

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.

THE FUTURE OF LABOR

Address Delivered by James Connolly in McMahon's Hall, New York City, April 13, 1908

Fellow Workers: In choosing for you my subject tonight such a title as "The Future of Labor," I am aware that I run the risk of arousing expectations that I am not able to satisfy. The Future of Labor is a subject which is bound up with the future of civilization, and therefore a comprehensive treatment of the subject might be interpreted as demanding an analysis of all the forces and factors which shall influence humanity in the future, and also their resultant effect.

Needless to say my theme tonight is a less ambitious one. I propose simply to deal with the problem of labor in the immediate future, with the marshalling of the forces of labor for the great conflict that confronts us, and with a consideration of the steps to be taken in order that the work of aiding the transition from Industrial Slavery to Industrial Freedom might be as far as possible free from all encumbering and needless obstacles and expense of time, energy and money.

But first, and as an aid to a proper understanding of my position, let me place briefly before you my reading of the history of the past struggle of the kind against social subjugation, my reading of the mental development undergone by each revolting class in the different stages of their struggle, from the first period of bondage to the first dawn of their freedom. As I view it, such struggle, had three well-marked mental stages, corresponding to the inception, development and decay of the attempt to apply the theory to the position of labor as a subject class today. I hope you will honor me by at least giving your earnest attention to this conception, and aid by your discussion in determining the stages of these periods, the working class, the subject class of today, have arrived. My reading then is briefly this: That in the first period of bondage the eyes of a class are directed towards the goal, and its efforts in revolt are directed to the end of destroying the social system in order that it might march backward and re-establish the social order of a century times—of the old days. That the goodness of those days was largely hypothetical seldom enters the imagination of men on whose limbs the fetters of oppression still sit awkwardly. In the second period, the subject class tends to believe that the social order in which it finds itself always did exist, and to bend all its energies to such ameliorations of its lot within existing society as shall make that lot more bearable. At this stage of society the subject class, as far as its own aspirations are concerned, may be reckoned as a conservative. In the third period the subject class becomes revolutionary, reckons little of the past for inspiration, but building itself upon the achievements of the present, confidently addresses itself to the conquest of the future. It does so because the development of the framework of society has revealed to it its relative importance, revealed to it the fact that within its grasp has grown, unbidden, and to itself, a power which, if intelligently applied, is sufficient to overcome and master society at large.

As a classic illustration of this conception of the history of the mental development of the revolt against social oppression we might glance at the many peasant revolts recorded in European history. As we are now aware common ownership of land was once the basis of society for the world, our fathers not only owned their land in common, but in many ways practiced a common ownership of the things produced. In short, tribal communism was at one time the universally existent social order. In such a state of society there existed a degree of freedom that no succeeding order has been able to parallel, and that none will be able to until the individualistic order of today gives way to the Industrial Commonwealth—the Workers' Republic—of the future.

How that ancient order broke up it is no part of my task tonight to tell, what I do wish to draw your attention to is that for hundreds, for a thousand years after the break up of that tribal communism and the reduction to serfdom of the descendants of the former serf-owning tribesmen, all the efforts of the revolting serfs were directed to a destruction of the new order of things and to a rehabilitation of the old. Take as examples the Jacquerie of France, or the Revolt of Watt Tyler or of John Ball in England, as being the best known; examine their rule literature in such fragments as have been preserved, study their speeches as they have been recorded even by their enemies, read the translations of their songs, and in all of them you will find a passionate harking back to the past, a morbid idealizing of the status of their fathers, and a continued exhortation to the suffering people to destroy the present in order that they might re-constitute the old.

That second period of which I have spoken, Did it develop? Well, in every account we read of the conflicts between the nobility and the burghers in their guilds and cities we find that the aggressive part was always taken by the former, and that whenever a revolt took place the revolting guild merchants and artisans justified their action by an appeal to past privileges which had been abrogated, and the restoration of which formed the basis of their claims, and their only desire if successful in revolt. One of the most curious illustrations of their mental condition is to be found in the "History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic," by Motley, in which that painstaking historian tells how the Netherlands in their revolt against the Spanish Emperor, continued for a generation to base their claims upon the political status of the provinces under the former Emperor, made was upon the Empire with troops levied in the name of the Emperor, and led by officers whose commissions were made out by the rebel provinces in the name of the sovereign they were fighting against. This mental condition lasted in England until the great civil war, which ended by leaving King Charles I without a head, and the bourgeoisie incarnated in Cromwell first fixed in the soil in France it lasted until the Revolution. In both countries it was not abandoned because of any a priori reasoning upon its absurdity, nor because some great thinker had pointed out a better scheme. No; it was only abandoned because the growth of the industrial system had made the capitalist class realize that their hold control of the economic heart of the nation, and that they could at any moment stop the flow of its life-blood, so to speak, and from so realizing it was but a short mental evolution to frame a theory of political action which proclaimed that the capitalist class, as the enemy of the proletariat, were the enemies of the proletariat at large. The last period of that social evolution had been reached, the last mental stage of the transition from feudal ownership to capitalist property.

Now, let me apply this reading of history to the development of the working class under capitalism, and find out what lesson it teaches of value to us at present. Passing by the growth of the working class under nascent capitalism, as it belongs more to the period I have just dealt with than to the present subject, and taking up working class history from the time of the introduction of machinery to supplant hand labor—a perfectly correct standpoint for all practical purposes—we find in the then attitude of the working class an exemplification of the historical fidelity of our conception. Suffering under the miseries attendant upon machine labor, the displacement of those supplanted and the scandalous overworking of those retained in the workshop, they rebelled in a mad effort to abolish machinery and restore the era of hand labor. In a word, they strove to revert to past conditions, and their most popular and their most successful leader, a picture in the most glowing terms of the conditions prevalent in the days of their fathers.

They were thus on the same mental plane as those medieval peasants who in their revolts were fired by the hope of restoring the primitive commune. And just as in the previously cited case the inevitable failure of this attempt to re-construct the past was followed in another generation by movements which accepted the social order of their day as permanent and looked upon their social status as wage slaves as final and immutable in the eternal order of things. To this category belongs the trade union movement during all its history. As the struggles of serfs and burghers in the Middle Ages were directed to no higher end than the establishing of better relations between those struggling classes and their feudal overlords, as during those ages the division of society into ruling classes of kings, lords and clergy, resting upon a basis of the serfdom of the producers, was accepted by all in the name of the continuity of civil war between the various classes, so in capitalist society the trade unionists, despite strikes, lockouts and blacklists, accepted the employing class as part and parcel of a system which was to last through all eternity.

The rise of the Industrial Workers of the World is the first sign that that second stage of the mental evolution of our class is rapidly passing away. And the fact that this body had its inception amongst men actually engaged in the work of trade union organization, and found its inspiration in a recognition of the necessities and the struggles of the workers, and not in the theories of any political party, this fact is the most cheering sign of the legitimacy of its birth, and the most hopeful augury of its future. For we must not forget that it is not the theorists who make history; it is history in its evolution that makes the theorists. And the roots of history are to be found in the workshops, fields and factories. It has been remarked that Belgium was the cockpit of Europe because within its boundaries had been

fought out many, many of the battles between the old dynasties; in like manner we can say that the workshop is the cockpit of civilization because in the workshop has been and will be fought out those battles between the new and the old methods of production, the issues of which change the face and the history of the world.

I have said that the capitalist class has realized that it held control of the economic heart of the nation. I may add that when the working class is in the same position it also will become as a class revolutionary, it will give effective political expression to its economic strength. The capitalist class grew into a political party, when it looked around and found itself in control of the things needed for the life of individuals and the state, when it saw that the ships carrying the commerce of the nation were its own, when it saw that the internal traffic of the burgher was in the hands of its agents, when it saw that the feeding clothing sheltering of the sining class depended upon the activities of the subject class, when it saw itself applied to furnish finances to equip the armies and fleets of the kings and nobles; in short, when it saw that it controlled all that the arteries of commerce, all the agencies of production, all the mainstays of life, in fact, passed through their hands as blood flows through the veins of the state, then, and only then, did it raise the banner of political revolt and from a class battling for revolt and from a class leading its forces to the mastery of society at large.

This leads me to the last axiom I wish you to grasp the significance of. It is this: That the fight for the conquest of the political state is not the battle; it is only the echo of the battle. The real battle is the battle being fought out every day for the control of industry, and the gauge of the progress of that battle is not to be found in the number of voters making a cross beneath the symbol of a political party, but in the number of men who actually enroll themselves in an industrial organization with the definite purpose of making themselves masters of the industrial equipment of society in general. As the battle will have its political echo, that industrial organization will have its political expression. If we accept the definition of working class political action as that which brings the workers' class into direct contact with the possessing class as a class, and keeps them there, then we must realize that nothing can do that so readily as action at the ballot box. Such action strips absolutely the workers' class of all traces of such sectionalism as may, and indeed must, cling to strikes or lockouts, and emphasizes the class character of the labor movement. It is therefore absolutely imperative that the efficient training of the working class along direct lines that action at the ballot box should supplement action in the workshop.

I look forward to the day when the I. W. W. in every district will have a Political Committee just as it has today an Organization Committee. And just as today the Organization Committee has to report to the Industrial District Council a report of all work done for the approval or criticism of the delegates from the Industrial Unions, so the Political Committee will then have to report to the District Council to ask for and to execute the mandates of the I. W. W. members. When the time comes to place an I. W. W. ticket in the field the membership will instruct their delegates accordingly, the delegates in the District Council will instruct its Political Committee to make all needful arrangements, and when that body has done so it will report back to the District Council, and from there the delegates will report to the membership. Acting in such a manner the action of the I. W. W. at the ballot box will be action coming straight from a working class economic organization, and strained, so to speak, from the loins of the class struggle. It will not be a "reflex," nor yet a "shadow," nor be covered by any of those phrases coined by vote-jugglers who, in fooling others, become themselves slaves of their own phrasemongering. No; political action at the ballot box on the lines I have sketched will be the direct expression of the will of the rank and file of the economic organization. There will be nothing shadowy about it, as its enemies will learn to their cost.

To compare the political action of such a body with that of any socialist party we know. The political parties of socialism are composed of men and women who meet together to formulate a policy and program to vote upon, they do not know, and do not wish to get, getting people, most of whom they do not know, to vote for them, and when that vote is at last cast it is cast by men whom they have not organized, do not know, and do not wish to get to use in their own defense. Such a body can make propaganda, and good propaganda, for Socialist principle, but can never function as the weapon of an industrially organized working class. To such a party will always be an outside body, a body not under its direct control, but the political weapon of the industrially organized working class will be wielded by its own hand.

I believe that it will be incumbent upon the I. W. W. to meet the capitalist class upon every field where they can operate to our disadvantage; there is no favor direct attack upon their control of governmental powers through the ballot box, but I wish to see those attacks coming directly from the economic organization, which to see political action by the I. W. W. not by any "shadows" or "reflexes." In short, I believe that there is no function performed by a separate political party that the economic organization cannot perform better, and which is not a safety to working class interests. The argument that an economic organization cannot function politically because its structural basis is industrial, where-

(Concluded on page 2)

A Letter of Resignation

Well-Known S. L. P. Man Tells Why He Leaves It

The letter of resignation from the Socialist Labor Party printed below was written by Justin Ebert, of Brooklyn, N. Y. Ebert is well known in trades union and Socialist circles. He was formerly secretary of the New York society, and a member of the International Lithographic Artists, Engravers and Designers' Association of the United States and Canada, and was unanimously nominated president of the last-named body at its Detroit convention, held and controlled by ill-health to decline the office. Ebert was also active in the Progressive Lithographers' Alliance, an industrial organization connected with the "Socialist" trade unionism, which he was serving as its secretary for many terms. Naturally, he joined the I. W. W. upon its organization, and has always been one of its staunch defenders and advocates.

While connected with the lithographic unions Ebert became a contributor to the columns of the Weekly People. His articles on the litho industry, written over the non-de-plumery of "Brooklynian," "Sennfelder, Jr.," "Litho Artist," etc., achieved quite a vogue in lithography, one of them, "Artists Proletariats," causing a running discussion between the National Lithographer, a capitalist trade journal, which printed it almost in full with comments, and "Brooklynian," who answered through the Weekly People. This discussion was of immense educational value, as the defense of capitalism and its handmaid, "Compt's" trade unionism, was exposed, to the lasting advantage of Socialism.

In 1900 Ebert joined the editorial staff of the Daily and Weekly People, becoming, in 1902, its associate editor of both organs. The value of his services in that capacity may best be judged by the fact that Ebert held the office of associate editor for a period of five years, resigning in July, 1907. During this time Ebert served as acting editor at frequent intervals, filling that position for one year in all. To Ebert's editorial initiative and care the People owes the long series of trade articles which enriched its columns about four years ago. The "Brief Socialist Essays" by James Donnelly, were also

from his pen. Besides a number of leaflets on "Arbitration" and kindred subjects, Ebert has also written three pamphlets entitled, respectively, "The Trades Unionism in the United States," and "American Industrial Evolution." He joined the S. L. P. in November, 1887. His letter of resignation will prove of general interest and is published on that account.

"276 Greene Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y., April 10, 1908.

"To the Members of Section Kings County, Socialist Labor Party.

"Dear Comrades: I herewith tender my resignation as a member of the Socialist Labor Party. My reasons for doing so are as follows: I have worked too much to set forth as fully as they require. Briefly stated, they revolve around one single point, to-wit: the belief that the Socialist Labor Party has historically and logically outlined its usefulness, and is now, in consequence, a party in name only, without a sound, fundamental mission to perform. The truth of this belief should be evident to you as it is to me, as it is reflected in the complete loss of political power and status, and in the destructive economic policy with which the Socialist Labor Party is at present afflicted. The S. L. P. can in no wise hope to retrieve the first or escape the second with profit to either itself or the class for which it stands. History is adverse to the former; the determination to ignore the logic of events prevents the latter.

"Permit me to make the truth of my belief plain to those of you who either do not see it, or prefer to differ with it. The majority of the present members of the Socialist Labor Party can easily recall the time when it was a flourishing party, marching 'on to 100,000 Votes,' and holding the balance of power in New York State. How virile, how intelligent, how earnest, how confident of capturing the powers of state we then were! Contrast the present with the past! From our former proud eminence we have been compelled to retreat, and now we are on a band of arful petitioners for official status, who fain would forget the triumphant past in the sophistical arguments against the ballot of the decrepit present. Where formerly there was verve and enthusiasm at the prospect of new strike an attitude of political indifference and educational determination

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NEWS FROM SEATTLE

In Seattle there is a large crowd of men looking for work but, of course, there is very little of that luxury to be had just now. There is but a few of the logging camps running and some of those are only running one side. The large camps which all belong to the Pacific Coast Lumbermen's Association are closed down. This association is having a freight war with the transcontinental railroads. A few shingle mills have started up, but not enough to effect the labor market at this time. Since the panic started in October last, there has been a slight resumption of work. But this last month it has dropped off again. This may be explained by the fact that some of the old work has been finished and very little new has started up. Also the number of men looking for work has greatly increased; for two reasons, one is that there are many men traveling north from California, and the other is that when the shut down started there were quite a few who had saved a little of their earnings during the two years of their 'Full Dinner Pail (?)'. But by this time they have eaten it up and are now on the labor market the same as the rest.

We have in this city something like forty employment offices, of which twelve are exclusively Japanese, who contract for all kinds of Japanese labor, and they have three Japanese papers published here.

There is one employment office run by the city that is free, but this place is crowded from morning till night. Men and women come and stand outside the doors as early as 5:30 a. m. It is a conservative estimate to say that you can hire fifty men at any time, but it is not any more than you like to offer. At times there are as many as a hundred and fifty waiting around. The other employment offices hire and ship all kinds of help around the country. They are engaged in saw-mills and railroads, and in fact in all sorts of work, for which they charge anywhere from \$1.50 to \$10.00 for a job since work became scarce.

This is not all; there is a continual stream of men traveling up and down the railroads, packing their blankets, who were broke and could not buy a job, but were driven out of the towns in the winter, saw-mill, and on the Fairbanks, Alaska, have been, "with the able assistance of these same employment offices," sending men to that country to scab on the miners who have been out of work since the strike. Such tactics have been used to fill the "breadwell" death trap with scabs, until the union men have been forced to go on strike there also.

The I. W. W. locals here are progressing slowly; it seems that the workingmen have not yet been trimmed by the capitalist class quite enough to open their eyes to the necessity of industrial organization. We are handicapped by not having our headquarters in any part of town where the workingmen hang out. But we hope to overcome this before long by procuring a hall back near where our old headquarters were. Local No. 178 decided at their last regular meeting that it would be a good thing for the different locals to send regular bulletins of local news to headquarters, to be printed in THE BULLETIN. "Seis" will enable us to keep in touch with the I. W. W. movement all over the country, and make THE BULLETIN more of a newspaper; thereby doing better propaganda with it among the idle men. We are sending a committee by electing a committee to draw up news to be sent to the editor of THE BULLETIN through the District Council Secretary.

On Jan. 20th last, a parade and demonstration of the unemployed took place in Seattle, under the auspices of the I. W. W. and the A. F. L. locals to the number of twenty-four, who sent delegates to arrange for same. The committee waited on Mayor Moore and presented their demands, which were also largely ignored by that servile dignitary. However, the city fathers in their kindness of heart and overflowing with philanthropic feeling, "so common among their class," appropriated \$3,000 to build roads and establish camps, outside the city limits, to relieve the city of idle men. They presumed it to be a menace, not only to society and private property, but also a danger to certain political interests, i. e., "The City Party," as some of these idle slaves might still retain their inalienable right to vote. So by running them outside the city, they would be disfranchised for the municipal election.

Now a word about this county road camp; the men were to receive board and lodging and 25 cents per day. I met the camp at the rate of \$2.50. When he got paid off last week, he received for his wages the following: One pair of shoes, one pair of overalls; for the day that he was supposed to get \$2.50 he got \$2.50; for the other day he got 50 cents was charged to him for a pound of the weed, which he did not use, so he peddled this for 40 cents, being all he could get for it, besides taking the outfit being pinned with him, being sold out a license. They were not provided with blankets and had to sleep on straw. If a man worked from Thursday to Saturday inclusive and stayed in camp

on Sunday and quit on Monday morning to hunt a more munificent master, he was told he had nothing coming, as he had to work three days for his Sunday's board; the same applied to wet days and when men stayed in through lack of sufficient clothing to withstand the climatic conditions, even after working there a month, they were told when they quit that they were in debt to the city, to the extent of several dollars.

The I. W. W. locals here sent out a call to the S. L. P., the S. P. and any other organizations that lay claim to be revolutionary bodies, to send delegates to a conference to devise ways and means to celebrate the International Labor Day, the last of May. They all sent delegates, except the so-called "Titus faction" of the Socialist Party. The conference decided to hire a hall; and each organization to provide speakers, and if possible have some sort of entertainment.

The Loggers' Local No. 432 of the Lumber Workers are doing good work. They have four delegates out in the logging camps getting the loggers lined up, and are now going to send out six more.

INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE.

Tramping in Nevada

William E. Trautmann.

"Dear Comrade and Fellow-Worker: I left Reno a day or so ago, where I stopped a few days. While in that city an incident occurred which I desire to be the property of the labor work; as to be published in THE BULLETIN and other papers, if you consider the matter worth while.

In the metropolis of Nevada, as well as all other States, the unemployed down-and-out element looms up. I was attracted by several large posters throughout the city calling for a meeting of the unemployed, as well as the notice in one of the city papers. At the appointed time I, with three idle miners, walked over to the depot where said meeting was to be held to watch results. As soon as I arrived there I was approached by the chief of police, he at once asking me if we were attracted by said notices. I did not answer for a moment, having in mind a proper response whether it was any of his business whom he should not concern. Finally I replied, "Yes, I came here to see what's doing." He said there would be nothing doing and that a railroad depot was not a public place for meetings of such a nature. So I said to him, "Is that all you have to report?" and he left and walked away with his lieutenant a few steps and we stayed in our little group with the exception of two idle ones, who were afraid to be put on the chain gang, they did not obey orders of the chief to move on. But those two rejoined upon the same spot and stood there for awhile to see whether or not they were to be put on the chain gang, as the Reno association of builders are firm for an open-shop town. The whole State is affected by industrial depression. The Rawhide balloon rose and gas escaped and fragments are scattered throughout the rotten berg, Nevada. I will go to Seven Troughs and other camps and as usual keep moving to save financial expenses, as I realize the conditions, and one is just as well off in one State as in another. I hope to stay long enough in one locality to again be a subscriber of THE BULLETIN. I feel lost without it. Yours for Industrial Freedom.

Andrew M. Joseph.

Propaganda in Philadelphia

A representative of the Industrial Workers of the World, Thomas Powers, secretary of the Textile Workers Union of Olneyville, Providence, R. I., addressed the Cloth Weavers' Union of Philadelphia, Pa., on Friday, April 3rd. He explained that the I. W. W. stands for the organization of the working class in order that the workers may control and regulate production and distribution of the necessities of life. Powers read the I. W. W. Preamble and proved its correctness by illustrations from present conditions among the working class. He clearly showed that the form of organization of the I. W. W. offers a way out of a system where a few have millions without doing anything useful, while the masses of workers who do all the useful work have nothing. The speaker made it very plain that the I. W. W. stands for no compromise with the present system, and said that through the education by organization the producers of wealth can establish themselves as the dominant class in society. The question of affiliation with the I. W. W. was seriously considered by the Cloth Weavers' Union of Philadelphia, Pa.

Lord Rosebery of England says that Socialism will be the cause of religious faith, freedom and prosperity. His lordship may be interested to know that in the United States there are Socialists of many religious faiths who differ with him, but they are even have "Socialist churches," also that there are Socialists running for office who have no idea of "interfering with business" if they are elected.

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AS TO POLITICAL PARTIES

"The I. W. W. is the Economic Organization of the Working Class; it has no Political Affiliation and is Controlled by no Political Party."

For nearly four months the lines above quoted have been carried at the head of this paper. They express with an exactness that none can misunderstand the true attitude of the I. W. W. towards all existing political parties, without exception.

The I. W. W. is the ECONOMIC organization of the working class. In spite of this fact, transparent to all whose habit of mind is not to misconstrue and confuse, there are those who persist in ignoring it by using their connection with the organization to support a political propaganda in behalf of the Socialist Labor party.

It is now coming to be quite generally recognized that the organization of paramount and immediate importance to the working class is not the political, but the economic. Even the "Appeal to Reason" in a front page article last week said: "There CAN NEVER BE any true SOLIDARITY AND EFFECTIVE ACTION UNTIL THE WORKERS GET TOGETHER ON THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD."

It is only necessary to add that, affirming as we do the primary importance of the economic organization, we do not thereby deny the utility of the political organization in its proper time. The working class will use all and every means at its disposal, including the ballot, to dislodge its historic enemy. The I. W. W. denies the claims of any political organization in existence to be its political "reflex," and this it does in the interest of the workers, in the interest of Industrial Unionism, in the interest of an united and intelligent propaganda.

THE LAST WORD

When we announced in last week's BULLETIN the failure of the much-talked-about conference to "reconstruct," "regenerate," or "rehabilitate," or do something or other to the I. W. W., we did not expect that the endeavors of the "reconstructors" would be so ingloriously abandoned as the following quotation from W. D. Hayward indicates they have been:

"As to the reconstruction of the I. W. W., nothing will be done until the time is ripe for it, and that will not be until organized labor in general offers less opposition to the movement."

We have not deemed it necessary to verify this; but appearing as it did in the "Chicago Daily Socialist" of March 9, there is no reason why its correctness should be questioned.

What does it mean? It means that there is gloom in the camp of the "reconstructors," due to their failure to carry to successful fruition the scheme concocted in Denver last year.

It means that the Industrial Workers of the World has brought to naught all attempts of the officers of the W. F. M. to emancipate the Industrial Union movement in this country and make it subservient to their wishes.

It means that the conditions not being "ripe" for the furtherance of plans to cover up the responsibility for an attempt to control the I. W. W. in 1906, the plans have been abandoned.

The reconstructing of the I. W. W. was effected when the reactionaries were thrown out of the second convention. The organization has at no time had any reason to regret that action.

It is an astonishing position in which Mr. Hayward has placed himself. The time is not "ripe" for him and his immediate associates to undertake the program which, as recently as December last, they were "determined" to carry through. Conditions not being "ripe," no effort should be made to ripen them. And since "organized labor" (that is the A. F. of L., which in 1905 was not a labor organization) is in opposition to Industrial Unionism, the "reconstructors" will sit down and wait until the "opposition" subsides. When the "opposition" dies out, or there is less of it, then the "reconstructors" will do something! As a matter of fact the opposition of W. F. M. officials to the I. W. W. has destroyed the confidence of "organized labor" in their sincerity, and as a consequence there was no response to the invitation to confer. Let come what may, the Industrial Workers of the World will stand, as it has done, for working class interests and Industrial Unionism.

Let Us Hear From the Rank and File

The issue of The Bulletin for May 2 will be a May Day edition. It is our wish that the paper be made up of articles contributed by the rank and file—the members of the I. W. W. One condition only need be made: Avoid controversial topics relating to the organization and give the readers of The Bulletin the best you have in the line of educational propaganda for Industrial Unionism. Confine your copy to about 700 words and take as your subject any phase of the constructive work that appeals most directly to you.

A Fundamental Principle

Industrial Union Bulletin: Now that the entire mass of labor is, through the development of capitalism,

forced to look into the industrial union form of organization, can you say as a point of information whether the attitude of Writers Kortan and Mrs. Johnson on the subject is a personal view, or is the following from the New York "People" (a reprint from the Sydney "People") the generally accepted economic faith of the movement? "The economic is homogeneous—one class. The political is not. Therefore it is obvious, in order to avoid confusion, that the economic is the one that should rule."

R. C. HILL

Note.—The quoted passage is undoubtedly the generally accepted principle of the I. W. W. and the industrial union movement.—Ed. I. U. B.

One in Ten Thousand

F. H. Alexander, of Omaha, Neb., writes that he "believes we have 10,000 members who can be depended upon to raise \$10,000 for general headquarters to enable us to carry on the grand work." His estimate may be high. Who

knows? We are quite sure that we don't, so we're going to give the organization the benefit of Alexander's suggestion. He is ready and willing to pledge one dollar. Who is the next?

French Weavers Strike

The strike at Dobson Bradford, Germantown, Pa., is still on. The boss would be ready for an arrangement, but the workers wait for him to nominate a committee. We have twenty-two strikers, and a good many of them are without money. Here are their names: Charles Descamp, Augustus Vroman, Arthur Declerg, Jean Braie, Achille Dujardin, Aubin Dujardin, Florian Dujardin, Alfred Gardner, Eugene Merette, Marcel Merette, Louis Merette, Victorine Schappelle, Paul Rous, Teophile Gosman, Louis Dubron, Arthur Claret, Floris Mercier, Emile Dupont, Victor Bayer, Alfred Garder, Vandenberg.

The union has decided to give out some lists of subscriptions for the strikers. The French union of Philadelphia always helped the striking unions; during the strike of Saxamaxon every member gave 25 cents per week for the strikers of the Cloth Weavers union. French union made a big subscription during the strike at the Local 160, Mapleville, and for that of Woonsocket. The union asks the Bulletin for some assistance. I will go with him to organize a meeting, when he will speak in French and English.

EUGENE CAPEIN, Secretary No. 495, Germantown, Pa.

French Paper Needed

In conformity with the decision taken last year at the congress of Woonsocket, R. I. of the French organizations, to hold the next congress at Lawrence, Mass., we have decided, after unanimous agreement to hold the congress here on May 30th, will ask you to insert it in The Bulletin. I can already tell you that the most important thing will be the creation of a propaganda paper in French.

Please tell me if there is any other French branch existing except Woonsocket, Olneyville, Philadelphia and Lawrence, that I can involve them all for the congress.

I think that the establishment of a propaganda paper will be of great utility and that the moment is very favorable. The economic crisis which is looking now makes every one reflect and look for the causes of all the evil. A paper would come in just right. But the great question is: Can you find sufficient money? Will you find enough subscribers to support the paper? I think that The Bulletin can help us in this, first, by inserting in big letters our editorial, second, making an appeal to the locals for the funds that are necessary for the project.

I know this is a little daring, but if even a small subscription it will be a certain success, and many of different languages could imitate us. Now, we never were the last regarding solidarity in every subject. Local No. 20 never refused a help whenever it was possible to give it. I hope you will not at the present moment appeal in vain. L. PICAVET, Lawrence, Mass., Secretary.

Flynn Lecture Tour Temporarily Postponed

Fellow Worker Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will be unable to start her Western trip, for which arrangements had been in part completed, owing to the advice of physicians that to do so would endanger her health. She was compelled to abandon her project in Detroit, and will rest for several months in Minnesota, where she hopes to regain her strength and be prepared for active work in the fall of the year.

The Detroit News of April 9 gives the following appreciative notice of Comrade Flynn's meeting in that city: "A union not to break the law, but a union to enforce the law when it is being broken by the capitalist class. A union that will protect the interests of the working class as expressed at the ballot box. A union that seeks not to enslave labor, but to emancipate it. A union that is organized on the principle that labor produces all wealth, and is entitled to all it produces. A union that says there is no identity of interests between the owners of the tools of production and the workers who are kept by the week to run them for the benefit of the owners and the impoverishment of the many."

This is in part the outline given by Mrs. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Jones, of what the Industrial Workers of the World are organized for and what they expect to accomplish before an audience that filled Arberter hall to the doors Wednesday night. For more than two hours and a half this gifted little woman held the strict attention of her audience without raising her voice above its well balanced pitch, or indulging in any attempt at flights of oratory nor tricks of elocution. She talked straight from the shoulder and to the point from beginning to the end of her discourse. It was the unanimous opinion that she outclasses Eugene V. Debs as a teacher, and is his peer in the matter of normal magnetism. And Debs is known from coast to coast as the greatest labor orator on the American rostrum.

Her outline of the industrial evolution in the United States is drawn from primitive to modern methods of production, but devoid of the usual dull features attendant upon the discussion of these subjects. She showed an intimate knowledge of world politics and the causes for social phenomena that would be a credit to a gray-haired professor of the study, notwithstanding she will not be 18 years of age until next August. There was a generous sprinkling of well-dressed women in the audience,

among which was seen several teachers, lawyers, physicians and commercial men, all of whom joined heartily in punctuating her lecture with generous applause. She put her modern labor leaders through a terrific grilling without using a word of invective. Every sentence was only a link in the chain of evidence she was weaving to show their infidelity to the working class and their unwillingness to direct the workers' movement for the possession of the necessary economic power, which would make the theory that an American citizen is entitled to life and liberty a living reality. At the close of her speech her hearers surged toward the platform and struggled with one another to grasp her hand. A big bouquet of pink carnations was presented her in the name of the "Italian workers of Detroit." Men shed tears as they thanked her in simple words, and her own eyes were moist as she sank down into a chair exhausted at the close of the enforced reception.

The Future of Labor

[Concluded from page 1] as the political party has a geographical basis, is one of those arguments that add to the gaiety of nations. One would think, to listen to that argument, that district councils had no geographical line of demarcation, that the industrial workers of the I. W. W. maintained no households outside of the factory, or that the right of citizenship did not depend upon the domicile of the wage slave instead of upon the nature of his employment. Let us be clear from the start: the I. W. W. That function is to build up an industrial republic inside the shell of the political state, in order that when that industrial republic is fully organized it may crack the shell of the political state and step into its place in the scheme of the universe. But in the process of rebuilding, during the period of maturing, the mechanism of the political state can be utilized to assist in the construction of the industrial Republic. Or, to change the analogy, we might liken the position of the Industrial Republic in its formative period towards political society to the position of the younger generation towards the generation passing away. The young accept the achievements of the old, but gradually acquire strength to usurp its functions, until the new generation is able to abandon the paternalistic system, and then to turn it while doing so to utilize to the fullest all the privileges of its position. So the industrial unionist will function in a double capacity in capitalist society; in his position as a citizen retaining the economic power which in the future he will use his political voting power in attacks upon the political system of capitalism, and in his position as a member of the industrial union he will help in creating the economic power which in the future of time will overthrow that political system, and replace it by the industrial republic.

My contention along these lines does not mean, by any means, that I regard inattentive to the ballot box by the economic organization as essential, although I may regard it as advisable. As I have already indicated, the proletarian revolution will in that respect most probably follow the lines of the capitalist revolutions in the past.

In Cromwellian England, in Colonial America, in Revolutionary France, the real political battle did not begin until after the bourgeoisie and the capitalist class had become the dominant class in the nation; then they sought to conquer political power in order to allow their economic power to function freely. It was no more successful, but a circumstance born of the very nature of things, woe, so to speak, into the warp and woof of fate, that in all three countries the signal for the revolution was given by the economic class (the bourgeoisie) in the one part that was calculated to arouse them as a class, and at the same time to demonstrate their strength. That one sensitive part was their finance, their ownership of the sinews of war. In England it was over the question of taxes, of ship money, that Hampden first raised the standard of revolt which last blow was struck at Whitehall when a king's head rolled in the gutter. In America it was over the question of taxes, and again the capitalist class were united until a new nation was born to give them power. In France it was the failure of the king to raise taxes that led to the convulsion of the states-general, which assembly first revealed to the French capitalist their power as a class and set their feet upon the revolutionary path.

In all three countries, the bourgeoisie rebellion was but the expression of the will of a class already in possession of economic power. This is in conformity with the law of human evolution, that the economic power can never overthrow the old until it is fully matured and able to assume all the useful functions of the thing it is to dethrone.

In the light of such facts, and judging by such reasoning, we need not exercise our souls over the question of the date of the appearance of the I. W. W. upon the electoral field. Whether we believe, as I believe, that the electoral field offers opportunities it would be criminal to ignore, or believe, as some do, that electoral action at present is a waste of time, are things we can be agreed upon if we accept this outline of history I have just sketched out, viz., that it is necessary to remember that at the present stage of development all actions of our class at the ballot box are in the nature of mere preliminary skirmishes, and that the conquest of political power by the working class rests upon the conquest of economic power, and must function through the economic organization.

A Letter of Resignation

[Concluded from page 1] that would be admirable in an organization that is not self-sufficiently political, but which, on the whole, is detrimental to our growth as a party, and so inconsistent in its application (as witness our joy in getting on the official ballot, and on receiving an increase of votes, however small), as to render us, in the ultimate vote-despairs, fit subjects for the satirist's pen. We have so fallen powerless as to fail to realize the depths of the descent.

This is especially evident when we recall the fact that the history of this country does not afford an instance in which a political party like the Socialist

Labor party ever underwent a revival that restored the ascendancy it once enjoyed. Such a party generally fuses with other parties, in whom its principles again appear in a modified and (sometimes) higher form; or else it disappears completely from the political horizon, leaving no trace of its existence behind. Either of these fates awaits the Socialist Labor party. The membership unconsciously reflects the fact in the desire for unity with the Socialist party, and the belief, often expressed among them, of an impending realignment of the labor forces of the land. Such being the case, what good purpose can the Socialist Labor party serve by lingering on in its present deceptive state? What justification has it for raising the political hopes of the working class by its empty pretenses of being a vital political factor?

"In view of the foregoing facts, it can safely be said that the Socialist Labor party is at best a noble tradition; at worst, a dangerous delusion, in that it is a bar to progress along correct lines. This brings us to a consideration of the economic policy of the Socialist Labor party; or, to put it more accurately, its policy toward the Industrial Workers of the World.

"The Socialist Labor party believes that the political is a reflex of the economic. This belief, which is the basis of its policy, is the same as that which aided in launching the I. W. W., and protecting it from the onslaughts of reaction. For this, its last grand act, the Socialist Labor party cannot be too highly praised; it acted in accordance with correct principles and tactics. The Socialist Labor party has not, however, had the courage of its convictions, nor does it dare to act according to the logic of the events in which it has been so sterling an actor. The Socialist Labor party, having aided in founding and protecting the economic organization that is to reflect the true political party of labor, refuses to vacate the field to its untrammelled and logical development. Instead, it persists in being the political guide and mentor of the I. W. W.—that is, its self-appointed reflex and guardian. The result is detrimental to both organizations. The I. W. W., hampered in its growth by the illogical posture of the S. L. P., is compelled to serve notice in big, black type that it has no political affiliations of any kind. And justly so, for the organic structure of the I. W. W., being industrial and democratic, repels any external body that is political and dictatorial—that is, in brief, not by, for and of itself alone. The fate of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance will be the fate of the I. W. W., if it permits an external political body to dominate its politics. On the other hand, the membership of the Socialist Labor party drifts out of its folds, sick and tired of its unhistorical and illogical position, thus leaving it weaker and more desperate than ever before.

"As pointed out above, the Socialist Labor party can never again be a political factor. Nor can it be the political reflex of an organization that inherently rejects it. No good purpose can be served by the Socialist Labor party lingering on in its present deceptive state. Nor has any justification for raising the political hopes of the working class by its empty pretenses of being a political power. At best, a noble tradition; at worst, a dangerous delusion, in that it is at present a bar to progress along correct lines, the Socialist Labor party, being one of our historic and logical by merging into the I. W. W. and working with might and main, as the new conditions demand, for the true economic and political organization of labor.

"But I fear the Socialist Labor party, as a party, will not do this. The influences that mold its thought and action are adverse to such a course; they prefer domination or destruction to democracy. The history of the S. L. P. is proof sufficient for that assertion. The only course left then is to withdraw from the S. L. P. This I herewith do, firmly convinced of the rectitude and soundness of my conduct. It is better that we leave a lying political party without hope of resurrection, for a live economic organization with promises of growth in this way, than to have our party set in one, while the malodors therefrom sap and phagocytize the other. No good can be achieved by the working class by such a course; hence my action.

"I do not expect you to agree with me to raise taxes. In fact, I know that many of you will accuse me of ulterior motives and diabolical designs upon the working class; that is the fashion at present. You may even bring charges against me and have me expelled; that was once the fashion and fashion, you know, are frequently revived. But, no matter which of these paths you follow, should you not follow the right one of accepting my resignation, I will continue until you prove to me that the S. L. P. is not unhistorical and illogical and without a sound, fundamental mission to perform. That is the issue the Socialist Labor party will have to meet. "Wishing you the kindest regards under the circumstances, I remain, yours truly, JUSTUS EAST."

Propaganda League

Pursuant to the order of the Industrial District Council and the urgent demand of the conditions obtaining, a Propaganda League was organized and held its inaugural meeting this afternoon at I. W. W. headquarters, with a lecture by Fellow-Worker Frank Bohn.

A fairly large audience was in attendance and after a healthy discussion and free exchange of views the consensus of opinion and practical endorsement of the project was reflected in a liberal collection and enrollment.

With a full understanding of its duty and determined to occupy the full sphere of its activity the League calls upon all who—members or non-members of the I. W. W.—wish to contribute their efforts in the grand work of emancipation.

The next meeting of the League will be held Wednesday, April 22, 1908, at 8 p. m., at No. 60 Cooper Square. All who are interested in spreading the propaganda of the revolution are invited to attend and enroll. Fraternally, G. H. VAUGHAN, Sec. Prop. League.

OUR FATHERS' FLAG
Our fathers' flag was raised by hands
Toll-brokers in the ancient lands;
From Lexington to Yorktown they,
Beneath its folds, biased freedom's
way;
And, cheering, as its stars unfurled,
They fired the shots heard 'round the
world.
The shots that swept King George's
home,
The shots that shook St. Peter's
dome,
The shots that crushed the throne of
France,
And waked all Europe from its
trance!
The shots that sang to priest and
king,
As only freedom's guns can sing!
Our fathers' flag! Our fathers' flag
Fear-stricken tyrants called a rag;
But hope and justice lived and grew;
Whose'er their banner flew:
Where'er everywhere, on land and sea,
The cradle of liberty!

THE CRY OF FOIL
By Rudyard Kipling.
We have fed you all for a thousand
years,
And you hail us still unfed,
Though there's never a dollar of all
your wealth.
But mark the worker's deed.
We have yielded our best to give you
rest,
And you lie on a crimson wool;
For, if blood be the price of all your
wealth,
Good God! we ha' paid it in full.
There's never a mine blown skyward
now,
But we've buried alive for you;
There's never a wreck drifts shoreward
now,
But we are its ghastly crew.
Go reckon our dead by the forged red,
And the factories where we spin;
If blood be the price of your accursed
wealth,
Good God! we ha' paid it in full.
We have fed you all for a thousand
years,
For that was our doom, you know,
From the days when you chained us in
your beds.
To the strike of a week ago,
You ha' eaten our lives and our babes
and wives,
And we're told it's your legal share,
But if blood be the price of your lawful
wealth,
Good God! we ha' bought it fair.

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

Stutgart Congress
ALMOST
on I. W. W. Ground
Extracts from Resolutions adopted by the Congress on the Relation of the Economic Organization to the Political Party.
To emancipate the proletariat completely from the bonds of industrial, political and economic servitude, the Political and the Economic Struggle are inseparable.
BUT
The Union will not fully partake 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 supersede the political party, and that the Industrial Union movement is the only and the true basis of the emancipation of the proletariat.

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Financial Statement For March

The following is a statement of Receipts and Expenditures for the month of March. Any errors or omissions discovered should be reported to headquarters.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN, G. S. T.

Table of financial transactions for March, including receipts from various unions and individuals, and expenditures for printing, postage, and other administrative costs.

Table of financial transactions for March, continuing from the previous table, listing various unions and their contributions.

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last week. About 2,500 strikers were the victims of machine guns. There had been various fights between the troops and strikers. The strikers were ordered to drive the nitrate workers out of Iquique and its suburbs and without warning opened fire on the unarmed strikers, while they were holding a meeting, and mowed them down with machine guns and cannon. A week later the strikers went back to work without the increase of wages they had demanded. This awful slaughter must have its effect in awakening the revolutionary spirit of the workers of Chile.

Cuba. The strike in four cigar factories in Havana, Cuba, has been settled, and hundreds of workmen are now asking for receiving employment. In consequence of the report of widespread distress among the field laborers in the western part of Pinar del Rio, who are without employment at the end of the tobacco harvest, Governor Magoon has ordered the extension of road building for the purpose of affording relief.

France. The French "Bureau du Travail" gives some interesting official statistics of the growth of the trade unions. In 1884 there were 500 unions, with 60,000 members. On January 1, 1903, the numbers had increased to 3,934 unions, with 613,657 members. On January 1, 1906, there were no less than 4,857 unions, with 836,134 members. Of course, this compares unfavorably with the numbers in Germany, the United States and Great Britain. The calculation has been made that only about a third of the total working population of France belong to a trade union.—Labour Leader, London England.

But the French unions are of a militant socialist spirit.

Germany. At the close of 1906 the central federations of the trades unions of Germany had 2,215,165 members distributed as follows: Central federations, socialist, centralistic, 1,689,707; Local unions, socialist, federalistic and anarcho-socialistic, 13,145; Hirsch-Duncker unions, socialist, centralistic, 13,145; Hirsch-Duncker unions, anarcho-socialistic, 13,145; Christian unions, conservative, reactionary, 320,248; Independent unions, 73,544.

Total 2,215,165. In 37 trades, 118,908 women were trades union members in 1906, an increase of 44,499 compared with the previous year. Of these women trades unionists there were employed in the textile industry 37,020, in the metal trades 13,305, in the tobacco industry 12,883, in factories 10,736, in the printing and auxiliary trades 6,880.—"Wahrheit," Milwaukee.

Hungary. On March 9 a great number of socialists assembled in front of the building of the party newspaper "Nepesarsa," marching from there to public buildings in a demonstration for universal and equal suffrage. The police dispersed the crowds and made many arrests.

On March 15 these demonstrations were repeated on a larger scale but stopped before the public buildings were reached. The crowd was embittered. Shots fired by unknown parties initiated a terrific struggle with the police, the demonstrators defending themselves with paving stones. Three policemen were gravely wounded. Mounted policemen arrested the crowd, making many arrests. The chief of police states that he gave orders to proceed ruthlessly in the future, and that upon his instructions the demonstrations were stopped because the workmen had not applied for permits to parade.

Japan. According to government statistics of the year 1904 out of 526,000 workers employed in the great industries not less than 318,200 were women, of which 34,000 were under the age of 11 years, and we need not wonder that the majority of Japanese industrial cities bear the name of "shetowns." On the home industries the figures are still more appalling, there being employed 594,000 women against 23,000 men.

In the match factories wages are 17 cents a day; in the manufacture of lithographs 18 cents a day for the women. For men wages are not higher than 23 cents a day after the wages had risen 20 per cent since the victory over Russia.

But the socialists are busy organizing.—L'Union des Travailleurs, Charleroi, Pa.

Russia. From November 1, 1907, to February 15, 1908, the district martial of Warsaw pronounced 110 death sentences, of which 89 were executed. Remember that this is only one city of the Russian empire.

Associated Press dispatches from St. Petersburg, dated March 19, report that Maria Spiridonova succeeded in escaping from Siberia and is now either in Australia or New Zealand. Readers of our paper will remember that she executed one of the worst and most fiendish bloodhounds of the Russian autocracy, Lushenovsky, chief of police of Tambov; that she was shamefully tortured and outraged by two police officers, and in Akatki, Siberia, ill-treated by a high official in the mines, all three torturers being executed afterwards for their deeds by terrorists; that her transportation to Siberia was a triumphal march, the hearts of all the oppressed being with her. We hope the news is true.

Notes from Abroad

(By A. G. Sanfiteben.)

Belgium. The Journal des Correspondances publishes an account of the trades union organizations of Belgium at the end of the year 1906. The report states that there were at that time 138,000 workmen organized in unions. These can be divided into the following four groups:

Table showing the distribution of Belgian trade union members into four groups: 1. Christian trades unions, 31,000; 2. Federation of miners, 45,463; 3. Neutral unions, 29,162; 4. Unions affiliated with Labor party or trades union board, 32,491.

Total 138,116. The Christian trades unions are directly and distinctly anti-socialistic bulwarks of capitalism.

"L'Union des Travailleurs," Charleroi, Pa. Chile. The terrible holocaust of death reaped by the nitrate strikers at Iquique, Chile, last December is made known by the arrival of a steamer at San Francisco

EXPENDITURES FOR MARCH

Table of expenditures for March, including costs for Chicago Typesetting Co., Wallace Addressing Co., and other administrative expenses.

A Plan for More

Effective Propaganda

A revolutionary organization such as the Industrial Workers of the World, that is out for the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery, must be thoroughly sound in its economic and political principles...

Without the proper training in understanding our material development, a speaker may by using a few high sounding revolutionary phrases pass on and proceed to mutilate it by a round of reform nostrums, instead of enlightening the workers on their economic position...

The following plan, as part of the methods referred to, will be submitted to the delegates from locals in the New England states, who meet in conference on April 19th in Textile Hall, Olneyville, Providence, R. I.

Propaganda Across the Seas

At an important meeting in behalf of Industrial Unionism at Wallend, England, R. N. Tyas, of Newcastle, delivered the principal address, from which we take the following extracts:

Unionism is consequently rapidly becoming the topic of the hour. While two sections of the workers quarrel over who should do a certain piece of work, the masters score over both. It is folly to expect victory in strikes unless organized like the employers.

Whereas, We, the textile workers, have received no share in this prosperity, for when we receive an advance in wages the price of the necessities of life have risen out of all proportion to the increase in wages; and

Whereas, We deplore the fact that the existing form of trade or craft organization is impotent to check the continued encroachments of the capitalist class upon the rights of the workers; and

Whereas, These commercial crises by their almost periodical recurrence put on trial more threateningly the existence of our present society—in these crises, there breaks out an epidemic that in earlier epochs would have seemed an absurdity, i. e., the epidemic of overproduction, we suddenly find ourselves confronted by a state resembling semi-barbarism, it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation, had cut off every means of subsistence...

Whereas, Modern industry has converted the small workshop into a great factory of the industrial capitalist, masses of workers are organized into a vast industrial army; and

Whereas, The modern workman instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper, he becomes premature old, due to the excessive and ever-increasing speed of the machine of which he is becoming a part; and

Whereas, In every industrial epoch the prevailing mode of production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form a base upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political, moral and intellectual condition of the epoch;

Somewhat Retrospective

Following is an extract from the report of the Socialist Party of America to the International Socialist Congress held last August at Stuttgart, Germany, and signed by Morris Hillquit, delegate, and by J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary S. P. of America. It is translated from the French edition of "Buletin" published by the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau:

The formation of the I. W. W. is one of the most interesting of recent experiments in the organized labor movement. It was born in a secret conference held in Chicago at the beginning of January, 1905.

The convention called by the Manifesto assembled in Chicago June 27, 1905, and was somewhat of a disappointment to the initiators of the movement. The expected secession of certain national unions from the A. F. of L. did not take place.

Resolutions Adopted by Industrial Workers

At a special meeting of Textile Workers' Industrial Union No. 157, held in South End Hall, New Bedford, Mass., April 5, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

principles of the Manifesto; formed a new organization under the grandiloquent title of the Industrial Workers of the World, elected their officials and adopted their constitution.

[Here (on page 29) the form of organization is briefly described.] During the first year of its existence the I. W. W. made progress, slow but constant, and at the second annual convention, held in September, 1906, the general president, Chas. O. Sherman, could show in his report a considerable increase of membership.

Among the organizations present at the formation of the I. W. W. were the remnants of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance—the bastard child of the Socialist Labor Party—whose membership had been reduced in number to 1,400 individuals (according to its delegates), to 600 (according to other advices). The S. F. and L. A. has won the record of having caused more disputes and more schisms in the ranks of the Socialist and Labor movements of America than these last few years than has any other organization; and its adhesion to the movement has been fatal to this one (the I. W. W.).

Several months prior to the second convention the Alliance, under the direction of the adroit chief of the Socialist Labor Party, Daniel De Leon, laid plans to capture the administration of the I. W. W.; and, thanks to a manipulation, easy on the part of its leaders, the Alliance succeeded in getting the majority of the Socialist completely changed the constitution of the organization, abolished the office of general president and chose a new executive committee from among its friends and adherents.

The result (part of the I. W. W. has not realized them, in its entirety, the vivid hopes of its partisans, at least not up to the date when his report was written. The years to come will show whether the organization, freed from the incubus (main-wise) of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, will make more satisfactory progress in the future; or whether, indeed, Industrial Unionism is destined to play a serious role in the American Labor Movement, due to the influence of the new organization upon that movement.

The Socialist Party, at its last convention, held in 1906, declined to allow itself to be drawn into trade union disputes, but declared its solidarity with all bona fide economic organizations and with all the struggling labor; and the party, as such, has not deviated from its attitude in this matter of the I. W. W.

Comment on this last statement of Hillquit would be altogether superfluous in view of what has actually transpired from the organization of the I. W. W. to the present time.

The deliberations of this conference resulted in the publication of a Manifesto to the working class of America, which may be regarded as the declaration of principles of the new movement.

(Here Hillquit quotes part of Manifesto.) The Manifesto concludes with a call for a new organization based upon these principles; and was signed by the members of the secret conference and by several other persons well known in the labor union movement of the country, notably, the last presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, Eugene V. Debs.

The convention called by the Manifesto assembled in Chicago June 27, 1905, and was somewhat of a disappointment to the initiators of the movement. The expected secession of certain national unions from the A. F. of L. did not take place.

Of the 212 delegates participating in the convention five represented the Western Federation of Miners, with 27,000 members; seven represented the American Labor Union, a federated body of trades unions confined almost entirely to the extreme west, with 16,780 members, and two delegates, the United Metal Workers' International Union, with 3,000 members. None of the organizations were affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Most of the remaining delegates represented small local organizations, one-sixteenth of the delegates represented themselves only. "The convention lacked in numbers and strength it made up for in enthusiasm. During their eleven days' deliberations the delegates subjected the methods of existing trades unions to searching criticism, approved all the points and all the basic

NOTE—The requisite amount of cash must accompany each order. All supplies sent by the express, unless otherwise stated, are subject to express charges paid in advance.

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.

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