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CHICAGO, MARCH 21, 1908

THE INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE AND THE WORKING CLASS TASK

It is assumed that you believe with us that within the present order of society there is being developed the form and embryo of the society that is to be—the present contains the germs of the future and the institutions that men are to establish in time to come will be fashioned very much out of the experiences men have with institutions now existing.

The assumption is based on universal experience, upon the facts of every day life. What men accomplish is the result of economic necessity, but also of preparation, of application, of industry. The mechanical device that revolutionizes production comes rarely by chance or accident; it is nearly always the outcome of the accumulated knowledge of previous appliances; necessity suggests what experience and skill work out to meet requirements.

To the perfection of the steam engine as we know it, the crude ideas and experiments of the earlier inventors were all necessary and indispensable. They were an essential part of the process whereby the perfection of a Corliss engine has been attained.

A day passed in a museum inevitably links the present with the past, not alone in mechanics, but in every line of human endeavor. The evidence is universal and on every hand that the present is the progeny of the past. There is nothing that is solely of today; all is bound up with yesterday. We ourselves are children of ancestors who, in their different ways and under other conditions struggled with the same problems that vex us. As they built for their future, so we build for ours.

But there is no future for us unless we are building for it now. We of the working class will attain our ideals tomorrow only in the degree that we lay our foundations broad and deep today.

It is not upon the benevolence of the possessing class, nor upon sentiments of brotherhood and love that the producers of the world must depend for deliverance from the injustice and brutality of the capitalist mode of production. To achieve freedom, the one necessary condition is the organization powerful enough to take hold of and operate the means whereby they live, and to control the institutions now used by the possessing class to justify and defend property.

The guarantee of class-consciousness at the ballot box is the existence of class-consciousness in the mine, mill, factory and transportation service. If there is no unity and no recognition of class interests where the workers are employed, capitalist politicians can readily succeed in dividing them at the polls. Separated by craft unionism where they work, they are logically the prey of designing politicians where they vote.

Industrial Unionism aims to unite the workers in the industrial field, to enlighten them regarding their interests in the realm of production; that accomplished, intelligent action will characterize their movements elsewhere, and they will not be coerced by fear or diverted from their mission by sentimentality and compromise.

The dynamite most needed in the labor movement of America is composed of ideas. The strongest weapon labor has in its armory is the clear brain, the mind saturated with revolutionary principles, that knows no compromise, that conceives the revolution as a complete transformation from private to social ownership of all the essential means of life.

With that conception, clear and definitely fixed in the working-class mind, the revolution is seen to be dependent for its complete accomplishment, in the interest of the working class, upon the industrial organization of the working class. The revolution means, for us, education, organization, discipline—in a word, preparation.

The Industrial Workers of the World, based upon a recognition of the class struggle, declaring the workers' right to the undivided enjoyment of the wealth they produce, affirming that there is no identity of interest between the producing and capitalist classes, is organizing the workers under capitalism to be prepared to destroy capitalism.

Under conditions against which we revolt, we are building the form of a future industrial order. Within the shell of existing society we develop the organism of the society that is to be—the form and body of the Industrial Commonwealth.

That form and body can be developed only by the workers themselves. Their development and final liberation into the enjoyment of the full life of free men can not be accomplished without the instrumentality of an industrial organization, capable of taking hold of and continuing in systematic operation the means of employment and utilizing the natural sources of wealth, which are the means of life for all.

Into this industrial structure all class-conscious workers enter. It is their only logical place. It is the embryonic structure through which their ideals can alone be attained.

take hold of the good work. How is it with your local? Are you doing your part? The individual worker being at an immense disadvantage in the struggle for existence, because of private ownership of the job and the material adjuncts of the job, is compelled to social action for protection; he is compelled to associate with those of his class for immediate relief and ultimate freedom. It is not any act of his fellow workers that enforces association, but the material conditions under which he lives.

"Berlin," the S. D. Herald tells us, "is in the hands of the Social Democrats." We are glad to hear this, as we had understood that Berlin was in the hands of the Kaiser and his troops, quite recent events having confirmed this understanding. We are always willing to learn.

The appointments for Vincent St. John in Illinois extend to April 10, the complete list appearing elsewhere in this paper. Any labor organization desiring his services for one or more lectures after that date should communicate with Wm. E. Trautmann, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago.

"The Present Panic, Its Cause and Remedy" will be explained by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, under the auspices of "The Helix Club," Tuesday evening at 8 p. m., at Odd Fellows' Temple, William, near Jefferson streets, Buffalo, N. Y. Admission free.

Voluntary Contributions

Table listing names and amounts of voluntary contributions to the industrial fund. Includes names like A. Freer, Columbus, O., and amounts ranging from \$0.10 to \$100.00.

Total to date... \$1,508.90

The Labor Situation in Greater New York

At the start of the present panic there was a considerable hoard raised, due to the fact that several thousand of workers were thrown out of employment suddenly. The papers, wisely appreciating the real situation and realizing the effect that the truth of the matter would have upon the people generally, have from time to time, held out to their readers encouraging accounts of the resumption of trade to its normal point.

The months have passed and the advertised resumption of trade has failed to materialize. The various occupations and trades that were accustomed to start up after the Christmas holidays there has been a huge falling off over that of previous years, and we are confronted by a situation that demands serious consideration. The number of unemployed is alarmingly great, and were it not for the fact that this has been a rather mild winter the distress would have been something awful to contemplate.

It can be stated on fairly good authority that here in Greater New York there is about a half-million of workers unemployed. The following list will give a fair estimate of how they are distributed among the organized workers, exclusive of the I. W. W.:

Table listing manufacturers' associations and their membership numbers. Includes entries like 'Manufacturers' associations, and oppose loosely divided labor with compact industrial organizations.'

Table listing St. John's Illinois Trip and various branch locations with membership counts. Includes entries like 'Vincent St. John, general organizer and assistant secretary of the I. W. W., started on his trip through Illinois last Tuesday, March 17, on which date he spoke at Springfield Valley.'

The God of Gold

I am the demon Capital, O I am the god of gold; Mine are the bodies and virtues of men And the scepters of earth I hold. O-mine is a creed universal, And I fire with Galilee for gain. That drives to the burning deserts, To the bleak and Arctic plain, That of Liberty's shrines makes slave pens, And the earth one purple plain.

O I am the demon Capital, And I fire with a lust for gain More fell than the thirsts carnivorous, Than the madman's rage insane. Lo! these cut-throat garments, That a nation's cloth may be sold, While the pale wan forms of the weavers Tread shivering on thru the cold.

Behold! these pages of crimson: That your famishing slave may be fed Ye must conquer an unknown nation, And force it to buy your bread. Your petty ye house in their marble stalls By mangers of perfumed hay, While strong men fight on the pavement For the toil that must turn them gray.

Ye rear rich piles to the God who made all, Who exacts neither shelter nor meat; While mangers must vend their virtue That shivering babes may eat. For mine is the creed of gain that flaunts, 'Neath the robes of sanctity, The rule of gold over the Golden Rule Of the man of Galilee; For I am the demon Capital, And I fire with the lusts more fell, Than the thirst of beasts carnivorous, That the madman's rage excel.

O mine is a vaster holocaust Than ever knew god of yore, Nor my kin the fiends of battle Number their victims more. Not mine is the smoke of incense, Nor the rattling martial strain, But mine's mid the frenzied rush of the mart, Where the factories roar, and the mad wheels start, And rear them in every clime, Where the lamps, the folds of the blackness part In the damp Tartarean vein.

Yes, these are my loaded altars, And I rear them in every clime, And heathen, and Jew, and Christian Are worshippers at my shrine. For I am the demon Capital, And the fates of the billions I mould; For mine is the blood of the workers, And I coin it into gold: By the spell of a mightier alchemy, Than ever knew sages gray, Mine is the brawn and the learning of men To "barter, sell, and convey."

I am the god of gold, I am the lord of gain, The scepters of fate I hold, And I reason adjudge insane. Mine is a creed universal, The mitres of earth are mine, And heathen, and Jew, and Christian Are worshippers at my shrine. Mine, of men, are the blood and the brain, Mine to be bought and sold.

Mexican Defense Fund: The Los Angeles committee in charge of the defense fund for the imprisoned Mexican workmen send the following report of receipts: \$284.32

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

How Social Institutions Came Into Existence Through Changing Methods of Production

FROM THE PAST TO THE FUTURE

BY WORD H. MILLS

CHAPTER XX. An industrial constitution is the fundamental form of government. Whether the social revolution which inaugurates it shall be precipitated by a panic and industrial crisis, or whether it shall be the natural result of organic growth, the nature of the subsequent regime must of necessity conform to the mode of production which gives it form.

than the capture of the political power for the purpose of perpetuating it, the triumph of a socialist political party would be the signal for a social catastrophe. The day of the party's victory would be the day of its defeat.

If the revolution is precipitated by a prolonged industrial depression, the working class will, through their industrially organized unions, take possession of the means of production and distribute them so as to effect an industrial regime. If social forces are left to develop the disintegration of the capitalist structure, the state will abolish itself through the capture of its powers by the politically organized working class.

At this time, however, none the less is political organization of the labor movement necessary. The methods of the socialist movement in its evolution towards Industrial Society are dictated by the capitalist usages that form the navel-strings of a child a-borning.

Logically the adoption of any other course would mean defeat for the working class and a new lease of dominance to the present ruling class. The hopes and ideals of the proletariat can be realized only through the collectivity owning and democratically administering the institutions of the new social order.

In the first contingency the industrial form of working class organization supplies the might back of the political movement to enforce the Right of labor's political legislation is purely destructive, destructive of the political machinery that constitutes the political organization. On the contrary, the function of industrial organization is essentially constructive, constructive in that it shapes the mold of the coming order.

The unit of political representation is essentially geographic, modified by a fact that each geographically defined locality is also more or less directly the representative of some specific capitalist corporation interest or interests, as well as of the economic interests of the capitalist class in general.

In the face of these facts the importance of educating the working class in the essentials of the philosophy and constructive tactics of the revolutionary movement becomes apparent. This is not the work of a day or of a year. So long have the toiling masses been misled and divided against themselves, so established are the prejudices that exist among them, so insidious is the influence of capitalist propaganda, that the hope of its achievement seems nearly impossible.

We have observed, however, that in the transition from gentle to capitalist society, from the gentle to the development is by stages, from one to another, each succeeding stage connecting with the one preceding. The embryonic structure of the new form comes to exist side by side with the old, within the shell of the older order.

The workers are not yet united upon the political field, being divided into factions quarreling over tactical differences; but the constantly increasing economic pressure has begun to bring them together upon the basis of the class struggle.

At the present time there is a political movement of the working class, including in its membership others than wage slaves. This movement expresses itself in particular in organizations formed of socialist principles and for the capture of the political machinery of the state. But comparatively few of those affiliated with the popular socialist political parties understand that the mission of the political branch of the working class organization is the destruction of that machinery, the destruction of and razing with "the ground of the political state."

Under the still increasing pressure of economic necessity the development of this system to a radical socialist attitude will materialize with the workers' conviction of the need for a purely industrial form of organization. The working class will have to dash their skulls against the ramparts of the capitalist citadel again and again until they get sense enough to unite with that other and more intelligently organized force, the Social Revolution. The wisdom of the future, as of the past, will have to be born of experience, and experience is costly.

ing the ground and building the outlines of the structure upon the plan upon which the coming social order will be administered. And while this movement—the Industrially Organized Union Movement—is a radical departure, a long step in advance of the craft-union idea, it is at the same time a development from it. Eventually, as suggested before, the economic organizations of the working class will coalesce and unite with the purely industrial organization, in manner similar to the unity of the political movement, and when this perfect unity is realized with a definite revolutionary purpose in view, the Social Revolution will be at hand. It is not, primarily, the purpose, nor the province, of this work to enter into an exhaustive analysis of the different forms of labor economic organization. There is a literature devoted especially to these matters that is comprehensive and replete with data pertaining to the subject. And this literature is easily obtainable and inexpensive.

The purpose of this work relates to a materialist viewpoint. Its purpose will not be complete, however, without in a general way considering the distinctive differences between the craft and industrial forms of economic organization. This, however, will be reserved for a succeeding chapter. (Continued next week.)

Financial Statement FOR FEBRUARY

This following is a Statement of Receipts and Expenditures of the General Headquarters for the month of February, 1908. Any errors found herein should be reported to this office.

Table with 2 columns: Description and Amount. Includes entries for J. F. Duggan, Telluride Industrial Union, F. Heffley, etc.

Table with 2 columns: Description and Amount. Includes entries for W. E. Trautmann, Jersey City Industrial Union, A. McClean, etc.

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Table with 2 columns: Description and Amount. Includes entries for Detroit Industrial Union, St. Louis Industrial Union, No. 84, etc.

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I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS. Leaflets in English, per 1,000—Address to Wage Workers, \$1.50. The Textile Industry, \$1.50. Food Staff Industry, \$1.50. Metal and Machinery Industry, \$1.50. Story of a New Labor Union, \$1.50.

Financial Statement for February

Table with 2 columns: Description of financial items and their corresponding amounts. Includes items like 'Boesche \$1.50, loan certificates', 'J. J. Eitor, dues \$1, assessment', etc.

Table with 2 columns: Description of financial items and their corresponding amounts. Includes items like 'H. A. Brandborg, subscription', 'C. Sandberg, subscription', etc.

Table with 2 columns: Description of financial items and their corresponding amounts. Includes items like 'F. P. Janke, subscription', 'F. Kennedy, subscription', etc.

Table with 2 columns: Description of financial items and their corresponding amounts. Includes items like 'workers will be thrown out of employment', 'If the workers wish to test the efficiency of their organizations', etc.

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.

Price List of Supplies:

Table listing various supplies and their prices, such as 'Constitutions, in English, per 100', 'Local Letterheads, per 100', etc.

Advertisement for 'Industrial Union HANDBOOK' by Wm. E. Trautmann, Chicago. Includes a small logo and text describing the handbook's content.

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.

Order for Subscription Cards

Form for ordering subscription cards, including fields for Name, Street No., Postoffice, State, and Member of Local.

Stuttart Congress on I. W. W. Ground

Extracts from Resolutions adopted by the Congress on the Relation of the Industrial Workers of the World to the Political Party.

Advertisement for 'Industrial Workers of the World' by Wm. E. Trautmann, Chicago. Includes a small logo and text about the organization's goals and membership.

Advertisement for 'Industrial Workers of the World' by Wm. E. Trautmann, Chicago. Includes a small logo and text about the organization's goals and membership.

Advertisement for 'VIITORUL SOCIAL' (The Socialist) by Wm. E. Trautmann, Chicago. Includes a small logo and text about the publication.