

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

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50c. a Year.

Glimpses of Capitalist Industry

BY JAS. P. THOMPSON

Among the coal miners wage slavery exists in its most glaring form. The miners dig out the coal and turn it over to an idle, worthless class who claim a divine right to rob them of all the surplus product of their labor.

The miners are paid by the ton, and when given an opportunity they work at a pace that kills, so as to "make hay while the sun shines." Day after day men, mules and horses go into the mines, and all are treated about alike. All are looked upon as so many tools or machines necessary in the production of coal. Just as the company must furnish oil and coal for its engines, oats, blankets and stable for its horses, so must they furnish money to buy adulterated food, shoddy clothing and cheap shacks for their slaves. For every ton of coal brought to the surface the company gets dollars and the miners get cents; six cents a ton is about the average pay. In some mines they pay more and in others less, according to the difficulties, more or less, to be overcome. The idea is to arrange prices in such a way that the miners can get hard work, make about as much in one district as in another, and allow all to make enough to keep them about two weeks from starvation. Of course, this philanthropic arrangement is inspired by the fact that the miners must be allowed to make as much in the mines as they could elsewhere; otherwise men would become scarce in the coal fields and inducements in the form of increased wages would have to be made in order to get them back; so they pay them enough to hold them, and that is all.

This is the position of the hundreds of thousands of coal miners in the world today. They are treated like slaves on one side and starvation on the other. They must work to get money to buy food to get strength to work. Day after day the lash of hunger drives them into the mines, and as the years come and go they are literally ground into dust. Of course some escape being killed by inches or tortured to death, by being killed instantly. Accidents are common. Thousands of men and boys are killed in and around the mines each year. At a little extra expense the mines could be made safe, but as this would not pay, it would not be "business-like" to do it. In order to be a successful up-to-date capitalist it is necessary to be a murderer as well as a robber.

The men, mules and horses, as well as the shovels and picks, are used until worn out; then the mules and horses are sent to the glue works, the picks and shovels are sold for old iron, while the old men are kindly led in misery and poverty to find their way to a pauper's grave. The children follow in their father's footsteps.

As long as the grinding process continues they have in the coal mining industry what the robber class calls prosperity. Occasionally a mine is shut down for a time, and the men laid off; then it is that the difference between chattel slavery and wage slavery is plainly seen. When the mine is idle the horses eat regularly and grow fat, while the miners starve. The men in a position to treat the miners the "horse laugh." Unlike many other industries, the exploitation of the workers in the mining industry is not disguised or hidden under the buying and selling of commodities. The miners can see the faces of the miners cannot help but see it. They know that the coal in the bowels of the earth was not placed there by man, and that it is and can be dug out and brought to the surface only by labor. They know where the loot gets the money with which he pays them their wages; that it is from the sale of the coal which they themselves dug. They cannot help but see that while the master gives them a pitiful wage, he keeps their share for himself. They know that whether taxes are high or low, whether the cost of living is high or not, the master must always give his slaves enough to enable them to live, and that he aims to give them that and nothing more. They know what many other slaves do not, that they are robbed at the point of production.

In view of these facts it is not surprising to find that the miners, taken as a whole, are a revolutionary body of men. It is easy for them to understand that the coal should belong to the men who dig it, and that all wealth should be enjoyed by those who produce it. In spite of all this, they are not effective as a revolutionary force in society at all. The reason for this is found in an organization which stands as a monument to the cunning of the capitalist class and its puppets—the United Mine Workers of America.

This organization is recognized by some as a labor organization, but it is not, properly speaking, a part of the labor movement and practically all the mines are organized in the standing army. It organizes the miners exactly along the lines demanded by the economic interest of the capitalist class. If they were organized industrially they would be the most powerful labor organization in the world, because the coal mines are the very heart of capitalism.

If all the coal miners were to stop work it would not be long before all the railroads and practically all the mills would be compelled to stop also. The capitalists realize this, and so their lieutenants are sent among the miners to organize them in such a way that they cannot put up a united fight. They are divided into districts, and each district makes a separate contract or agreement

will join. One of the great difficulties is to get the slaves to listen while it is explained to them. The A. F. of L. and its tactics has caused the workers to become disgusted with unions, and believe that, if there are like, it is hard to get them to come to a meeting when one is advertised.

Too much stress should not be laid upon the immediate benefits derived from the organization, but the workers must be taught that each strike, whether won or lost, is only a skirmish in a great class war. The experience in Schenectady, where every local that came over from the A. F. of L. in a body was reactionary, shows how ridiculous it is to try to revolutionize the capitalist system organization out of a lot of capitalist-minded slaves.

The workers must be educated. Every worker should know that labor forms the substance of value and understand just what determines the value and price of labor-power. Every organizer should make it his business to show just how wealth is produced; teach the materialist conception of history; explain just what a revolution is, and show that old forms of society never perish until they are pregnant with the new. It is our mission as revolutionists to build up the new and not to patch up the old. We must concentrate our efforts toward building up an economic organization, and not a lot of revolutionary capitalist systems. We will find that as we organize a little we will control industry more, until finally evolution takes the place of revolution. The capitalist system must go down! It will go down! And many of us will live to see the cooperative commonwealth and enjoy the novelty of living in a world without a slave.

Voluntary Contributions	
Previously acknowledged	\$514.30
Burke, Ida, Miners' Union No. 10	25.00
S. Chitt, Spokane, Wash.	5.00
L. Luckman, Spokane, Wash.	5.00
E. Duynslager, Spokane, Wash.	1.00
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Jerome, Ariz., Miners' Union, No. 101	25.00
E. Besselman, New York	1.00
	\$589.10

Pertinent Observations on Practical Questions

BY JOSEPH J. ETOR

I wish to make a few remarks on the tendencies of our organization with the hope that some consideration will be shown them in the future.

On my journey through different localities in this country I have noticed certain tendencies of our movement to grow more or less towards the rocks of irresponsibility. One of these is the result of a desire to be democratic in the extreme.

While visiting a local union in Washington I noticed the old political rule of electing a chairman for the local union meeting at every meeting time. The office of president in the local union is done away under the reasoning that the I. W. W., being a revolutionary organization, needs no national or local "tin god." So in order to have "democracy" a president is elected at each meeting. This means that at each meeting a new chairman is elected to preside for that session. The scene is enacted of a man who knows nothing of conducting a meeting, standing with gavel or stick, or even pipe, in hand, trying to conduct a business meeting of a revolutionary organization like the I. W. W. In support of this kind of work we hear the following as a reason: "Yes, it is true that an incompetent chairman delays a meeting, but we must have democracy in the union; and what is more, by this system we drill the members to be self-reliant, so they will be able to conduct their own business and so forth."

We may agree with the position that since the I. W. W. is a democratic organization, self-reliance should be cultivated in the ranks. But we must remember that while some people are learning to be chairmen, the local union suffers. "How do you make that out?" says some fellow-worker. Very easily. Here is a local with, say, 150 members at their business meeting; a green chairman is elected. The success of any meeting depends largely on how it is conducted by the presiding officer. The members go to this meeting to attend to business pertaining to them, all of them workers in some capitalist slave pen; they have worked probably 9, 10 or even 11 hours, and are very tired; they want to see the meeting over in 2 hours, so they can go home. What happens? The meeting goes slow; there is no dispatch; business lags and everybody gets tired. At 10 p. m. the members, tired from lack of interest in the proceedings and from overwork during the day, begin to file out of the meeting and go home; the business of the organization is either left in the hands of a few who remain, or lain over to next meeting.

Very few meetings of this description result in the members having interest in the meetings and they drop out. Then the local is left to struggle in order to hold its head above water, while all the time proclaiming, "We are a working class and we are an enemy to the working class and we are a further."

Miners Are Staunch Friends

Among the staunchest friends of the I. W. W. is the Burke (Idaho) Miners' Union No. 10. At the meeting of the I. W. W. held at this office October 7, the secretary of the union, Tom Corra, says:

"Enclose you will please find money order for \$25, which amount has been donated by Burke Miners' Union No. 10 to the general fund of the I. W. W. by the new Executive Board. You will note that this is the second donation made by this union within the last couple of months for the organizing fund, to say nothing of the assistance given to the different strikes of the I. W. W."

CONSERVATIVE AND RADICAL

BY PERCY C. RAWLINS

(From Percy C. Rawlings' report as organizer to the Arizona State Union, W. F. of M.)

The most pernicious lies of our civilization is the pretension of the conservative.

The conservative is he who reaps where another has sown. He is eternally the people indorsed it. He is forever entrenched behind the bulwarks of prejudice and ignorance. In his keeping religion becomes a superstition and government a tyranny. He is the song of the poet. He belittles the work of Science, and worships in the temples of Dogma.

The conservative has tied the martyrs to the stake, stoned the prophets and crucified the Christs. He is the cause of bloody wars of commerce; but he is ruthless in putting down the rebellions of courageous men against wrong and oppression.

The conservative stands for the things that are. He opposes mass to force. He loves the rule of the majority, and defends any action on the ground that most of the people indorsed it.

The conservative permits child labor, and thinks that poverty is necessary because it is ancient.

The conservative calls the armed nations of the earth a League peace conference, and is willing that Switzerland and Korea sink their battleships.

The conservative has contrived the apotheosis of respectability and hypocrisy. He lives to shout the motto of "live and let live" in the right with two or three." He is the negative force in human society, and all his reforms were conceived in the minds of dead radicals.

What of the radical?

The radical is the positive force in humanity. He refuses to bow the knee before the gods of appearance. He is always ready "to take arms against a sea of troubles, and by opposing, end them."

The radical is the pioneer of new movements, and the originator of new ideas. He must be prepared to undertake the navigation of uncharted seas, or to blaze a way through the pathless forest.

The radical does not live to see the fruition of his hopes. His reward is not the acclaim of his fellows. He must stand in the forge of Thermopylae and resist the hosts of Persia. He must lead many a forlorn hope. He must lead David to the world's Goliath without the hope of David's success.

The radical will not be content with what Carlyle called "use and wont." He demands an explanation of all phenomena, and insists that reasons shall be given for any opinion.

The radical fills the pages of history. He discovered all America, proclaimed all the gospel, disclosed all truths, fought all the battles for liberty, sang all the songs of freedom, and filled all the graves of rebels.

I am aware of the fact that both conservative and radical are necessary to society. Science has revealed the existence of two counter-acting forces in the universe. The magnet has a positive and a negative pole. A revolving wheel has both centrifugal and centripetal force. The mighty attraction that sweeps the earth in its orbit around the sun would pull the earth into the sun but for a counter attraction.

We cannot conceive of north without south; east predicated west. Compensation is the rule of nature; every energy must be controlled by an opposite energy. But this fact does not destroy my

class organization; we are militant and revolutionary. To be revolutionary is to be sane, to use judgment and not run off at a tangent. A militant working class organization does not mean that the hopes of a thousand workers are to be shattered to give some one a chance to learn. There are, let us say, 3,000 men out on strike against unbearable conditions; they are not organized; they join the I. W. W. and look to it for a guiding hand. Some one who can speak a little begins to tell the workers what wonders they can expect from the I. W. W. and that "we pay \$5 a week strike benefit." The workers look to him for guidance, the strike lags on, a committee of about 25 or even 30 is in charge, bad judgment and bad leadership runs the strike in the ground, the workers have lost their strike. Is that all that has been done? No, not at all; not only the strike has been lost, but the hopes and aspirations of the workers have been shattered to the winds. They lose hope in our movement and wander around, probably blacklisted victims of the masters' wrath and walking witnesses to some one's ambition to learn at the expense of the working people.

So I say that it behooves the membership of the I. W. W. to be wise in what we may do. In conducting this organization we must be wise and learn from the past; if we don't we will go through the same experience as others have in the past.

Another trouble to be noted is the fellow-worker who, while he is not an anarchist, imbues the spirit of one, and is constantly asking questions that have been settled and are not up for discussion.

At the 1906 convention of the I. W. W., after a long debate the preamble was allowed to remain as it was, and did not settle it? No. We find all the year around members and officers of local unions continue to give their private version as to what the I. W. W. means to do with political parties, an even issue, and walking witnesses to some one's ambition to learn at the expense of the I. W. W. "Resolved, that political action is no good," and so forth.

Now I do not wish to stop any one from holding any particular opinion in regard to the matter, but I think it is a matter that they may wish to see changed. But I hold that when we have voted and the vote stands one way or the other, further discussion or private interpretation in the name of the organization is out of order.

In these few lines I have expressed myself not as fully as I would wish, but enough I am sure to invite a discussion. At least I hope so. If some fellow-worker feels disposed to take issue with me on the matter, let them remember, act as a fellow-worker and don't let the matter drift to the level of the gutter.

JOSEPH J. ETOR.

New Locals Organized

During the week just passed charters have been issued as follows: White Goods Workers' Union, Brooklyn, N. Y. (with 250 charter members); Clothing Workers' Union, Worcester, Mass.; Industrial Workers' Union, Lewistown, Mont.; Railway Transportation Workers' Union, Kansas City, Kan.; Public Service Workers' Industrial Union, Biwabik, Minn.; Industrial Workers' Union, Salt Lake City, Utah.

New England Conference

The conference of delegates from New England I. W. W. locals, held at Providence, R. I., October 13th, 1907, in every respect a success. Provision was made for the maintenance of a competent organizer. Worcester, Boston, Bridgeport, Fall River, New Bedford, Quincy, Hartford and Providence were represented. General Executive Board Member Wm. Yates, of New Bedford, was elected Chairman of the Conference, and John W. Leach, of Providence, secretary.

Strike at Vancouver

Local Union No. 526 (lumber handlers) of Vancouver, B. C., is out on strike and protesting against an increase of hours and reduction in pay. The mill and vessel owners seem to be preparing the ground for a big Industrial Union campaign, and National Organizer Walsh has received instructions to proceed to Vancouver and take charge.

Case Against St. John is Dismissed

If in the past five years wages have advanced, say, 20 per cent, and the cost of living in the same time has gone up 46 per cent, why isn't the working class about 26 per cent worse off now than it was five years ago?

The welcome news reaches the general office just as we go to press that in the district court at Goldfield, Nevada, upon motion of the district attorney, Judge Langan, on October 15, dismissed the cases against Vincent St. John and seven others charged with conspiracy to murder. The district attorney said in making his motion to dismiss that the state

A Fajet Fired

Whereas, At a joint meeting of Locals 101 and 106, I. W. W., held at Bank Hall, Monaca, Pa., August 10, 1907, one George Kunkle did speak and vote for the consolidation of these two locals, and Whereas, After our committee had secured the supplies of 101, for the purpose of straightening out the affairs of that organization, which had been killed by the refusal of one George Moffett to call a meeting of said local for three months, although the offices of Secretary and Financial Secretary were left unoccupied by the migration of two of the best men in this vicinity, and Whereas, This George Kunkle did write a letter for George Moffett, demanding the return of said supplies under pain of Mr. Moffett "invoking the aid of the law" and calling our committee a "thief," and Whereas, This George Kunkle did, at the next meeting of Mr. Moffett's "fake" Local 101, act as chairman, and Whereas, This George Kunkle has gone upon several different occasions to the S. P. local of which he is organizer and "assistant big chief," and knocked this I. W. W. organization, telling his "dupes" that this organization is no good, that it only has a few members, and that it was no use, and Whereas, This George Kunkle, upon applying for admission into our organization, did promise to resign the office then held in the Flint Glassworkers' Union, and we considering him honest enough to do so, but although four months has elapsed since that time he still holds that office; therefore, be it Resolved, That George Kunkle be expelled from Local 106, I. W. W., and denounced as an enemy to the working class and be it further

Successful Start Across the Water

The Industrial Union Conference of Great Britain, of which preliminary notice was given in The Bulletin some weeks ago, was held at Birmingham, England, on the 3d and 4th of August. Delegates from London, Liverpool, Wulwich, North Kent, Reading, Sheffield, Birmingham, Dundee, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Leith. The conference adopted resolutions setting forth that "this conference pledges the British advocates of Industrial Unionism to devote their energies to building up the British section of the I. W. W., in order to place in the hands of the wage-workers the weapon with which to strike the chains of wage slavery from off their limbs, and so for ever free humanity from economic bondage."

Edinburgh Delegation Presented

The Edinburgh delegation presented a resolution favoring the publication of an official monthly journal, which was agreed to and "The Industrial Unionist" chosen as the name. The lines of the constitution followed closely that of the parent organization in the United States. The main debate occurred on a motion declaring that "politics is a weapon which the working class cannot ignore, but is one which, properly used, can be of immense advantage," and this was finally adopted unanimously.

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CHICAGO, OCTOBER 19, 1907

HOW UNITY CAN NOT BE GAINED

"Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose, but your chains; you have a world to gain."

The unity of the working class for the purpose of accomplishing the overthrow of capitalism, with its methods of exploiting labor and retarding progress, is, of all things in the world, the most desirable.

It can be accomplished only by the workers themselves, since other classes are concerned only in preserving their property interests and social advantages, and oppose the proletarian demand for an equitable distribution of wealth based on the social ownership of the resources and instruments by the use of which wealth is produced.

If the unity of the workers is essential to working class emancipation, the question that most concerns the working class is this: How can we be united?

The answer is necessarily two-fold; it is quite as important that we know one side of the answer as the other, that we FIRST understand why we cannot be united by adopting methods that are vicious or standards that are spurious.

In our investigation let it be understood that we speak as social revolutionists, that we oppose absolutely capitalist industry and would displace it with the Industrial Commonwealth. We take into consideration all the class-conscious and revolutionary elements of the workers, no matter what their organic relation may be and without regard to their partisan preferences.

For the purposes of this investigation, they are all of the working class, and especially are they of that growing section of the working class which accepts the obvious truth, that the world can not be gained by the workers without UNITY. And to these we say: Unity can not be gained by following false standards and vicious methods.

Unity can not be gained by lying and misrepresentation. Unity can not be gained by delegating working class interests to "intellectuals" ambitious to outshine each other.

Unity can not be gained by endorsing crooks or upholding fakirs. Unity can not be gained by equivocation or compromise with fakirism.

Unity can not be gained by evading or dodging responsibility when the revolutionary movement is assailed.

Unity can not be gained by giving open support or secret defense to proved reactionaries.

Unity can not be gained by substituting reverence for a constitution in place of loyalty to the working class.

Unity can not be gained by allowing our activities to be paralyzed from personal considerations.

Unity can not be gained by malicious attacks upon individuals who honestly disagree with us.

Unity can not be gained by disparaging those who are loyal to revolutionary working class principles.

Unity can not be gained by setting up as a virtue the denial of revolutionary working class principles.

Unity can not be gained by ignoring the obvious facts of progress made in one division of our ranks and catering to an organization which opposes all divisions, simply because that organization has a temporary majority.

Unity can not be gained by losing, or trying to lose, sight of the economic movement, in a political hurrah based on the perilous popularity of an individual.

Unity can not be gained by stimulating and coquetting with the forces of reaction and pure-and-simplicity, and damning the work of a wing of the revolutionary army.

The place to effect unity is in the mine, mill, factory, workshop and transportation service. The method is the revolutionary one that treats the movement above the individual, and of that we will treat on another occasion.

FOR WHAT PURPOSE IS THIS DONE?

The Western Federation of Miners' general office at Denver is using an official letter-head at the top of which appears these words: "Mining Department, Industrial Workers of the World." In view of the fact that on a tricky referendum sent out by the "acting" office of the W. F. of M., the Industrial Workers of the World second annual convention was declared "unconstitutional and illegal"—a conclusion arrived at upon inadequate and misleading information furnished through the Miners' Magazine, and in view also of the fact that the convention of the W. F. of M. failed absolutely to accord any recognition to the faction which C. E. Mahoney supported and which the "acting" officers know to be down and out of business, the question arises for what purpose are the officials of the miners' organization still using on their official stationery the entirely misleading statement that that organization is the "Mining Department of the Industrial Workers of the World?"

Do the facts substantiate the declaration? Is it true that the W. F. of M. is affiliated with the I. W. W.? If we should print in this column a statement that the W. F. of M. is today an integral part of the I. W. W. and the mining department thereof, would we not have turned upon us again the slush magazine of O'Neill and would not the "acting" officers of the W. F. of M. support their editor to the limit in the abusive trades he would hurl at us? Why then should the claim be made by the temporary occupants of the miners' general office?

Understand! It is on the declaration referred to does not appear on old stock stationery, but on the newest official letter-head printed SINCE the fifteenth annual convention of the W. F. of M., and on the same letter-head the names of the executive board elected by that convention appear. Why is this? What is it done for? Is it intended to appease the thousands of sympathizers and supporters of the Industrial Union and of the I. W. W. in the W. F. of M. and is it supposed that these men will not see through a pretense so hollow, a claim so unfounded?

What does it mean? In reporting to the fifteenth annual convention of the W. F. of M., C. E. Mahoney, "acting" president, said: "I recommend that an earnest effort be made to promulgate and maintain a general industrial organization without affiliation with either of the so-called factions." (See page 37, Convention Report.) In the debate on the I. W. W. which followed Mahoney (page 576) stated that after the referendum taken in the W. F. of M.: "Nothing would be submitted (to members of the W. F. of M.) from the I. W. W. and no recognition given them." And, unfortunately for the working class movement, the convention accepted Mahoney's dictum, and by working class movement, the I. W. W. Here we had a complete severance of relations with the I. W. W. And yet the newest official letter-head of the W. F. of M. carries the declaration: "Mining Department, Industrial Workers of the World."

Mahoney's recommendation for a new industrial organization was approved to the extent of electing delegates to a conference to be held in Chicago, October 1st; but the proposal met with so much opposition among the rank and file of the miners' organization that it came to naught, the conference never was held. Was it the discovery of the fact by the "acting" officials that the rank and file were opposed to an attempt to set up a rival organization where the I. W. W. occupies the field, that induced them to print on their latest official stationery "Mining Department, Industrial Workers of the World?"

Finally, if the W. F. of M. is a part of the I. W. W. to whom are the "acting" officials paying dues? What is it done for?

THE WAR OF THE "INTELLECTUALS"

Berger, the "intellectual" of the Social Democratic movement of Milwaukee—and, indeed, one of the "intellectuals" of the S. P. generally—is out with his Esterbrook's falcon against the other "intellectuals" who represent the S. P. in the Stuttgart Congress. He intimates in terms that leave nothing to be desired as to definiteness, that none of them are or ever were "in touch with the real labor movement or its party thereof."

Hillquit, says the Milwaukee "intellectual," is a prominent lawyer in New York, making a lot of money and owning a lot of property. And while he is a bright fellow—doing a great deal of legal work for clothing manufacturers—he surely is not a man to speak at a labor meeting for the American proletariat, nationally or internationally.

Again, says Berger, the "intellectual," Hillquit got his credentials as a delegate to the congress from the S. P., because he could afford to take the trip to Stuttgart at his own expense. Indeed, referring to a large number of "intellectuals" and "his wives," Berger says: "They could afford to

take a trip to Europe, got mandates, and 'represented us'—US meaning proletarian like Berger, the "intellectual."

"The 'he' and 'we' were represented accordingly!" thus giving strong confirmation to what Delegate Heselwood of the I. W. W. said on the floor of the Congress: "I find a great number of intellectuals, including lords, authors, parliamentarians and even lawyers."

Anybody who could afford the trip to Europe—having money-making enterprises in the United States—could get a mandate from the S. P. and go to Stuttgart as a representative of the "proletariat" of America.

Berger's proletarian soul is moved beyond the power of adequate expression when he contemplates Algernon Lee; he says: "As for Algernon Lee, the editor of 'The Worker,' another 'intellectual,' the most that can be said of him is that he is Hillquit's man Friday."

The Milwaukee "intellectual" nowhere permits himself to refer to the one American proletarian in the Stuttgart Congress who represented the I. W. W. or to the reputation the American bunch of "intellectuals" established at Stuttgart as maligners and traducers of the only real proletarian movement in America, the I. W. W.

Coming to Simons, the S. P. misrepresentative (according to Berger) who deflected the scab-breeding and scab-herding A. F. of L. and lied about the I. W. W., Berger is surprised that he, "who has of late tried to get into touch with the trades union movement," should have stood with the rest of the "intellectuals."

For Berger to call Hillquit, Lee and Simons "intellectuals"—true enough as it is—reminds one of the proverbial pot that remarked by way of criticism upon the color of the kettle, calling it black.

Notwithstanding an abundance of evidence of the "Sherman faction" is a thing of the past, that its activities are not the I. W. W. lives in spite of its enemies, the "Appeal to Reason" has made a last contemptible effort to galvanize the corpse. Having printed the truthful statement in one issue that the I. W. W. was represented in the Industrial Workers of the World at Stuttgart, Hillquit, it later gave out this lie under "The Party" heading:

"An error was made in the report of the International Socialist Congress, shown in the third column of the second page of the Appeal to Reason dated September 14, 1907. Hugo Pick is the delegate representing the Industrial Workers of the World at the Congress, and not Heselwood, as stated in the report."

But the attention of "Appeal" editors is called to this, they will tell you their "intentions" are "good," that they are "neutral," that the "Appeal" is "purely a propaganda sheet"—and so it is, a propaganda sheet for any lie that the attention of an A. F. of L. political Socialist.

Liebkecht the Second is of the same fearless and uncompromising mould as Liebkecht the First. In executing the verdict of the court which sends him to a fortress for a year and a half for his anti-military propaganda, he served notice on the Kaiser's retainers of his unwavering fidelity to the proletarian revolution and told them he had nothing to retract, nothing to apologize for and nothing to fear as to the ultimate consequences of the battle against tyranny and oppression. There seems to be in Germany only one thing to disturb the attention of Liebkecht in the future, and that is the growing conservatism of his party.

Harry Quelch is repeating in England the same excuse stated by the Socialist Party to fear to support a true economic organization of the working class, because it would antagonize the A. F. of L.—the source from which they can best hope to win recruits in the country. Perhaps the Socialist leader on this side of the water; "we cannot encourage the building up of an economic organization pledged to the philosophy of Socialism and inspired by the country. Perhaps the fact that we shall antagonize the A. F. of L., which is pledged to the craft division of the workers, and hence to the interests of the capitalist class. And Harry Quelch takes up the "argument" on the other side.

The announcement is made by the Socialist Review of West Hoboken, N. J., that the state committee of the Socialist Party of N. J. has instructed its secretary to inquire and report upon Hillquit's report to the Stuttgart Congress regarding the Industrial Workers of the World. The report of the state committee should be an interesting document. We predicted in our last reference to the Hillquit report that the author had not heard the last of that shameless attack on the I. W. W.

The abandonment of the telegraphers' strike by Mr. Small proves just one thing, that the leader was not big enough for the requirements. And that is commonly found to be the case. The rank and file, by taking the matter into their own hands, are continuing the good fight they have made, and deserve the united support of the keymen of the entire country.

One would think that political Socialist leaders had enough to do in converting the workers of America without indulging malignant attacks upon the only Socialist economic organization in the country. Perhaps the fact that they are not greatly successful in the work of conversion is accountable for their perfidy to working class interests.

J. B. Pratt, Jr., of 38 N. Eighth street, Paterson, N. J., wishes to procure a copy of The Bulletin for April 6. Anyone having a copy to spare can communicate with him.

Simons Getting His The rebellion against the conduct of S. P. delegates at the International Congress is spreading. Breaking out in New Jersey, it has reached Texas. Ward H. Mills, member of the S. P., in an open letter to A. M. Simons, says:

"Your allusion to the most important feature of that convention (the Stuttgart Congress) does you little credit in so far as presuming, or attempting to presume, upon the ignorance of American Socialists. I refer to the matter of the relationship of the industrial to the political organization in the Socialist movements."

"Every person who has read Heselwood's and De Leon's reports—barring perhaps some inevitable personal feeling directed will understand something of the merits of the question, and will measure the motives and calibre of the respective writers of these reports. I regret that the Socialist party must suffer in that comparison. I believed the great body of the rank and file in the Socialist party held the same views you seem to now hold, antagonistic to industrial unionism, and sympathized in your efforts to belittle the industrial movement of the Socialist movement as parently in the interest of that sort of organization that the Wall Street Journal calls: 'The strongest bulwark

The traveler thanked him, and pushing the boat into the water embarked and rowed away. But the boat sank and the man was drowned.

"Heartless man!" said an indignant spectator. "Why didn't you tell him that your boat had a hole in it?"

"The matter of the boat's condition," said the great jurist, "was not brought before me."—Cosmopolitan.

Craft Unionism in Germany According to a recent industrial report, Germany has the largest labor organization in the world, under the name of the Deutscher Metallarbeiterverband.

Though this claim is open to question, the report gives a number of facts of general interest, which are quoted:

We have at present in the German Metal Workers the largest labor organization of the world. According to the recent report for the past year, there belonged to this union at the close of 1906 not less than 335,075 members, of which 15,000 were women. During the past year alone the membership has increased by 73,333. During the last four years the increase has been more than 205,000. With one or two exceptions every branch of the metal-working industry is represented in the organization.

During the past year the union has collected funds for the central treasury for the purposes, in addition to what was paid out of local treasuries in special cases of support.

Due to the large number of strikes, the amount going to strikers during the past year was large. In addition to 2,800,000 marks (\$666,400) contributed by the central treasury, more than 700,000 marks (\$166,600) was paid out by the locals, amounting in all to more than 3,500,000 marks (\$833,000) expended to maintain strikes. In spite of this outlay, however, the resources of the union are 2,500,000 marks (\$595,000) to 2,600,000 marks (\$618,800). Nor has the growth of the organization ceased, but in every week has a remarkable increase in membership.

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Stuttgart 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 Struggle are alike 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

That the INDUSTRIAL UNION, the Economic Organization of the Working Class, is of primary importance and must be the political state, and the World Movement, and is declared and INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM TRIUMPHANT.

Order for Subscription Cards

Form for ordering subscription cards, including fields for name, address, and amount.

Industrial Workers of the World Voluntary Contribution

To aid in maintaining the work of organizing the working class in the I. W. W. and disseminating its principles, I hereby pledge one-half of one per cent of my wages per month for a period of 3 months beginning with

and will remit the amount to General Headquarters, 210 Bush Temple, Chicago, on the 1st of each succeeding month.

Form for voluntary contribution, including fields for name, street, and postoffice.

OBSERVATIONS

BY SAM J. FRENCH
If you hang around Headquarters and make mental observation, you will note a striking feature that is always to be found, in the trials and the troubles that beset Administration—The inconsistent attitude of Kickers all around.
From near and far throughout the land, in every tongue that's spoken, Criticisms and proposals and demands unnumbered flow: They'll want Organizers for Oklahoma, supplies shipped to Hoboken, But—don't do a damned iota to raise the needed "DOUGH!"
Some are hyper-critical and ultra-scientific, Great on technical

Financial Statement FOR SEPTEMBER

The following is a Statement of Receipts and Expenditures at the General Headquarters for Month of September, 1907. Any errors found herein should be reported to this office.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN, Gen. Sec. Treas.

Table of financial transactions for September 1907, including items like 'Geo. Speed, subscriptions', 'J. Reisman, contribution', etc., with associated dollar amounts.

Main table of financial transactions for various industrial unions across different cities, including 'Blue Island Transportation Workers Union', 'St. Louis Industrial Union', etc.

Continuation of the financial statement table, listing transactions for unions such as 'Christopher Industrial Union', 'Vancouver Industrial Union', etc.

Advertisement for I.W.W. literature featuring a central graphic with the text 'MINATORI, Sarete sempre Schiavi?' and 'INDUSTRIJELNIM SVETOVNIM DELAVCEM'. It lists various pamphlets and booklets in multiple languages.

Two Dozen Pieces of I. W. W. Literature in One Dozen Languages.

Competition and Exploitation in the Railway Service

BY W. M. J. PINKERTON

[These Articles are Copyrighted by the Author]

(Continued)

Competition in the mechanical department, in reduction of operating expenses, forbids proper and skilled attention given to the automatic appliances...

In all large cities there is what is commonly known as terminal districts, or terminal divisions, extending from five to fifty miles. The physical characteristics on these terminals are many trains passing over crossings, under viaducts, in fact coming in contact with all of the obstructions referred to in paragraph 35 of personal record...

But reverse these movements and allow this train to proceed, as is commonly the case, with a limited number of automatic air braked cars coupled, or, as in some cases, without any, let the night be dark and stormy, the rails slippery, a car leaves the rails about half way in the train; separating from the rear portion it is dragged along by the portion attached to the engine for a short distance; again breaking away from forward part of train, it is left isolated, unprotected, and leaning over in such a position as to interfere with the high speed passenger traffic without affecting the block system...

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

HOW LONG SHALL WE BE SUBMISSIVE TO CAPITALIST BOSSES?

BY J. L. RAUCK

The conditions existing today are beginning to arouse the entire wage-earning class to the fact that wages are constantly decreasing and the cost of living is continually increasing. Therefore, the question confronting them is, How long shall this continue and what shall be the preventative?

My experience has taught me that only by removing the cause do you have an immediate and lasting preventative. Supposing a member of your family to be stricken with sickness, and symptoms are rapidly developing into what you know to be a dangerous disease, and being convinced by past experience and the aid of a quack doctor would mean death to the present sufferer, and also destruction to the coming generation, you immediately secure the services of a competent physician, who at once sets about removing the "cause" of the disease, and the convalescence of the patient is immediately noticeable.

So with the conditions of today. The symptoms of wage slavery have been developing for years, and the aid of our quack doctors (better known as the A. F. of L. labor leaders) our conditions are growing alarmingly worse, and mean defeat on every hand to the workman of today and destruction to the coming generation.

Therefore, let us call upon the competent physician, the I. W. U., have the cause removed (known better as constant submission to the bosses), and our condition will immediately improve, thus paving the way for the future generations, who shall be treated as men by men.

The I. W. U. is appealing to the working class to develop their latent powers, and above all, their capacity for clear thinking.

You are a working man! you have a brain, and if you do not use it in your own interests, you are guilty of high treason to your manhood.

I think that the only necessary proof to any clear-minded man that the I. W. U. is the real workingman's organization is the fact that presented itself at the Jeffrey Manufacturing Company at Columbus, Ohio, October 5, 1907, when ten I. W. U. men walked out.

Having demoted the abrogation of a few arbitrary rules adopted by the company, which were unjust and against the real interests of the employees, they decided with the prevailing sentiment throughout the plant to take a stand against such rules.

The company, receiving a tip through some source, tried to defeat the move, but ten determined men stood pat. Just as soon as the men left their machines they were declared discharged and given five minutes to leave the shop, and when leaving the shop in which they had been working they were met by some "hayseed" the company had deputized as police to take them in charge, thereby discouraging their mode of procedure of going through the different departments.

The noble "hayseed" then marched them to the pay window to receive what was due them in the company's estimation, but which was really less than one-fourth of what they had actually produced. After each man had received his mite

they were then marched by the noble "hayseed" to the gate and made free men.

They were treated by the company as some man-eating tribe that had sprung up all of a sudden in their midst and aroused them from the peaceful slumber they had been enjoying for some time.

The actions of that company on that occasion proved to the working class, and to the public, that the capitalist bosses are fighting, you have an organization that every workingman should support, if he expects better conditions.

On the other hand, if you have an organization that gives the bosses no fear whatever, allowing them to organize without hounding them in every move they make, such organizations are detrimental to the working class. The bosses know they can pit one man against another such organization, and at the opportune time defeat them in detail.

Why should we have such great respect for the capitalist class, and think they are so necessary and so friendly with them, as the American Federation of Labor advocates.

The answer is simple: The A. F. of L. is a capitalist organization, from beginning to end, and the labor lieutenants on up to the generals in the Civic Federation—a body composed of capitalists: then how can it be other than a capitalist organization when it is controlled by capitalists? This is why they want you to respect them and be submissive, and if you refuse they will resort to one of the most contemptible, disgraceful, methods in vogue—black-listing.

Do they respect you? No; if they did they would have better conditions. Are they so good and friendly with you, as to invite you to their banquets, and go to automobile riding with them? No; I should say not. Then how can there be harmony between the capitalist class and the working class, if there is no respect or friendship?

The capitalist gets the money, you get the work. The capitalist goes to the banquet, you go to market. The capitalist goes automobile riding, you go afoot.

Fellow-workmen, do you know throughout the more conservative portions of the boss, the more industrious you are, and the more you produce, the worse off you are, for the sooner you produce more than can be gotten rid of in the markets, the sooner will the plants shut down, and you will be shut out in the cold.

Does the workman of today realize the fact that in some respects he is not so well off as the chattel slave was? He does not try to run away from yours. He does not have to hire a policeman to keep an eye on you. When you run, it is in the opposite direction—when the whistle blows.

HERVE'S IMPRESSIONS OF THE STUTTGART CONGRESS

(From the Daily People)

Before an immense, cheering throng of working men and women of Paris Gustave Herve, editor-in-chief of the Guerre Sociale and recent delegate to the Stuttgart Congress, delivered an address on the work of the Congress. He said, in part, speaking of the debate on anti-militarism: "Comrades, if I were a diplomat, I would say to you, 'Oh, things were fine at Stuttgart! The Social Democracy is composed of men as thorough anti-militarists and anti-patriots as we.' But I am no diplomat, so I shall give you frankly my impressions.

"I did expect to find, upon arrival there, men powerfully organized men who were doing things, comrades, courteous and cordial. On this point my expectations were not deceived.

"I began to be a little uneasy on the Sunday the Congress was opened. My uneasiness was caused by the fact that at a great meeting in the open air I saw 40,000 German Social Democrats assembled, without being able to discover among them a single police officer. That I am not an anarchist, I must have had that these Social Democrats are very well dressed, they must be very energetic, for the prefect of police of Stuttgart to allow them to meet thus in the open air, so strong, without detailing an order to withdraw it without cause. But my uneasiness changed to stupefaction when I met the leaders of the German Social Democracy.

"I am not forgetting that they are a sister party. I shall speak of them with the respect demanded by Socialist fraternity. But nevertheless we must express ourselves freely and frankly about each other. I did not stop them from calling me an insolent fellow and a blackguard, but I must not allow me to give my own personal opinion of them.

"Here is the substance of the speech delivered by Von Vollmar, the head of the Socialist right wing. The ideas of Jaures and Vaillant, I must in the same bag with those of Herve. They are the same thing. I do not see how a Socialist party tolerates in its ranks a man like Herve. As to the proposition made at it by Jaures, we cannot even look at it; let him withdraw it without more ado."

"While Vollmar was speaking I heard about me murmurs of disapproval and sneers, even from the delegates who at Nancy had voted against the Yonne motion. I heard the remarks, 'What an old nuisance! What an old black head!' For myself, it seemed to me as if I were listening to the military chief of Somaliland delivering an address to his army and navy veterans. (Laughter and applause.)

"In Vollmar this attitude did not in the least astonish me. For a long time I have known that in France we would none of him in a radical party. (Laughter.)

"But before me with the prestige of a man who had been one of the working class from the first hour; who had served eighteen months' imprisonment for his energetic protest against the annexation of Alsace-Lor-

Robber and Arch-Hypocrite

T. T. Timayenis, a man of intellectual attainments, was employed for several years as a teacher in the family of John D. Rockefeller. At one time in their association the head of the oil octopus advised the teacher to invest his savings in oil stock. The teacher asked upon what advice he was compelled to be guided by his rich patron. All that he had and all he could get went into Rockefeller's hopper, until, in due course of time, he found himself without resources.

"I shall make a barrel of money for you if you will but follow my plans and suggestions."

When Timayenis' funds were all in Rockefeller's keeping and he could no longer provide himself with everyday necessities, he went to the oil king for help. In the following graphic manner Timayenis tells of an interview with his preying patron:

"Before taking our seats around the table Mr. Rockefeller unexpectedly—at least for me—precipitated himself upon me. He asked me to get up and my legs as far as he could, buried his face within both hands, leaped upon the sofa and offered a prayer, during which he thanked the Lord for the power which the omnipotent God gave him to overcome his enemies and to strengthen his power for his daily bread, etc., etc. Mr. Rockefeller wore no coat, and coatless he took his usual seat of the evening before.

"I tried my best to relieve the gloomy silence, but I was helpless, for I was answered in short monosyllables, from the fact that my pupils were taught to eat in silence.

Breakfast over, Mr. Rockefeller said: 'Mamma, I shall be home for supper only.' He addresses his wife by the word 'mamma,' and she, in return, calls him 'papa.'

With these words he arose, donned his coat, and left the house. About 4 in the afternoon Mr. Rockefeller returned, not in good spirits and apparently suffering more than was his custom from dyspepsia. He looked at me with indifference, and I, in return, eyed him with unconcern. I do not know how the conversation afterwards turned to matters of religion.

"After supper, a mere repetition of the one already described, the conversation gradually became more interesting, and we touched upon the low and humble origin of the principles of Christ. This brought about the subject of poverty, the various sorts and conditions of men; in fact, the elements that composed society.

Rockefeller yawned and yawned, and looked at me with eyes which lacked interest. I explained to my pupils how vulgarly was to be avoided and despised, or how regardless of how poor and low a man may be, he must never allow himself to be treated in a despising and polite treatment. I placed the vulgarity among the lowest of the low, I grew elo-

and books and library, and I appealed to him, as a friend, to advise me what to do. He sat silent, unmoved, imperturbable, as he listened to my outburst.

"I really can do nothing for you," he said. "I am sorry, but I lost millions, yes, millions, believe me, professor. I lost millions where you only lost thousands. I need all my resources to save myself. I have to have every day, yes, every day, millions to fight my enemies successfully—I need millions."

"Stop, man!" I cried out in despair. "Stop talking about your millions. There remains to me but one course to pursue. I shall tell everything."

"I quickly turned upon my heels to go, but Mr. Rockefeller halted me. 'Have you really lost everything?' he asked. 'I have no security to offer?'

"I told you, sir, how I lost everything. I told you that certain I contracted. I told you that I only hold the copyright to my 'Greece in the Times of Homer' in the Times of Homer," \$3,500, not much, but I shall gladly assign it to you on the ground that the motion was introduced before the former motion was acted upon and that it was unconstitutional and that as the Knott amendment was that they should proceed and take applications and organize objects to be by Lee as an amendment, it was contrary to the motion; the first motion was voted down in order to get the other through. Knott put his motion before the house; objected to Lee on the ground that the motion was introduced before the former motion was acted upon and that it was unconstitutional and that as the Knott amendment was that they should proceed and take applications and organize objects to be by Lee as an amendment, it was contrary to the motion; the first motion was voted down in order to get the other through. 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