

The Industrial Union Bulletin

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CHICAGO, APRIL 11, 1908

A COMBINATION OF LABOR

It seems likely that the next man of whom sycophants will say he is president "by divine authority and appointment," is W. H. Taft, at present Secretary of War by appointment of Theodore Roosevelt.

"The combination of capital means so much power that unless labor unites in an organization which puts its members on an independent footing, labor will stand no chance in the inevitable controversy with regard to how labor and capital shall share the joint profit of both."

Just two things in this statement are worthy of notice. The first is that COMBINATION is power, and the second that labor in order to be efficient must have COMBINATION. Without raising the question of Mr. Taft's sincerity—which is a matter of small consequence, since it is inevitable that he will as president be the representative of capitalist interests—we must almost entirely agree with him.

There is no unity in craft unionism. Industrial organization is a condition to the unity of labor and only the industrial organization or combination of labor will bring efficiency. And since Mr. Taft and all who think within the limitations he has set for himself do not approve of a combination that will COMBINE the workers, the workers themselves should see to it that the industrial organization is what they need and work for it until they have power enough to put capitalist industry down and out.

IGNORANT POLITICAL ACTION

That dear old Tribune, calloused leader of the prostituted press of Chicago, was much disturbed on Tuesday morning last by the prospect that many voters whose names were on the registry books would fail to vote.

"THE STUFF IS OFF"

The labor movement in America has probably heard the last of an attempt by the officers of the Western Federation of Miners to launch a rival organization to the Industrial Workers of the World.

IT IS WELL. The I. W. W. is still doing business at 212 Bush Temple, Chicago.

The "Western Clarion," a confused and confusing Socialist paper printed at Vancouver, B. C., says, "the trade union belongs to the category of 'traders' organizations," that as a matter of fact "the trade union is not an organization of workmen," and concludes that when the Socialist movement has triumphed and is in possession of the government works, it "will put the whole caboodle of traders' organizations (including the trade union) OUT of business!"

When an American consul finds the demand for information about the I. W. W. so insistent that he writes direct to this office for a supply of literature, it looks very much as if something was doing, doesn't it? Well, that is what happened last week. The consul is located at an important industrial center in Australia.

Thompson's Argument Challenged

To the Industrial Union Bulletin: On March 26, Organizer James P. Thompson addressed a meeting at Lawrence, Mass., called to organize textile workers into the I. W. W.

Suppose some one should describe a child in the form of a "block of wood and an iron tube" and scorn its effectiveness for offense and defense. The description is true enough so far as it goes.

When questioned by the writer at the meeting, Mr. Thompson replied that "he was only arguing against those who are 'pure-and-simple' political actionists and do not believe in Industrial Unionism."

Mr. Thompson said that the I. W. W. was not opposed to political action and "might" later set up its own party. Then we were told that the I. W. W. was opposed to working class parties, as "if your fellows are in power and try to order us we will have to fight you!"

North Andover, Mass.

His Impressions Corrected

I recently ordered from you the book "The Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America" and was very much interested in it.

Now if I remember right Williams referred to the stand Schenectady took as foolish, and when I learned that he was an S. L. P. man, I always carried the thought that he is a "veiled dynamiter" as "Daily People" of March 13th put it.

Reading his New York speech I am glad that I had a mistaken idea about him. I thoroughly coincide with his ideas, and can state that the majority of the I. W. W. men, being also S. L. P. men in Schenectady, also held the same views.

The need of the workingclass is one class organization, containing within itself all means to combat capitalism on every field, (political as well as industrial), and to build the superstructure of the social order which is to supersede Capitalism.

Convention of Textile Workers

AGLI OPERAI DELLE ARTI TESSILI.

Invito di partecipazione alla Prima Convenzione degli Operai Arti Tessili che sarà tenuta nella Industrial Workers' Textile Hall, Paterson, N. J., il 16 Maggio 1908.

Per ogni chiarimento scrivere a Wm. E. TRAUTMANN, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

AGLI OPERAI DELLE ARTI TESSILI D'AMERICA.

Le relazioni mutuali fra gruppi di operai vengono determinate dal luogo e dal grado della loro occupazione. Siccome il lavoro a mano prevarrà il padrone ed il giornaliero, così l'abilità acquistata nei lunghi anni di servizio fu riflessa nel raggruppamento delle manestre.

Quando gli operai si unirono e inasorono contro nuove diminuzioni nelle condizioni sotto di cui erano obbligati a vendere la forza delle loro braccia, i proprietari cercarono di schiacciarli nei loro sforzi di resistenza.

Dando la preferenza ad una organizzazione operaia i cui capi assicurano loro la protezione dei mutui loro interessi, i padroni tengono gli impiegati in abietta servitù.

Ogni volta che un corpo operaio si ribellò contro qualunque nuova usurpazione, i capitalisti riuscirono, col mezzo della United Textile Workers of America ed i suoi luogotenenti a opporre una qualità di opposizione contro l'altra in acerbe lotte.

Le battaglie degli operai delle arti tessili danno piena testimonianza del fatto che essi non intendono di sottostare per sempre alle attuali condizioni di schiavitù e i forti gridi delle migliaia di lotanti a Fall River, New Bedford, Philadelphia, Paterson, West Hoboken ed altre località hanno sorpreso il mondo intero.

Limitati negli scopi e disconnessi in azione come furono tutti i precedenti tentativi di liberazione degli operai tessili dai malvagi risultati del presente sistema ogni scoppio di malcontento e sforzo di miglioramento potè facilmente essere soggiogato dalle collegate forze dei capitalisti ed i capi delle unioni di mestiere appoggiate dall'ignoranza degli operai.

Un movimento apertore di sollievo e promettente di una soluzione finale al problema operaio deve essere basato sul fatto che la classe capitalista e la classe lavorativa sono unite insieme, che non vi può esser pace fintanto che la fame e il bisogno si trovano in mezzo a milioni di operai e che i pochi formanti la classe capitalista posseggono tutte le comodità della vita.

Dev'essere un'organizzazione economica che non appoggia né domanda l'appoggio di verun partito politico.

Devono essere organizzati sul piano di organizzazione industriale tutti i lavoratori in un dato luogo, o non impiegati devono essere membri di una sola unione suddivisa in sezioni se necessario, dalle condizioni e dall'esperienza.

Tutte le unioni dei lavoratori nelle Arti Tessili devono essere subordinate ad un'Unione Nazionale Industriale degli Operai Arti Tessili, la quale a sua volta formerà una parte del Dipartimento Organizzazioni delle Industrie dei Tessuti e Vestiario, nel quale vi saranno organizzate tutte le Unioni Industriali Nazionali comprendenti tutti gli operai impiegati nella confezione dei larghi abiti e nella rifinitura dei tessuti.

Più di 5,000 operai tessili nelle diverse località si organizzarono di già nella Industrial Workers of the World e migliaia di altri sono pronti a concentrare le loro energie ed attirare tutti gli altri operai nella cerchia dell'organizzazione. Ma per assicurare la cooperazione di tutti quelli che cercano di creare una vera organizzazione operaia sullo scheletro proposto, il Comitato Esecutivo Nazionale della Industrial Workers of the World creò un'Unione Nazionale degli Operai Arti Tessili, 184 Main Street, Paterson, N. J., il Primo Maggio 1908, allo scopo di formare un'Unione Industriale Nazionale degli Operai Arti Tessili dell'Industrial Workers of the World.

BASI DI RAPPRESENTANZA.

Le rappresentanze alla convenzione devono essere basate sul numero di operai organizzati in un'Unione di Arti Tessili almeno due mesi prima della Convenzione. Ogni Unione avente diritto ad essere rappresentata alla convenzione avrà diritto a un voto per primi cinquanta membri e di un voto addizionale per ogni cinquanta membri in più o frazione maggiore di cinquanta.

La convenzione verificherà e agirà sulle credenziali di tutti quei delegati inviati da unioni non ancora connesse coll'Industrial Workers of the World.

Tutti gli operai, che accettano i piani ed i principi qui stabiliti, sono invitati ad organizzarsi immediatamente, e dove sono già organizzati di prepararsi per l'invio dei delegati a detta convenzione. Ogni altra informazione può essere ottenuta dalla sede generale della Industrial Workers of the World, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

Opuscoli contenenti il manifesto ed invito possono averli al prezzo di \$2.00 al migliaio, scritti in Inglese, Francese, Tedesco, Italiano e Polacco. Inviare ordini al suddetto indirizzo.

Emenda per autori del Comitato Esecutivo Generale, Industrial Workers of the World.

Wm. E. TRAUTMANN, Sec. Tot. Generale, VINCENT ST. JOHN, Organizzatore Generale.

Membri del Consiglio Generale, F. W. HESI EWOOD, Greenwood, B. C. F. J. COLE, Blue Island, Ill. RUDOLPH KATZ, Paterson, N. J. B. H. WILLIAMS, Eureka, Cal. Wm. YATES, New Bedford, Mass.

inglass' organization, the Industrial Workers of the World, and so accomplish what the intellectual leaders were unable to accomplish unity on the political field. MAX STERN, Marysville, Cal. Boston Workington Greater Boston Machinists' Local No. 56 of the I. W. W. holds regular meetings the second Friday of every month, at 1165 Tremont street. Doors opened at 7:30 p. m. Workers in any way connected with the metal and machinery industry are invited.

Voluntary Contributions

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes Pittsburg L. N. No. 215, J. Desmond, Pittsburgh, Pa., W. M. Wolfe, Chicago, etc.

Previously acknowledged \$44.20 Total to date \$1,533.10

Mexican Defense Fund

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes Contributions received by Mamie Shea, treasurer Mexican Defense Fund Committee, W. S. & D. B. F. Branch, No. 98, etc.

Previously acknowledged \$39.00 Total to date \$902.67

B. T. WEBER, Cor. Sec'y.

All persons acquainted with local unions that may possibly be represented in the convention of Textile Workers to be held at Paterson, N. J., May 1st, are requested to notify the general headquarters, in order that the call may be mailed to such organizations.

Subscription form for THE INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN to Wm. E. TRAUTMANN, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill. Fields for Name, Street and Number, Post Office, State.

Stutgart Congress on I. W. W. Ground

Extracts from Resolutions adopted by the Congress on the Relation of the Economic Organization to the Political Party.

"To enfranchise the proletariat completely from the bonds of intellectual, political and economic darkness, the Political and the Economic Struggle are also necessary."

BUT "The Union will not fully perform their duty in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers unless a thorough Socialist spirit inspires their policy."

ADD TO THE ABOVE The Industrial Union, the Economic Organization of the Working Class, is of primary importance and must supersede the political party, and the best instrument for action is the Industrial Unionism International.

VIOTORUL SOCIAL Romanian Socialist Monthly SUBSCRIPTION PRICE POPULAR \$2.50 ADDRESS: 21 St. Louis St. New York, N.Y.

Japanese and Chinese Exclusion or Industrial Organization, Which?

By J. H. Walsh.

The Oriental exclusion question has received so much attention, and caused so much discussion, especially on the Pacific coast, that it is well for us to look for the cause of all this agitation.

So far as is known, the Industrial Workers of the World is the only organization that has ever done any organizing among the Japanese and Chinese in this country. Consequently, a short article from the industrial standpoint of practical experience among these people will be of interest to the readers of THE BULLETIN, as well as educational to a great many so-called American socialists, who claim to be socialists because of a scientific understanding of economics, and yet declare for the exclusion of these people from "our" shores.

Let it be thoroughly understood, to start with, that all this agitation and fight for exclusion of the Orientals is in the "interest" of the "white" working men and women," according to all the agitation of the "Oriental Exclusion League," composed of a majority of foreigners, who, only a short time ago took out their naturalization papers. But do not forget the point to be made in this paragraph, i. e., that all this exclusion fight is in the interest of the "poor working man." Stick a pin at this point and remember it all the way through.

In fact, there are so many elements now at work (?) to assist the "poor working man" that it will be no surprise if we awake some morning to find that the chains of wage slavery have been unlocked by the master, and the proletariat of the world stands in the midst of the co-operative commonwealth, ushered in by the captains of industry a few days ahead of—just when the politician expected to do the same slick trick at the ballot box.

However, let us proceed to the cold facts as to the Japanese exclusion, as that is the question for discussion, and especially is this true when we see men of prominence in the labor movement, who have pledged their word of honor to support the constitution that declares: "No wage earner shall be denied membership because of race, creed or color." And after swearing to the above, take the platform and advocate exclusion from America to a certain part of the working people of the world, and then conclude the address with: "Workers of the world, unite."

JAPANESE AND CHINESE ARE PROMPT WITH PAYMENT OF DUES.

In organizing among the Japanese working men, but little difference is found to that among other nationalities, excepting their shrewdness, and honesty to stick with the organization, after having taken the pledge. The first lecture from an industrial working-class standpoint, delivered to them, was before the Japanese Literary Society of Seattle, composed of about six hundred members. This society, of course, is not composed of all working men. It is the Japanese middle class, principally, and it is on this point that the exclusion fight hinges. A few members were secured, and from time to time more were secured, but the old story of lack of finances sufficient to employ a Japanese organizer and place him in the field, is why the work was not carried on successfully.

None of the Japanese or Chinese who become members fail to realize their duty as to paying their dues and keeping in good standing. This cannot be said, truthfully, of all the "whites." The Japanese and Chinese can be organized as rapidly as any other nationality, and when once pledged to stand with you, no fear or doubt need to be entertained as to them, during labor trouble. But some one will say, Why organize them when we can keep them out of this country? The workers cannot keep them out, because the working class does not compose the organized or dominant part of society. The organized part of society that controls today is the employing class, and it is at their will and desire that exclusion or admittance will be regulated. However, before concluding, I shall grant for argument, that the present agitation will accomplish its purpose and all Orientals will be excluded. This I shall do in order to point out to the worker the proposition that he confronts after the exclusion has been made effective.

EXCLUSION IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE MIDDLE CLASS.

At this point let us see why all this agitation. The greater number of the Orientals that have been coming to this country for some time are small business men. In fact, they are pretty much the "Jew Merchant" of the Orient, and when they enter the business field, their shrewdness, coupled with their keen perception of criminal commercialism, spells ruin to all competitors. The little American cock-roach sees the handwriting on the wall. I have not the space here to quote the many instances repeatedly published by the capitalist papers as to the closing of a "Jap" restaurant because of its being so filthy, etc.; of the "pure food inspector" finding the milk diluted, etc., etc. But the truth of all this is the shifting economic position of the little bourgeois American who secures this persecution in behalf of his own material interest. But the Japanese soon learn this, and then they become equal to the occasion. These people are entering every business of the middle class, and our little American cock-roach merchant sees his finish, unless he can create some disturbance of some kind, and thereby drag the working class into a middle-class fight. This dodge has been worked on the wage slaves many times by the bourgeois, but it remains to be seen whether the dastardly trick can be turned by this dying class in the twentieth century.

Therefore, you can easily see why this agitation is carried on in the "interest of the working man." Before granting for argument that the Orientals can be excluded, let us deal with the fact that thousands are here, and what to do with them.

COLD FACTS FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE WORKING CLASS.

1. They are here.
2. Thousands of them are wage workers.
3. They have the same commodity to sell as other workers—labor power.
4. They are as anxious as you, to get as much as possible. This is proven by the fact that they have come to this country. For what? To better their condition.

Granting that the above four statements are facts, and no one dare deny them—then what is the problem that confronts us? The Industrial Organization of these people. To say that "you can't organize them" is a misstatement. We have proven that they can be organized. Had our efforts proven futile among them, then there would be a hook to hang the agitation on for their exclusion. But such is not the case. They can be organized as rapidly, if not more so, than any other nationality on earth. We of the Industrial Workers of the World have organized Japanese and Chinese, and the United Mine Workers of America have organized Japanese in the coal fields of Wyoming. This is proof that they can be organized.

When the average worker hears the explanation he is thoroughly convinced that we are confronted with the above mentioned facts, but to think of belonging to an organization that takes in "Japs," "Chinks," "Dagoes," and "Niggers," he rebels, until shown that he already belongs to their organization by being a member of, or a member of which all the above-mentioned nationalities are working class, and that his only escape from being a member of that class, and that his only escape from being a member of that class, is to get into the millionaire class. The working man, however, who is so afraid of falling in "social caste" is generally pretty quick to see the light of interest, when his job is at stake, as illustrated by the Sailors' Union, members of the American Federation of Labor, some months ago.

SAILORS' UNION ASKS I. W. W. TO KEEP JAPANESE FROM SCABBING.

Of course, the Sailors' Union refuses to organize the Japanese or Chinese, which is in harmony with the dictates of the A. F. of L. However, the day that the Sailors' Union members went on strike, a representative called at the I. W. W. hall three times to find the organizer. What was his mission? He said: "We learn that you fellows have organized the Japs?" "Yes, some of them," we remarked, "but not all of them. They are like the American—slow to see their working class interest." "Well, what I want is this," remarked the representative from the water front. "We have got a strike on of the sailors, and we understand that you have organized the Japanese, and that the ship owners are going to employ Japs to take our places, and what we want you to do is to keep the Japs from taking our jobs."

The organizer proceeded to the water-front with the delegate to see the Steamship Umatilla tied up. On the way from the I. W. W. hall to the docks I said: "Your union, I believe, refuses to organize the Japanese and Chinese." Of course, this put him in an embarrassing position, and he explained the best that he could. We arrived at the docks to see the smoke rolling out of the large stack, when I said: "Why, I thought you told me the Umatilla was tied up," and he quickly responded, "Yes, it is." But I said: "How does it come that the smoke rolls out of that stack? They have got a scab fireman on already, eh?" And quickly came his reply: "Oh, no! You see, the engineer must have a certificate from Uncle Sam, and consequently he can't quit." "Oh, I see," I said, "he does not belong to the union." "Yes, he belongs to the union," responded the delegate. "but he must stay at his job or he will lose his certificate from the government."

JAPANESE STAND TRUE WHILE A. F. OF L. ENGINEERS SCAB.

He then proceeded to tell me what they wanted was to keep the Japanese from scabbing and they could win. I assured him that we would keep off all Japanese and Chinese who belong to the I. W. W., but, of course, that there were hundreds of them who do not belong, and while we can do nothing positive with them, we will use our best efforts to prevent them from scabbing. Then I said: "My friend, if you sailors want to win this strike, you should be willing to do as much on your own part as you are coming to ask of the Japanese and Chinese, through the Industrial Workers of the World," when he quickly responded: "Yes, we want to win, and we'll do our part." How little he realized what he was answering to. How little he realized what was coming. How far he was from knowing the power of the bosses' union was expressed by the look on his face when I said: "To win this strike is no easy task; we must keep all the Japanese off. This the I. W. W. will do. Now, you pull that scab engineer off and the strike is won, otherwise it is lost." His organization could not pull the engineer off, but the I. W. W. kept every Japanese member from scabbing, even to the extent that Japanese employment offices posted notices warning the Japanese working men not to take the jobs. For the first time, hundreds of working men along the water-front saw the truth of the teachings of the I. W. W.—the identity of interest of the wage workers of the world.

A FEW WAGE COMPARISONS OF JAPANESE AND "WHITE" WORKERS.

The Japanese possess the quality of "stick" that is necessary in a wage worker to make a good industrialist. At Port Blakely, where "white" men are driven like Mexican peons in a lumber mill, many Japanese are employed. The Japanese decided to ask for a raise of wages of 20 cents per day. One morning they all rolled up their blankets ready to leave camp if their demands were not granted. The 20 cent raise was granted. This gave the Japanese an average of seven cents per day more than the "white" workman. At the Tidewater mill, Tacoma, the Japanese and many "whites" were working for \$1.75 per day. The Japanese went on strike for \$2 per day. They won. The "whites" hung their heads and held their jobs at \$1.75. In a few weeks after the Japanese won, they said: "If we can get the American workers to come with us we can win \$2.25 per day." But the "white" workers were satisfied with \$1.75 while the Japanese received \$2. Their knowledge of the labor field and how to win is illustrated in the labor report issued by the commissioner of labor of the state of California.

WHAT THE LABOR COMMISSIONER OF CALIFORNIA HAS TO SAY.

He says that the Japanese do not strike, but that they work on, whatever the condition may be, until all idle labor is out of the field, and then, just when the crop is the ripest, when the work must be done, they walk out, making a demand for better wages or shorter hours without any mercy for the employer whatsoever. In other words, they eliminate the scab before they strike. The labor commissioner of California is quite correct, and it is that very qualification in the Japanese that will make one of the best industrialists ever known. While there are many Japanese working for less than Americans are, there are thousands of Americans working for less than Japanese.

I might cite you, too, many instances similar to the above, but it is not necessary. A few serve as proof. In the above general review of the Japanese, the same holds true of the Chinese workers also. In many places along the coast, Chinese may be found drawing better wages than the "whites," and repeatedly in the fish canneries are found Chinese foremen with "white" women and girls working under them. All this complicated mess can only be adjusted by industrial organization and administration.

ARGUMENT GRANTED THAT EXCLUSION CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED.

Let us now argue that through the efforts of the bourgeois and the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, the working class can be dragged into a middle class fight, and are successful in excluding all the Orientals, and sending back those who are here. Granting that such a move can be made, then we must be ready to face the new condition that confronts us.

At this point let us call the attention of the reader to the fact that capitalism is international and recognizes no boundary lines or race distinctions. The capitalist has only one thing in view—profits. He does not allow international lines or race prejudice to play any detrimental part to those profits, either, if within his power to prevent the same. He buys "labor power"—the only commodity the wage worker has to sell—in the cheapest market in the world. He buys that commodity the same as he buys any other commodity, and for the same purpose—to be utilized in his factory to return more profits. Realizing the above economic facts, capital—American as well as Japanese—is seeking investment in manufacturing establishments of the Orient.

INTERESTING STATISTICS BY COMMISSIONER OF LABOR.

A late report of Special Agent W. A. Graham Clark of the department of commerce and labor covers one industry pretty much in detail, and shows the industrial advance in the line of cotton manufacturing. While we have no detailed reports of other industries, the fact remains that their advance is keeping step in the Orient with the cotton factories. Let us quote some figures given out by Mr. Clark of the department of commerce and labor. Cotton manufacturing, he says, is the most important single industry of modern Japan. Some of the brainiest, most enterprising men of the empire, and American capital, control the factories: the largest banks are heavily interested in the business, and back of the young industries is the whole force of the paternal government urging it on.

There are forty-nine cotton-spinning companies in Japan, operating eighty-five mills. All of the eighty-five mills make yarn, and

fourteen also manufacture cloth. On June 30, 1907, there were, according to the reports of the Japanese Spinners' Association, 1,450,949 spindles, of which 1,373,709 were ring and 77,240 mule; also 133,052 twister spindles and 9,136 looms. The capital of these forty-nine companies was \$21,966,675; the capital paid in \$18,675,479; the reserve fund \$6,271,323; the fixed capital (permanent investment) \$17,746,271, and the amount of fire insurance carried on buildings and machinery was \$15,992,900. The total liabilities of the forty-nine companies were \$6,598,836.

There were employed 14,369 men at an average wage of 36.17 sen, or 18.08 cents a day, and 61,462 women at an average wage per day of 22.42 sen, or 11.21 cents a day. Figuring this out gives six months' total wages of operatives as \$948,832, or the yearly wages as about \$2,000,000.

The mills report a total of \$5,370,931 as operating cost of producing 485,577 bales of yarn, and about 71,168,497 yards of cloth. To produce this there was consumed 221,994,790 pounds of cotton.

There was reported a total net profit of \$3,980,984 for the first six months of the year; \$1,200,014 was charged off to depreciation of buildings and machinery, and after paying about 10 per cent. of an average semi-annual dividend, \$940,276 was carried forward.

From these figures it will be noticed that the net profit is entirely above the American proportion to the cost of production. The average worker may say, we care nothing about the profits the capitalist may make in Japan. But this important point must be given consideration from the exclusion point of view. It is this greater profit that lures the American capitalist to invest in the Orient.

With a total cost of \$5,370,931 they report a profit of \$3,980,984. This is accomplished by men working at an average wage of 18.08 cents per day, and women, of whom there were about four times as many as men, working at an average wage of 11.21 cents a day. Examining the wage account closer shows that the prices paid weavers is about 7 cents per 40 yards, and production is about 50 yards in a day of 12 hours.

LOW WAGES PAID IN JAPAN BUT LIVING IS VERY CHEAP.

The reader should remember, however, that while the wages may appear very small, living is very cheap in Japan. It must be understood also, that the wages in this twentieth century, the world over, means only an existence for the wage slaves, whether in America, Europe or Japan.

The Japanese mills work long hours, and many of them are operated almost continuously. The forty-nine cloth mills average 28.2 days out of 31 per month, and averaged 22 hours to the day, a total of 620 hours as an average for each mill for the month. In the operation of the mills Sunday is not regarded and the mills do not stop for the day. The majority of the mills have two Fridays, the 1st and 15th. In many mills the engine starts at 6 o'clock the morning of the 2d, and runs continuously until 6 o'clock the morning of the 15th; then starts at 6 o'clock of the morning of the 16th and runs continuously until 6 o'clock of the morning of the 1st.

This is as near perpetual motion as machines can stand. No stop is made for dinner, the hands taking 30 minutes for dinner in rotation, and a "swing shift" taking the places of those who are eating. Each operative works from 6 to 6 with 30 minutes for dinner, and the night shift comes on at 6 p. m.

There is no child labor law, and some very young children are worked. The mills do not want to work any under 12, as they are not profitable, but in order to get help the factories very often have to take the whole family.

The mills are straining every nerve to develop their export business, and have organized the "Cotton Cloth Export Association," the object of which is to get control of the foreign trade in the cotton piece goods business, and the mills have agreed to ship 1,000 bales per month, even if they have to sell at a loss in order to compete with America.

Therefore, granting that you exclude them from our shores, they are found creating wealth just across the pond, and this wealth created is in competition in the world's market.

One other instance will assist in clinching the facts in the above industry. The Union Iron Works of San Francisco laid off many hundred men in the summer of 1907, during commercial prosperity, closing down the shipbuilding industry in that city to a great extent. The Schwab interests which control the above mentioned industry gave out the report that they could not build ships in this country and make any profits. Immediately on this close down we learned of the opening of a great shipbuilding yard at Tokio, Japan. Of course, we all know that the Japanese government will not allow foreign investors to run industries in Japan, but we learn by actual fact that the commercial criminals dodge the laws as easily in Japan as in the United States. Therefore, American capital is investing in the different industries of the Orient.

FAILING TO EXCLUDE. WHAT IS THE PROBLEM BEFORE US?

What is the problem, then, that confronts the worker?

1. The working people, disorganized as they are, cannot force the exclusion of any foreigner from American shores, against the material interest of the employing or capitalist class.

2. If the Japanese be excluded from this country, it will be because of a middle class commercial demand, and the ignorance of the working class will serve only as a dragnet to pull the wage slave, once more, into the cob-webs of middle class interests.

3. Granting that the Japanese are excluded, the American worker still stands in the world's market to sell his labor power at a price that his employer may manufacture and sell goods at a profit, and compete in the world's market.

Certainly any worker should see the problem that he is confronted with, and to set up or to continue an agitation of exclusion is only to blur the facts to be dealt with, from the proletarian standpoint. Another point that the American worker has yet to learn is the new competition in the Japanese workmen. In the past the American has found little competition in the European workman in "speeding at the machine." The European employer has not been able to drive the wage slave at the speed of the machine, as has his American brother employer, and as a result of this drive of the American worker, although his wages have been higher, the American manufacturer has been able to compete in the world's market because of the greater proportional output. Now comes the Japanese worker—men and women—who can be "speeded" the same as the American, and the race from now on is not a handicap, but a neck and neck race, as is illustrated by the above figures given out by Special Labor Commissioner Clark. The Chinese workers, like the Europeans, can not be "speeded."

In conclusion, let us say that the Industrial Workers of the World will follow this brief review of the Oriental problem with a pamphlet, as soon as sufficient statistics and data can be secured, to show conclusively that there is only one correct and scientific position to be taken on this question, and that is the Industrial Organization of the wage slaves of the world, regardless of race, creed or color. Understanding this, the speaker may appear before an audience and truthfully and scientifically conclude his address with the words: "Workers of the world, unite," without placing his foot in his mouth.

To clean out the remainder of the stenographic report of the second annual I. W. W. convention, and get them into the hands of members, we will mail a copy prepaid to any address for 20 cents. Locals can dissect of this 600-page book at 25 Castro, Renner & Swanson, San Francisco, cents. The one thing needed is Zeigler, Williams and Ballantine.

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

How Social Institutions Came Into Existence Through Changing Methods of Production

FROM THE PAST TO THE FUTURE

BY WORD H. MILLS

CHAPTER XXII.

(CONCLUSION)

"Take the trade of carpenter for example: formerly a carpenter was an all-around builder who could construct a wooden structure from the foundation to the chimney, inside and outside. Today on a modern building the carpenter is a specialist. He has become a framer, a floor maker, a finisher, or something else. Besides having become specialized, the carpenter's trade has also ceased to be independent, and has become merely a link in the chain of other trades that bind together all the various workers in the building industry.

"Carpenters, stone masons, bricklayers, plasterers, fitters, plumbers, electricians, structural iron workers, concrete workers, and others, all cooperate in the production of buildings, and oftentimes in the production of a single building. Industrial unionism organizes these different trade or craft divisions of the building industry as branches of one industrial union.

"On the mathematical axiom that the whole is greater than any of its parts, the branches are subordinate to the industrial union—the whole, of which they are parts. Through the functioning of the industrial union, the bricklayer, for example, supports the carpenter, or the plumber, or whatever-craft is directly affected by an industrial disturbance, and in turn the bricklayer is supported in his struggle by each and every one of the divisions of the building industry. Unity of action of all the workers in the industry results necessarily from the functioning of the industrial union.

"Thus, in a given locality all the workers of the building industry form a local industrial union of building workers. These in turn are united with the workers in all other industries of the same locality through the industrial district council, made up of delegates from all the various local industrial unions. By the functioning of the industrial district council the workers of the entire locality are bound together for united action against their employers.

"On the national field again, the next link in the chain of industrial solidarity is the National Industrial Union, which unites all local unions of a given industry into one national body. For example, in the textile industry all local industrial unions of weavers—whether locals of silk, cotton, wool or linen weavers—form a National Industrial Union of weavers, embracing in its plan of organization all the weavers of the nation. The local unions are, of course, subordinate to the National Industrial Union. The functioning of the National Industrial Union means national unity of action on the industrial field of all workers in a given industry.

"Again, on a larger scale, two or more National Industrial Unions—e. g., the National Industrial Union of Weavers and the closely allied National Industrial Union of Clothing Workers—form a department, in this case the Department of the Textile Industries. The functioning of the department means the broader national unity of allied groups of industries.

"Finally, the General Administration, functioning through the General Executive Board, the General Convention and the General Referendum, binds all the subordinate parts together, and completes the links in the chain of industrial solidarity. That is a national division of the industrial union movement. Each national division in turn forms a link in the chain of the New International that is to unite the workers of the world for their emancipation.

"You may realize that such an organization in its development will afford a powerful means of aggression and defense against the employing class, and in its perfected form such an organization means the overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of a new state of society, an Industrial Democracy, in which there shall be no longer employer and employe, but workers only, and in which each worker shall have a share in the ownership and a voice in the control of industry."

This new form of labor union, developed by the economic forces in play in capitalist society, and already taking concrete form, is discovered to be the present embryonic form of the Commonwealth of Labor and fore-shadows the organic form of that commonwealth as well as its administrative powers.

The Industrial Union, in common with the political expression of labor's interests, has its eye ever on the final goal of the present struggle. And finally, when might shall have become sufficiently strong to enforce the right that by every canon of justice belongs to the workers, they will undertake the administration of all industries and etaj shrdus etoinetaj organization; they will through representatives selected from the several industries, and their integrally organized branches, carry on the management as well as the operation of productive service. Then, no longer will the profit taker—the appropriator of surplus value—and between the workman and his product; and enjoying the full social product of its toil, the working class will have achieved its historic mission—the emancipation of the world from economic class divisions and conflicts—and will be truly masters of the earth.

(The End)

Resolved, That we condemn such literature obnoxious for distribution in propaganda meetings; and

"Resolved, That we shall only cause more confusion, and we have enough of that now, therefore be it resolved, That we condemn such use of the I. W. U. press for such purpose, and we also insist on more strict methods be it.

"Resolved, We heartily approve of the actions of the G. E. B. in their reply to the W. F. M., as we will yet strive to unite with anything that savors of pure and simple, a la Civic Federation, and we condemn the actions of Local 43 as detrimental to the real cause of unity. We would advise Local 43 to buy a copy of the proceedings of the fifteenth annual convention of the W. F. M. and consider the same."

JOHN HANLON,
F. VELARDE,
J. A. LEACH,
Phoenix, Arizona.

Files a Protest

Resolutions adopted by Mixed Local No. 320, I. W. U., Worcester, Mass., April 1, 1908:

"Whereas, There has been published in the columns of the I. U. B. of March 28th a certain article in the shape of a poem entitled, 'The New Diatribe,' by Justice Ebert, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; and

"Whereas, We believe in argumentation and the presenting of both sides of a subject as the only means whereby we can reach the most beneficial to us, and in anything that will tend to brighten our lives, broaden our views, or in any way help us in our struggle; and

"Whereas, We believe said article in no way does any of the above, but rather is a malicious and slanderous attack, lightly veiled, by insinuations on one whom we believe to be sincere and honest in his purpose and steadfast in his efforts to uplift the struggling wage-slave in this his hour of need;

"Resolved, That we, Mixed Local No. 320 of Worcester, Mass., in regular meeting assembled, do protest against the use of the union's organ as an outlet for the frothings of such a nature or as a medium for cowardly attacks or venting of petty spite in an anonymous form and demand that **The Bulletin** keep to the work in hand in spreading the propaganda of industrialism and educating the working class to their needs and means of obtaining them; and be it further resolved, That a copy of this resolution be entered in the records of the local, and one sent to **The Bulletin**.

"WM. TAYLOR, Chairman,
"HARRY LOKE, Recording Secy. pro tem."

Laws Disregarded

The following notice of a state mine inspector posted at Dunfermline, Ill., was copied verbatim by me during a recent trip in the State with Fellow Worker Vincent St. John, March 20, 1908:

"I have this day inspected Big Creek Coal Co. Mine at Dunfermline and find its condition as follows:

"North side 13 and 14 E. cut open, full of smoke; 15 and 16 E. the same; entries, north E., no air; 15 and 16 W. air 13 and 14 W. no air; south 9 and 10, E. 11 and 12, E. 11 and 12, W. entries of 2 south, no air; no doors or curtains to air this part of the mine.

"For the better protection of the lives and health of the employees would recommend the following:

"That you put doors up in the above workings, to give those men air in all working places.

"Yet was informed of this last inspection and must be done at once.

"Date of inspection, March 20th, 1908.

"Date of last inspection, Dec. 4th, 1907.

"Number of hours required to make inspection, ————

Tom Parcel,
Inspector of Mines, 4th District.

Fellow Workers of the Coal Mines: The above shows how little attention our industrial lords and masters pay to the laws of the land. On Dec. 4, 1907, the company was informed by the proper arm of the law that in this mine the life and health of its employees were in danger on account of bad air, etc. Notice was given to make necessary repairs at once. Was it done? No! Why? Because it would have cost the noble (?) coal baron of Dunfermline a few dollars. The lives of his slaves of the mine are offered at the shrine of King Profit. If some get killed others can be procured very easily in this time of industrial depression to take their places. No law on the statute books of the land in the interest of the workers is enforced unless there is a bona fide labor union strong and determined enough to stand up and fight for its rights. Slaves of the mines, are you willing forever to work under those conditions, risking your lives while digging profits for your master and an early grave for yourselves? Tollers in the mines, arouse yourselves; don't remain passive while other workers are bestirring themselves. Investigate what industrial unionism is, what it means, and what it wants to accomplish. Form educational clubs until the time for

Resolutions From Phoenix

The appended resolutions were passed by Local 272, I. W. U., Phoenix, Arizona:

"Whereas, The late matter that came out in The Industrial Union Bulletin relating to the Connolly-DeLeon affair is detrimental to the best interest of the working class as it tears down the work already done by injecting the personal quarrels of individuals; and

"Whereas, The interest of the working class is greater than any so-called leader or leaders; and

"Whereas, In the publication of such matters the wage slaves do not learn anything that will lead to their economic freedom, even making such literature obnoxious for distribution in propaganda meetings; and

"Whereas, Such matters will only cause more confusion, and we have enough of that now, therefore be it

Resolved, That we condemn such use of the I. W. U. press for such purpose, and we also insist on more strict methods be it.

"Resolved, We heartily approve of the actions of the G. E. B. in their reply to the W. F. M., as we will yet strive to unite with anything that savors of pure and simple, a la Civic Federation, and we condemn the actions of Local 43 as detrimental to the real cause of unity. We would advise Local 43 to buy a copy of the proceedings of the fifteenth annual convention of the W. F. M. and consider the same."

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YE WHO TOIL.

By John Lemon.
(Tune: "Maryland.")

The land lies rich with bounteous store,
Ye who toil;
The factories burst at every door,
Ye who toil;

The mines are rich as e'er of yore,
The fields but call for tillage more;
Then why a master's grace improve?
Ye sons of toil, ye proletaire!

Come, must ye fawn to charity?
Ye who toil;
Must yours the dote of serfdom be?
Ye who toil;
These iron roads, these ships at sea,
These swollen boards—Earth's treasures free—
'Tis but your toil, reality,
Ye sons of toil, ye proletaire!

Let plunderers plead, fraternal claim,
Ye who toil;
Leave hirelings harp of rights God-torn,
Ye who toil;
Ye who toil;
Remember spies and Couer d'Alene,
The reeking pen, the midnight train,
The quick-lime pits on banks of Seine—
Ye sons of toil, ye proletaire!

Their councils reek with legal guile,
Ye who toil;
A nation's venal wit and will,
Ye who toil;
Their mercenary lore revile,
To swell ye despots' hoarded pile,
Steep not your minds in slatory vile.
Ye sons of toil, ye proletaire!

The gild sands red will soon be told,
Ye who toil;
The structure totters 'neath its mould,
Ye who toil;
But 'mid that crash your forms shall hold,
And rise as Phoenix rood of old—
A state not reared of blood and gold—
Ye sons of toil, ye proletaire!

Hark! 'tis the battle-trump of fate,
Ye who toil;
All hate the rising social state,
Ye who toil;
'Tis yours a world to liberate,
Your only loss a shackled weight,
Ye proletaires, consolidate,
Ye sons of toil, ye proletaire!
Meridian, Wash.

action; the organizing of your forces is at hand. Subscribe to the I. U. B., and the notion that your interest as a coal digger and the interest of the operator are the same will soon leave your mind. If you want to know the road to industrial freedom read and investigate.

O. J.

About "Lumberjacks"

Answering an objector who does not like the word "lumberjack," which is used in Montana to designate men who work in the woods, the "KalisPELL Bee" reprints an article from the "Missoulian," from which the following extract is taken:

"There is no hold on the staff of The Missoulian who uses the word in question with any degree of disrespect or who employs it either for the purpose of defaming the men who work in the woods or of ridiculing them. There are some of us who have known the woodsmen and the rivermen for a long time; among the men of the axe and the peevy there are some warm friends of the men in this office. We have called them 'lumberjacks' for a good many years; we have slept in their bunks and have eaten at their tables; we have known them in the woods and on the river and in town and the older ones know us pretty well. They have never objected to the word 'lumberjack.' As a matter of opinion, the word seems to us to be a pretty good one; it has served its purpose well for years; there are many of the men who have worked in the Montana woods for years who have dignified the name. These old Montana 'lumberjacks' are the best men in the world at their business; they ask no odds of Michigan or the Sound country; they have in the years of their sojourn in western Montana made the name 'lumberjack' respected; it stands here for a good man who follows a good calling.

"After all, it rests with men like 'A Bitter Root Logger' to determine whether the name 'lumberjack' shall have the significance that it has always possessed in western Montana or whether it shall be what Mr. Logger assumes it to be, a term of reproach. If 'A Bitter Root Logger' lives up to the standard which his predecessors in this field have established, the term will continue to be an honored expression. A name is what its holder makes it; he can stain it or he can give it dignity.

"The Missoulian and its workers have no desire to hurt the feelings of the man who wishes to fix upon us the nomenclature of the coast; but we shall continue to call our friends from the woods lumberjacks. And it is a fact that is worth noting that the Montana lumberjack receives a paycheck that in comparison with the remuneration of the Puget sound logger, is a pretty good measure of the difference between the two. We'll stick to the old word and to the old boys. They're both pretty good."

Read the special notice

to officers of Local Unions on first page of this week's paper.

PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. U.

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.

(Copy of Constitution Sent on Application.)

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