

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. II. No. 9.

CHICAGO, APRIL 25, 1908.

50c. a Year.

THE SAN FRANCISCO BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL

The most typical A. F. of L. body in this city is the Building Trades Council. Though not for years officially a part of the A. F. of L., it has always lived up to the A. F. of L. "ideals." But now that the labor fakirs have organized a "National Building Trades International," the S. F. B. T. C., is a part of the A. F. of L. The B. T. C. is the central body of all the craft unions that are employed in the construction of buildings.

P. H. McCarthy, carpenter, member of Local No. 22, United Brotherhood of Carpenters, and also member of the General Executive Board of the said International, is the local president of the B. T. C., and has been so for some years. The acts of the B. T. C. can best be understood by the moves of its officers, for the organization, as has been proven on different occasions, does not live because of any principles, but is due to the machine that has been built.

P. H. McCarthy is a combination between Sam Parks and Sam Gompers. When it comes to dealing with opposition he acts the Sam Parks. At the banquet of the California Promotion Committee—a miniature Civic Federation—he acts the part of Sam Gompers.

He is a fair example of the trade union leader, insofar as ideals are concerned; he knows as much about the labor question as a barroom bruiser. One thing he does not lack, that is nerve. He has committed without shame the most treacherous act against labor. But so well is the machine oiled that he has his enemies lick his hand after thrashing them.

It is said that Farley, Parry, Elliott, et al., are union wreckers. P. H. McCarthy stands in for Herbert George, the president of the Citizens Alliance, as a union buster; but if it came to giving medals to union wreckers, P. H. would get the first prize.

Elliott said: "The scab is a hero." P. H. has said that union men are scabs. In a circular issued during the last campaign and signed by W. H. Hutchison, who is the treasurer of Local No. 1082, Brotherhood of Carpenters, among a list of names are these:

"Why did you, as president of the Building Trades Council, during the strike of the Cooks and Waiters in 1901, expell the Paper-hangers from the B. T. C. because they fined three of their members for eating in a scab restaurant?"

In 1904, because the Painters No. 19 elected officers with radical notions, the charter was revoked. The new local was formed by the scabs, and the P. H. McCarthy followers, and all those that insisted that McCarthy was wrong were fined all the way from \$20 to \$1000 for insubordination.

During the strike of 1901 P. H. McCarthy, as Civil Service Commissioner under Mayor Jas. D. Phelan, used policemen's clubs on the heads of the strikers, and for which he acquired the sobriquet "Jimmy the Rag." P. H. never uttered a protest.

He helped to win the Teamsters' strike of 1901 by the organization of the scab union of Sand and Building Material Drivers' Union, No. 216, and then aided in its injury by besting for Mayor in the election of 1901 James Tobin, a member of the political family of "Jimmy the Rag" and president of the Hibernal Bank.

During the strike of the Cooks and Waiters, P. H. helped them by referring to them as the "potato peelers and bums."

Again to quote the circular mentioned above:

"McCarthy is for or against the short work-day, according as he has or has not some purpose of his own to accomplish. To illustrate: When the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers went on strike in 1907 for an eight-hour day, he stood against them and with their employers, for a continuation of the ten-hour day. The principal employer was Frank J. Symmes, of the Thomas Day Company.

"McCarthy is for or against the day-of-rest principle, according as he has or has not some purpose of his own to accomplish. To illustrate: When the Cooks and Waiters, local 30, went on strike in 1901 for one day of rest in seven, he stood against them. By bracing the New York restaurant to decline the proposals of the strikers, he prevented the men from getting a "fair" restaurant in Market street at a crucial time and thus did them an irreparable harm.

"When 15,000 union men were engaged in the great strike of 1901 to break the lockout of union teamsters by the Drymen's Association acting under coercion of the Employers' Association, and when the strikers were in desperate need of funds, McCarthy gave them the cold shoulder. He wrote a signed letter to the daily press in which he sought to harm the union men on strike; and he encouraged "scab" sand-teamsters in their work of trying to break the strike. In that great conflict, the most terrible battle the unions have ever had, he was a source of aid and comfort to the employers seeking to destroy the unions.

"In 1904 McCarthy stood against the Saturday half-holiday for the members of Painters' Union No. 19, and sent men about to take their places when

Russia, who do not understand our great American craft union! They made short work of Gapon, who had then he had learned trade unionism in England and America.

In America and especially in Frisco they elect their misleaders to the office of sheriff, as in the case of O'Neil, who acted as a soldier against the A. R. U. strikers. The crowning infamy of the most consummate labor fakir in California is yet untold.

To hear the king-pins of the B. T. C. say, you would believe that the organization has some mission outside of mutual scabbing; but they are idle claims. In the summer of 1906 the existing and Portable Engineers had to go out on strike as individuals in order to avoid the "big stick" of P. H. Is it not a fine union men to save your card you must strike as an individual? Of what utility is such a union to the workers?

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers was represented in the B. T. C. through its Local No. 6 (inside wiremen). On Dec. 15, 1906, Local No. 6 presented to the masters a demand for a \$6 wage scale, to take effect Jan. 1, 1907. On January 1st the bosses had a meeting, when 75 per cent submitted to the \$6; but the 25 per cent took their grievance to the B. T. C., and of course were told to wait until the next meeting, readily granting that the constitution has been violated; we will see that you are supplied with \$5 a day men." No. 6 refusing to rescind its action, was suspended from the B. T. C. as scabs. Now the fight begins.

The rules of the B. T. C. provide that no member shall work with anyone who does not hold a card of the B. T. C. So when the members of No. 6 went to work on a job for \$6 the walking delegate would notify the union carpenters, etc., that there were men on the job with no B. T. C. card—and tell them, "Well, you know what the constitution says." Then go to the boss, "Well, you are hiring scabs here and breaking the contract." "Well," says the master, "what will I do? I must have the men to do the work." Under pain of having the whole work stopped (as happened on the Fairmont Hotel while under construction), the boss immediately yielded, and employed scabs who, armed with a permit signed by Nelson, the business agent of the B. T. C. and member of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, would work for \$4 and \$5 a day.

Local No. 6 tried to stir up the different locals of the B. T. C., but all to no avail; for while the sentiment of the rank and file was in favor of No. 6's fight, the machinery well-oiled stopped all revolutions that broke out.

Finally a new union was organized, composed of the scabs and known as Electrical Mechanical Union, No. 1. Through the connivance of O. K. and fight P. H., but all to no purpose; they were beaten unmercifully. Because they dared to ask for more wages from the bosses they were called scabs and union wreckers. Notwithstanding the thousands of dollars No. 6 used—and that they had the International organization back of them—they lost in the fight; not only lost the fight, but insult was added to injury.

Through the connivance of McNulty, the Grand President of the Electrical Workers, who realized that No. 6 only had a couple of hundred members left, while formerly they had some 700, and knowing the position of the B. T. C., he had only one way to get per capita tax and that was by taking the scabs into the International. The "big stick" of McCarthy and the ambitions of McNulty culminated when on Friday, March 13th, No. 6 and No. 6 were united—and are now known as No. 13, with a charter from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of the A. F. of L.

Notwithstanding all this, we still find wage slaves insist that work is O. K. and exclaim: "See what McCarthy has done for us!" There is where the irony of Fellow-Worker Speed comes in, "You chumps, look what you did for him!"

Notwithstanding all the crimes this arch labor fakir has perpetrated against the workers, and even imporing the striking carmen to "go back to work and stop your child's play," thousands of wage slaves adore him and voted for him for Mayor of San Francisco, although not enough to elect him.

The slaves have taken the song to heart, "Work, morn, noon and night to build dear old Frisco." P. H. yelled "On the unions of the old we must work faithfully and build a greater city, the Queen of the Pacific." The slaves worked hard; they followed the advice of P. H. McCarthy and Turemeo; they scabbed on the street carmen and the sailors, and there are hotels, there are dozens of them empty; no more stores, plenty of them with signs, "To Let." Now we see them, "Free loyal American citizens" (they hate the I. W. W.), lined up in front of the St. Boniface church waiting for hot water called soap and bread that takes a sledge hammer to break.

Ah, I hear you say, how could the building tradesmen scab on the sailors?—that is, that the average pure-simple is unable to understand how one union can scab on another. But I will tell you. The Sailors' Union went out on strike in the month of May, 1906, for \$5 more a month. Scabs took the place of the sailors and one day the sailors and scab foremen went to the lumber ports loaded up full of non-

WILLIAMS REPLIES TO CRITICS

And Shows Fallacies of the Croakers of "Veiled Dynamitism"

Editor Industrial Union Bulletin:

The several "critics," both within and outside the columns of The Bulletin, including the editor of the People, have also given marvelous exhibitions of what the editor of The Bulletin justly calls "perverted controversy."

My purpose in replying is not merely to tar to settle the dust of confusion which those "critics" with impure motives have purposely raised in clouds. The development of events in the American labor movement in time will cause the dust to settle, and woe unto those who then will stand revealed in their true colors.

Neither am I at all disturbed by such phrases as "veiled dynamitism," "pompous nonsense," "Haytianism," "sublimated duplicity," "anarchistic language," etc., which the editor of the People has so plentifully coined and applied to my position in accordance with his own purposes. Such phrases are no doubt useful in the process of "kicking up dust." They may help to keep the masses from concealing the baser motives of "scheming intellectuals" like DeLeon, against whose autocratic and jesuitical methods in the I. W. W. Williams, among others, has taken a decided stand. But aside from that they are but evidences of what DeLeon himself calls "mental bankruptcy" on the part of those who use them. I am not yet prepared to descend to that "plane of civilized discussion." On the contrary, I prefer to continue my appeal, as in the New York address, to that sincere proletarian element in the S. L. P., and in the labor movement generally, in whose integrity I have the utmost confidence.

The Socialist Labor party has furnished some of the best and also some of the worst recruits to the I. W. W. It is the attempt to "make the worse appear the better" that I object to and have objected to not within the "last three months" only, but all the time during the three years or more that I have been active in the movement. While an organizer for the S. L. P. two years ago I combated in Los Angeles an arena where the sectarian spirit exhibited by some of the S. L. P. comrades. I opposed their attitude of looking upon the I. W. W. as a "child of the S. L. P.," and their guardianship and close supervision of its "parents" to keep it from straying from the "straight and narrow path." I avoided that attitude in my propaganda everywhere—in Arizona among the miners, in California and Oregon among lumber workers, and elsewhere. Experience taught me that only a clear-cut I. W. W. propaganda, recognizing and addressing to the non-affiliation clause in its preamble, could be successful in the I. W. W. position that the economic organization be placed on a footing whereby it might reflect the true political movement of labor. Holding the same view and adding the same tactical attitude regarding the I. W. W. position that many members of the S. L. P., and it is to these I refer above as constituting "some of the best recruits to the I. W. W. As to the others (and they are quite numerous in the S. L. P.) I. W. W. must attend to the task of placing them where they may do no further harm to the labor movement. This can be done only by asserting and maintaining every position that reflects the true political movement of labor."

Several of my opponents, among them Fellows of the Arnold of Louisville (whose sincerity I do not doubt), take exception to my suggestion that "the political reflex of the economic movement" may not include a "political party in the ordinary sense." But while adhering to the position taken in my printed address, I am not so much concerned with that particular phase of the question, which at best is a speculative problem at the present time.

However, it must be borne in mind that "political action"—the means to the end of acquiring for the working class "political power" (which Karl Marx defines as "simply the official form of the [class] antagonism in civil society") is not summed up in "conflicting party in the ordinary sense, contesting with the capitalist the seats of government, legislative, executive and judicial."

On the contrary, every movement in which the working class meets the ruling class as a class to seek to overcome them by pressure from without, is a political movement. For instance, the attempt to force from individual capitalists a reduction of the labor time in some industrial factory or some line of occupation, is a purely economic movement; but a movement trying to obtain an eight-hour law, or something similar, is a political movement. And in this way a political movement grows everywhere in the various economic movements of the working class—that is, a movement of the class to enforce its demands in some general form, in some form which shall have a general social power." (Karl Marx. Extract from a letter written in London, November 23, 1871, and addressed to his friend Bolte, a member of the Central Committee of the "International" in the United States.)

Marx further declares in the same letter that "the political movement of the working class has for its natural and ultimate aim the conquest of the political power for it, and this requires, of course, that a previous organization of economic struggles should have reached a certain degree of maturity."

Resolution IX, passed by the General Council of the International, of which Marx was a member, declares that "the necessary, and that the political activity is inseparable from its economic movement."

Again: "The working class will substitute, in the course of its development, for the old order of civil society, an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism, and there will no longer be political power, properly speaking, since political power is simply the official form of the antagonism in civil society. In the measure, the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a struggle between class and class, and 'the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat' is a political struggle." (Karl Marx. "Poverty of Philosophy" (1847), pages 158-9.)

Nowhere in the foregoing quotations, or in the sources from which they are derived, does Marx contend that political action is synonymous with "a political party in the ordinary sense contesting with the capitalists the seats of government, legislative, executive and judicial." On the contrary, the plain inference from the above quotations is that all means to the end of acquiring political power for the working class—that power which succeeds in arraying the workers consciously as a class against their masters as a class—all such action is synonymous with "a political party in the ordinary sense contesting with the capitalists the seats of government, legislative, executive and judicial." On the contrary, the plain inference from the above quotations is that all means to the end of acquiring political power for the working class—that power which succeeds in arraying the workers consciously as a class against their masters as a class—all such action is synonymous with "a political party in the ordinary sense contesting with the capitalists the seats of government, legislative, executive and judicial."

Most of those who have thus rushed recklessly into this discussion betray their kinship in certain respects to the "pure and simple political socialist." They have not yet got entirely beyond the conception that "a political party, having conquered the machinery of the capitalist state, could, by legislation or otherwise, usher in the co-operative commonwealth." The I. W. W. in its preamble rejects that conception and declares, by implication, that the working class could not use the machinery of the capitalist state to "legislate" or otherwise assist in bringing into existence the co-operative commonwealth. On the contrary, the bringing into existence of the co-operative commonwealth must be the exclusive work of the industrial organization of the working class. It is not an act of "legislating." It is rather the revolutionary act of supplanting one form of government by another. It is the act of supplanting the capitalist political government by the purely industrial government of future society. Thus the logical evolutionary process of the labor movement would be the crowding out of existence, by the economic organization, of the obsolete political forms of capitalism. In other words, the economic organization, aided by its political movement having built up within the shell of capitalism the structural form of the future society, will, by its revolutionary act, burst that shell, cast off the slough of capitalist political forms, and bring forth the new society arrayed in the garb of industrial democracy. Both the proclamation of the revolutionary purpose and the enforcement of the people's will must proceed from and be directed by the economic organization.

Some of my opponents come forward with the old bugaboo of the "Paris Commune." Daniel DeLeon, rising at the close of my lecture, New York, on March 11, assumed a melodramatic air, declaring that "Williams' language leads directly to Paris Commune disasters, and I for one shall decline all responsibility for such disasters." Leaving aside the conceit implied in such a statement, let me ask, "What disaster?" That the Paris Commune of 1871 resulted in a "disaster" because those involved in it "rejected the civilized means

JOSEPH J. ETOR, San Francisco, April 10, 1908.

Dunferline Meeting.

The following is a list of contributions made for the expenses of the meeting at Dunferline held by Vincent St. John and received by him:

Joseph Spargo	25
Frank Fink	25
William Hillery	50
Thos. Ballantyne	50
Ellis Stephens	25
David Baker	50
G. H. Smith	25
Harley Cape	25
Steve Shubert	25
Burt Siders	25
William Tollitt	25
Joseph Duppouso	25
Nelson Lingenfelter	25
Gilbert Ballantyne	50
William N. Spargo	50
C. Dawlar	25
Harry Hawkins	25
Ernest Tomkins	25
Edwin Firay	25
D. O. Williams	50
A. Graham	25
Frank Lintry	25
Edin M. Gaw	50
Sam Saroshian	50

The general headquarters is now able to supply a new and especially useful leaflet on the forms and principles of the I. W. W. in Slavonian-Croatian, the price of which, prepaid, is \$4.50 a thousand.

Local 92, of Portland, Oregon, writes to inform headquarters that it endorses the resolution adopted by Local No. 120 of Worcester, Mass., on the satire we recently printed and entitled "The New Dialectics."

(Continued on page 11)

The Industrial Union Bulletin

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CHICAGO, APRIL 25, 1908

A PARTING WORD.

There comes a time in every man's career in the Industrial Union movement when, for the good of the movement itself, he must consider whether it may not be best served by his retirement from any position he may hold.

A. S. EDWARDS.

THE "HIGHER" PATRIOTISM.

There is a "higher" patriotism in the United States of America, just as there is a "higher" education and a "higher" criticism in religion.

ONE "MINISTER" ON RIGHT LINE.

The "Wage Slave," printed at Hancock, Mich., and edited by A. M. Stirton, formerly a minister of the gospel, now an Industrial Union Socialist, says:

BASIS FOR WORKING-CLASS UNITY.

Now that the Western Federation of Miners by adopting the confusing referendum fixed up and submitted by Chas. H. Moyer, has been misled into repudiating unity of the working class of this country on the industrial field...

"FAIRY TALES" OF AN EDITOR TRITURATED.

Thus saith the editor of the New Orleans Picayune in his editorial column of April 12, 1908: Tennyson, the poet, wrote something about the fairy tales of science.

And further on the poet cries: "What is that which I should turn to, lightning upon days like these? Every door is barred with gold, and opens but to golden keys."

And again, as hope revives: "That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do." And, after reviewing all the wonder that was and seeing with prophetic eye all the wonder that would be, he says:

So cried the poet, and so has cried every "Bright and Morning Star" of the human race, from Lucifer to Christ, from the beginning to the end.

In every age of the world there have been thinkers and theorists who have occupied themselves with the study of the conditions of human beings in their special and general condition, and in the restraints of law, religion and custom under which they exist."

Why are some wealthy and fully supplied with this world's goods while others are poor and without reliable means of subsistence? This is the question which has been placed in a common language and property of the entire population.

In the first place it is false that "this earth is a common heritage and property of the entire population," and it is for the reason that this is not true that "some are wealthy and fully supplied with this world's goods while others are poor and without reliable means of subsistence."

"Socialism will never succeed on its own merits, but it will lead the way to a terrible political and social revolution like that of 1789-1799 in France. It was the 'Reign of Terror' that brought forth Bonaparte."

I will agree that if the "merits" of Socialism are as rotten as are those the editor imputes to it, that it "will never succeed on its merits," but seeing that Socialism is the antithesis of all that the editor declares it to be, I am more than ever convinced that it will succeed and humanity be freed from despotism forever.

And, as for a "reign of terror," the working class organized into the Industrial Workers of the World will take care that neither the capitalist class nor the social vulgarities in its employ will be able to cause another such catastrophe.

We have learned our lesson, and we are building to-day on a foundation that will prevent the establishment of the Socialist Comrade and church system of the capitalist class, and we are not going to worry over his phase of the question. As to "order" being "heaven's first law," that is true; but if it is true, it follows that we are living in hell to-day, for there can be no order in a system of society that is so organized that it compels men to tear each other's hearts out in order to exist; in a system of society, like the present, or capitalist system, that denies the unity of the universe and the oneness of the race, there can be no "order," and its "laws" are no laws.

But capitalist editors, like capitalist politicians, rarely speak the language they are thinking, so the editor said: "Despotism alone can deliver human society from chaos." when, as a matter of fact, history proves that despotism and chaos are interchangeable terms, for when a despot takes charge of society all law is suspended and there can be no order, and by the very fact that everything depends upon the despot's will and whim, which most certainly will destroy law and order, and for the reason that law and order are not an outcome of an individual's will, but are the products of social evolution.

that despotism and chaos are one and the same thing and mean the destruction of law and order.

Only when the working class carries out its historic mission by seizing the machinery of production and the powers of the government and declares the Industrial Democracy will there be any such things as law and order, for then, and only then, will law be an expression of justice, out of which order will flow as a matter of course.

In an anti-social, in a class divided system of society, justice is a byword; law and oppression sell the same thing; order only means the power of a man or class to relieve another of the products of his or its toil; and it will take a bigger man, a more able despot, than Theodore Roosevelt to maintain the Plunderbund of Capital.

"The people" will yet be free: as they have burst the chains of other slaves so will they burst this last chain with which the capitalist seeks to keep them bound—the chain forged in the house of Gold and Mammon.

Closing, I quote again Tennyson's prophetic words, which are already coming true:

"Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm, With the standards of the peoples plunging through the thunder-storm!"

Yes! hear the workers plowing over hill and dale and plain, And the Marcellaise is ringing round a rebel world again!

The last two lines are mine.

New Orleans, La. COVINGTON HALL.

Where Do We Stand? The history of all social movements is a history of continual change in time-honored methods of tactics. A social movement cannot follow cut-and-dried plans, no matter what far-seeing genius may make them.

The industrial life of the United States underwent a change within the last ten years or so, that questions the correctness of our position towards unionism. If not wholly incorrect, as some claim, it at least beggars a clearer statement as to our position.

The Socialist movement as a class movement must work for its main support from the working class, especially from that part which is organized. Furthermore, the best material for the Socialist movement is that part of the working class which recognizes the class struggle.

It would therefore seem plausible for us to support that economic organization that recognizes the class struggle, and drills its members to a correct understanding of it. It is just the reverse. Not only do we support an economic organization of the working class that constantly endeavors to blind its membership to the existence of the class struggle, but some of our newspapers campaign on a campaign of silence or misrepresentation against a class-conscious economic organization, thus holding up to scorn and ridicule our boasted "neutrality" towards trade unionism.

Others, students, observers and participants in the labor movement, after careful study and observation of these two wings of the working class movement, have come to the conclusion that the present labor movement must change its form of organization from craft unionism to industrial unionism, and the latter—the Socialist movement—must change its position and work cooperatively with the new industrial organization, if they are to make any progress in the bettering of the working class and the abolishment of the capitalist system.

Fortunately, I can read the language of a people thousands of miles away and I find that one of the most prominent men in the Socialist movement of that country (Roumania), Dr. Rackowsky, in a recent article which appeared in the Socialist monthly "Revolving Social," says: "Our success lies in the consciousness and the power of the proletariat. This explains the entire importance we give to the syndicalist movement, which is not only a means of bettering the condition of the working class, but also the bedrock upon which a healthy Socialist movement can be reared."

He knows whereof he speaks. The Socialist movement of his country has old experience and has brought home to them the soundness of this claim. Reaching a position where it had two representatives in parliament, daily and weekly newspapers and was attracting the attention of a few well-to-do men, it was the result of the government, made it totter like a house of cards.

It does not follow from such a position that the economic movement is of more importance than the political. There can be no comparison. One supplements the other. One without the other is incomplete and consequently ineffective.—Mr. Mendelson in "Socialist Review."

Women in the I. W. W. To the Editor of THE BULLETIN: I am a married woman of the working class a chattel slave or a wage slave.

Women in the I. W. W. To the Editor of THE BULLETIN: I am a married woman of the working class a chattel slave or a wage slave. I ask these questions because objection has been raised by some member of the Denver local to the effect that a married woman, a housekeeper, has no right to belong to a workmen's organization. I wish to be made clear as to the attitude of the general organization on this matter.

Send your subscription for THE INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN to Wm. E. TRAUTMANN, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill., and fill out this blank. Name, Address, Street and Number, State, Post Office, (Enclosed find cents).

Stuttgart Congress on I. W. W. Ground

Extracts from Resolutions adopted by the Committee on the Revision of the Economic Organization to be... "To emancipate the proletariat completely from the bonds of intellectual, Political and Economic Slavery, the struggle is a daily necessity."

ADD TO THE ABOVE

VITTORUL SOCIAL Romanian Socialist Monthly SUBSCRIPTION PRICE PER ANNUM \$2.50 ADDRESS: 300 N. St. Louis St. New York, N.Y.

TO THE BUILDING TRADES WORKERS OF SAN FRANCISCO

Fellow-Workers: To those of you who are willing to lend an ear and ascertain the true condition of the workers of the industry that you are employed in...

The workers instinctively feel the necessity of organization: first, by spontaneous uprising against improved machinery of wealth production, into guild unions; second, by independent trades-unions, until today we have numerous international craft-unions, all based on the false promise of the identity of interests between the job holder and the job hunter...

The A. F. of L., to which the Building Trades Council of San Francisco and California is affiliated, is a craft-autonomous body, thereby nullifying the act of federation. The Building Trades Council of S. F. and California, the organization that the great majority of us are members of, is not an organization of labor, but an auxiliary of the Master Builders' Association...

Signing contracts with the "Master Builders' Association" (which is a capitalist organization) that 90 days' notice shall be given before a strike or demand for more wages can be endorsed, thereby giving the bosses ample time to prepare for the battle.

We have yet to hear of the masters giving 90 days' notice before reducing wages. Rules that prevent members of the Building Trades from working for any employer who does not have a card in the "Master Builders' Association" is ample proof of the fact that the Building Trades Council is not a labor organization, but an institution composed of workers and guided by capitalist ideas.

The B. T. C. of this city is merely a local example of what all the B. T. C.'s and unions of the A. F. L. are all over this country. Everywhere the same story can be heard—one craft union scabbing on the other while on strike, either by working alongside of scabs and families of striking workers—as has been proven in numerous instances.

These conditions are the logical result of the craft form of organization. Out of the corruption and treachery of the leaders of these craft organizations who are every day functioning more and more in the interest of the capitalist class; from the bitter experience that has been learned in the past from the craft unions that have been committed against the workers, a lesson is being learned, to-wit: the craft form of organization divides the working class against themselves, thereby rendering them impotent to achieve lasting results.

The B. T. C. of this city is merely a local example of what all the B. T. C.'s and unions of the A. F. L. are all over this country. Everywhere the same story can be heard—one craft union scabbing on the other while on strike, either by working alongside of scabs and families of striking workers—as has been proven in numerous instances.

- abolishes the now 50 odd International craft unions and incidentally relieve the heavy burden that you now pack, of paying salaries to all these different executive boards—presidents, secretary-treasurers—who grow fat at your expense. Further, the Building Department would only be a subdivision of the Industrial Workers of the World, which comprises the following 13 Industrial Departments: Department of Mining Industry. Department of the Transportation Industry. Department of Metal and Machinery Industry. Department of Glass and Pottery Industry. Department of the Food Stuffs Industry. Department of Brewery, Wine and Distillery Industry. Department of Floricultural, Stock and Game and Farming Industries. Department of the Building Industry. Department of the Textile Industry. Department of the Leather Industries. Department of the Wood Working Industry. Department of Public Service Industries. Department of Miscellaneous Manufacturing.

Thus we see that in place of 135 craft International all working in cooperation to each other, there would only be 13, working all together, with a central organization, the General Administration of the Industrial Workers of the World. One union of the entire working world, based on the following preamble:

"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 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 union fosters 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.

"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."

To those of you who are convinced of our position being correct, we appeal that you do your part towards building up this organization. Some of you have grown weary of the long and painful struggle due to the past defeats. But there is hope. Labor shall not be in bondage forever.

Let us organize to fight our masters! We will win if we are banded together. We may receive setbacks in our struggles; but let us organize with the determination and consciousness that we shall never cease nor abate in the struggle until with the power of organization of our class in the shops and factories we shall be able to take to ourselves the things we have produced with our hands and brains, that is the earth and the fullness thereof.

to inform ourselves of it? Has De Leon been the hero, who, unknown, unheralded and unobserved, by a mere flash of wonderful genius, "Svangilik-like," has caused it to disappear? Let us reason this out calmly. If there was a serious danger and we were threatened, were we not entitled to know of it, and elect our own committee to attend to it? If there was this danger and it no longer exists, we must take for granted that De Leon appointed himself a committee of one to eliminate it, further, he taking for granted that no one was courageous and able enough to do so. By assuming that attitude, minimizing the possible ability, courage and intelligence of the members of your organization, he poses as a guardian angel, fairly grandfather, or patron saint, and it is even doubtful if the membership would accept that as an excuse.

Are we "mere children" to be gathered around the knee of a self-conceited man, as a forced prey, willy-nilly, the doses of wisdom and philosophy that he, in his "superior" judgment, considers sufficient for our cases, or, on the other hand, are we really living, thinking "men and women," who have far more to contribute to the world, subjected to a careful analysis, held to be farcical the idea of being led by the hand into working-class emancipation and who "dare" to think for themselves?

The answer to the G. E. B. minutes, in which your official organ was ignored, appeared in the "Daily People." Nine columns was devoted to that "answer," that answered not. I know not whether it was meant as a guardian angel, fairly grandfather, or patron saint, and the I. W. W. members, or both, but I do know that the minutes remain unanswered and yet the State convention of the S. L. P. on a motion, held that De Leon was the author of the distorted economic history; this latter was straightened out there for you by Connolly. It was like a few pages out of Don Quixote, to see this modern knight boldly striding forth, girt with the armor of genius, "bristling with mental lances," fearlessly attacking dangerous "straw men" conjured up by himself and labeled, "sublimated duplicity," "vicious dynamism" and "physical force fanaticism." Prithee, was indeed a valorous combat, for he smote with his lance and stabbed again and yet again with his mental sword "into the empty air" until it was a pitiable mass of landing, and no other facts appeared in full in the Bulletin. Ask yourself where it advocates dropping political action. There is and must be a difference between the political action of the proletariat and that of the petty bourgeoisie. We must lift up political action to a plane hitherto unknown, and that is only possible when the "working class alone" control their own political parties.

As to Olive Johnson, I leave her alone to work in the depths of the "dark study" and blind journals. If we are to hold out to the workers, as she suggests, the impossibility of advancing our interests, but must go from defeat to defeat, and when we are thoroughly demoralized, dispirited, and subjugated as we must be, to take her argument, we will go to "final victory." Schopenhauer, in his wildest flights of pessimism, never conceived a better argument advocating suicide than that one is to give up eating suicide, but it is absurd and illogical to hold such views. As the organization of the working class, based upon a solid foundation, increases in size, so in proportion must its power increase. As its power increases on the one hand, so, in like proportion, decreases the power of the capitalist class, and if that's going from defeat to defeat, then I'm surely suffering from "intellectual bankruptcy."

Don't mind perverted logic. Don't heed false teachers, or those "who would lead you by the hand into the promised land. No Moses will ever emancipate the working class, so you will have to learn to act and think for yourself and, if I can judge the personnel of this organization, we are doing that to a great extent and increasing all along the line, both in intelligence and membership.

Yours for Industrial Freedom. SAMUEL A. STODEL.

A very interesting program was successfully carried through by Industrial Unionists at Quincy, Mass., on Sunday, April 12. The Finnish band and Italian singing society furnished music; J. P. Thompson spoke in English, W. Merrilainen in Finnish, G. Loke in Swedish and N. Mazzarella in Italian. The occasion was a pleasant episode in the working class movement of the Massachusetts city and an indication of a strong interest in Industrial Unionism.

On Saturday evening, May 1st, at Stegeman's Hall, 225 Valencia street, the Building Constructors' Industrial Union, I. W. W. of San Francisco, will celebrate the International Labor Day. There will be music and dancing, and good speakers for the entertainment of all who attend.

Silk workers of the Givernand Bros. concern in West Haven, Conn., have been on strike since March 20 in an effort to obtain a small increase of their wages. Any assistance rendered them will be well deserved and greatly appreciated. Address: Raymond Fazio, West Haven, Conn., 222 Spring street, West Haven, Conn.

The Truth Will Out. Ida Crouch-Hazlett in the "Montana News" of April 16th has a "grouch," but in telling about it brings out some of the truth regarding the "Western Federation Politics." She says: "Word comes by private sources from Wallace, Idaho, the heart of the Coeur d'Alene mining district, that the Western Federation of Miners is using its influence in that district to get the socialists to refrain from putting up a ticket this fall in order to throw the support of the Federation men, who mostly compose the district, to the democratic ticket.

"The information comes simply as a confirmation of what the News and its correspondents have announced heretofore as the policy of the Western Federation of Miners previously in Idaho, and its undoubted intentions as to future political action.

"The Western Federation of Miners has engaged the sympathy and support of the socialists of the country in its time of difficulty and danger. This support has been generously and sacrificially given under the impression perseveringly circulated broadcast that the Federation was being persecuted on account of its socialist principles.

"An examination of the history of the Federation and its political attitude both before and after its socialist declarations, reveals the undeniable fact that it has never given its political influence in the states where its vote was an overwhelming majority to the support of the socialist party, but on the contrary has uniformly supported the democratic party, and elected capitalist governors, members of the legislature, and judges to office. One would think from the difficulties in which the Federation has been almost constantly embroiled with the state that this organization of the proletariat would have learned to put not its faith in politicians, but in the people.

What Are You Doing? In faraway Alaska THE BULLETIN is getting a strong hold. Fairbanks alone has 150 subscribers and more are coming. It was done by a little hustling—the kind of work that is needed in some of the industrial centers of the East. Every meeting held under I. W. W. auspices anywhere should be productive of results in new names for THE BULLETIN. Some of the locals have failed to select an agent for the paper and give him instructions to order sub. cards. These cards are now in the hands of 100 agents, most of whom are doing something. Get busy, you who have done nothing. Last week there were added to the list 140 new subscriptions. The number can easily be raised to 300 a week—if you and you will do your share.

Notice to Subscribers. Subscribers to THE BULLETIN whose term expires in April have been notified by postal card. Unless subscriptions are renewed by May 1st their names will be dropped from the list, in accordance with the postal regulations regarding second-class matter.

I. W. W. marble cutters at Marble, Col., are out on strike jointly with members of the International Marble Workers' Union. Let their names not stay away from Marble until the difficulty is settled.

I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS. Leaflets in English, per 1,000—Address to Wage Workers, \$1.50. The Textile Industry, 1.50. Food Stuff 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. Japanese must be ordered from J. Stegeman, 290 Jettie St., San Francisco, Cal.

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

Price List of Supplies: Constitutions, in English, per 100, \$5.00. Constitutions, in other languages, per 100, \$7.00. Local Letterheads, per 100, 50. Envelopes, per 100, 50. Withdrawal Cards, per for 10, 10. Application blanks, per 100, 50. Averages notices, per 100, 50. Warrant Book, each, 80. Receipt Book, each, 30. Ledger, 100 pages, 1.25. Ledger, 300 pages, 3.00. Ledger, 500 pages, 5.00. Ledger, 800 pages, 8.00. Ledger, 400 pages, 3.50. Ledger, 600 pages, 5.00. Day Book, 100 pages, 1.00. Treasurer's Cash Book, 75. Minute Book, 80. Rubber Stamps and Pad, 50. Seal for the Union, 1.00. Buttons, cheap grade, each, 10. Buttons, better grade, 25.

Industrial Union HANDBOOK. Gives an outline of the Structure of Industrial Unionism and Analysis of the Preamble. Very useful in arriving at an understanding of the form of organization of the Industrial Workers of the World. Price, postpaid, 10 cts. Special rates on large orders.

LET THE LIGHT IN. YOU WILL NEVER LEARN anything about the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD by absorbing the dope its enemies hand to you; a good antidote for their lies is the TRUTH. Get the TRUTH by reading what the I. W. W. SAYS FOR ITSELF. Here is a good combination for \$1.00. "Handbook of Industrial Unionism" 5c. Constitution of the I. W. W. 5c. Report of Second Convention 5c. Third Convention 80c. Year's Subscriptions to BULLETIN 20c. Assessment of Locals 2c. ALL FOR ONE DOLLAR. 212 Bush Temple, Chicago.

To know what Industrial Unionism is you must read what is said about it by its friends and what it says for itself; only in that way can its present aims and ultimate purposes be understood. The following are recommended to workmen who desire to learn what Industrial Unionism is: Handbook of Industrial Unionism, 5c. Constitution of the I. W. W., 5c. Report of Secretary Trautmann, 5c. "Industrial Unionism," by W. E. Trautmann, 5c. "Burning Question of Trades Unionism," by W. E. Trautmann, 5c. "Address on I. W. W. Preamble," by W. E. Trautmann, 5c. Sent to my address, postpaid, for 25c. WM. E. TRAUTMANN, 212 BUSH TEMPLE, CHICAGO - ILLINOIS.

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