulers to shear this flock without its even perceiving that it is shorn. (Approval.)

What does this patriotism resolve itself into to anyone who examines it? This patriotism which links together in the same country, in the same community of ideas, the wolves and the sheep, the exploited and the exploiters, which makes a national interest, has become a sentiment aiding in the conservation of society; a sentiment which links together, which maintains the classes, one under the other, in the very bosom of each (Approval.) Patriotism is the pretext by which alone the existence of armies can be justified. Patriotism is the only pretext with which national wars can be executed, and which the patriot-religion has caused to flow—we can say this to the Radicals, who are continually bringing up again the butcheries of the Catholic Church—patriotism for fifty years has caused the Catholic and Mussulman religions combined. (Applause.)

I understand that the guardians of fortune who have an interest in the preservation of the present social order hold to the upkeeping of this patriotic religion. I know it, and I know equally that those people for whom their country is a motherland even say a mich-cow—understand that these people, under pain of evidencing themselves as ungrateful sons, may be expected to be good themselves, and to actually be good patriots. But what is this patriotism? Is it the collaboration of classes? Socialism, as far as it may be realized, is the class struggle. Ask it rather of Citizen Guede. Patriotism is the linking together of two classes, their intimateness, their blood communion on the field of battle; Socialism is the universal proletariat, the hand extended from one end to the other of the capitalist world against the exploiters who hold the instruments of labour. Socialism says: "Proletarians of all countries, unite, in

spite of and over and above the frontiers!" The patriot says: "If the fatherland orders you, workers of all lands, massacre one another!"

The reply have the right to tell the poor of the whole earth: "No! old Karl Marx did not deceive himself and did not deceive you when he said: 'The proletarians have no country.' Yes! all fatherlands are alike to you, same fatherland may be the particular governmental form in all capitalist lands, it is the same regime for you, proletarians. (Approval.) The only difficulty, the only hindrance that may exist to passing from one land to another, is the barrier of language.

FATHERLANDLESS PROLETARIANS.

But, apart from this barrier, apart from this difficulty to you, proletarians, pass from one land to another, you will find there the same capitalist prisons, the same kind of barracks, the same kind of police, the same kind of piece of merchandise: Because the reason why you have no duties towards the fatherland; you have no duties towards this harsh, unkind, cruel stepmother; you were told the other day you possess the fatherland, do not say ill of it. Pardon! we will say ill of it, we will attack it, we will curse the present-day fatherlands, the bonds of the two classes in the bosom of each land, because we know you will be incapable of acquiring the instruments of labor, production, and exchange, which form the real fatherland for you workers. (Approval.)

Should I continue in your course, should all the Radicals, including M. Ranc, catch the jaundice! Continue, in spite of the discreet and amiable exhortations of Citizen Lauret, to speak your minds, not the Socialist union jacks, but the Anti-Patriots and the Fatherlandless.

Schmidt of the Bakers Declines Public Debate

Mr. Schmidt, editor of the International Craft Union, "Bakery Workers' Journal," wound up a number of days' work in this city in the interest of his craft (and graft) last night in an open meeting at Germania Hall.

He held forth in German for about three-quarters of an hour, during which he extolled the wonderful advantages of making the best possible use of the baker's labor.

We had understood the gentleman was going to do great things to the I. W. W., and the I. W. W. was there to see him through. Well, during his long speech in both German and English, he steered clear of attacking the Industrial Workers.

At the end of his speech, the writer desired to put a question. Consent was given. Here is the question: "I would like to ask whether the International Union of Bakery Workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor?" Schmidt replied, "Yes."

Then I pointed out that the speaker had urged upon the bakers the necessity of joining the union on the ground that the employers' associations generally were organized to beat down organized labor, and that they, as bakers, could not well go to the other (craft) unions and appeal to them for help in their struggle for better conditions, unless they were organized themselves. "Is it not a fact," I said, "that the A. F. of L. holds to the theory of the mutuality of interests of employers and employes? Is it not the fact that Mr. Commons, the president of the American Federation of Labor, is a member of the American Civic Federation and annually sits down at the Civic Federation banquets and drinks champagne glasses over the hogany, while the interests of the employes' associations? If the interests of employers and employes are the same, how can the employers do anything to advance their interests without at the same time advancing the interests of the employes? If your interests are the same as the interests of your employers, why do you deem it necessary to organize at all?"

"If it be true, as the A. F. of L. holds, that the interests of employers and employes are the same, why should employers build their employers' associations for the purpose of beating down or crushing labor whether organized or unorganized? In fighting organized labor hurting their own best interests, seeing that the interests of labor are the same as their own?"

in German and one in English to present our side, while No. 73 of the International Union could also furnish two speakers, so that the bakers could have more information on which their decision as to which organization best represents the interests of the workers could be based."

But Fellow Worker Guth could not get from them an agreement to this sort of an arrangement.

All this time the chairman was acting as if he were sitting on a hot stove. He was getting hot and about to boil over. The I. W. W. men were calm and thoroughly self-possessed, conscious of their superior knowledge and understanding of the labor movement and the impregnable position of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The panic of the chairman was beginning to spread to the audience. One man, a pure and simpler, arose and said he objected to the discussion being turned into politics, and the gathering into a political meeting. He was the first man to mention politics. Another gentleman, evidently anxious lest their expected new members might get away without plunking down their dollars and enrolling their names on the roster, mounted the platform by the speaker and earnestly called upon all those in the hall who wanted to join their organization, to come forward. A pause followed, but no man came forward with the coin.

Here Doyle, of the Iron Moulders' International Union and member of No. 73, I. W. W., expressed a desire to ask a question. "You speak," said Doyle, "of your progressive A. F. of L. I have been a member of the Iron Moulders' International Union for 25 years. In the last 17 years, wages have advanced in our union 25 per cent, while the cost of living has advanced 55 per cent. If you call that progress, I would like to know what you would call going backward? You speak of uniting the

divides it. Your A. F. of L. is split up into 120 rival international craft unions; and every one of them scabs regularly upon their fellow workers in other crafts. What is the difference between a professional Jim Farley strike-breaker and your craft unionist who ties himself up by agreements with the boss, binding him, in case his fellow workers in the same industry go on strike, to back upon them to the end of his contract. The only difference lies in the fact that the professional strike-breaker gets for his dirty work from \$5 to \$7 a day while the craft unionist scab only gets from \$2 to \$3 per day."

The chairman was in a stew. He arose and in loud, disjointed, angry sentences, said: "This meeting is for bakers." And pointing to me, he exclaimed: "You can't speak." And to Doyle, he almost shouted, "You can't speak." We were enjoying the situation immensely. They were demonstrating that in the presence of the I. W. W., notwithstanding what they might say about it behind their backs, they were losing their heads completely, after having been completely routed in argument.

I approached Schmidt and observed, "There is no need for any man to lose his head at this meeting. We propose that a joint meeting be held of the I. W. W., and your organization, so that the matters at issue can be fully discussed. We will bear half the expenses of such meeting." His reply was a sort of sickly smile and a retical to comply. We of the I. W. W., are entirely satisfied with results. They caught no suckers and we got considerable advertising.

JOS. H. ARNOLD, Secretary Local No. 73, I. W. W. Louisville, Feb. 16.

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