

The Industrial Union Bulletin

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A LETTER FROM COVINGTON HALL TO A FRIEND.

Mon Cher Ami:— I have yours of the 19th instant, inviting me to return "to the fold" of the Socialist Party, in order, as you say, that I may "save" myself to "the movement" and not become a "disgruntled sulker in the rear." * * * I am not willing to admit just yet, all our great (?) leaders to the contrary notwithstanding, that "the I. W. W. is slowly pining away," that it is slowly dying of "infallible intolerance," of which I am willing to admit we have had too damned much; for all around me I see the working class becoming restless, hungry for information, even defending us Industrialists against their own leaders, and I reason that such a condition cannot last much longer, that at no distant date an open break must come between the honest rank and file and the graftocracy that styles itself the American Federation of Labor; and seeing this, I regard it as my bounden and sacred duty as a Socialist to do all in my power to cheer on that rank and file, to stir up their fighting spirit, lacking which they must remain "conservative" forever and the Socialist movement degenerate into a thing no better than that mockery that calls itself the Christian religion. So I reason that it is not I who should go back into the Socialist Party, but you who should come into the Industrial Democracy with me, for there, and there alone can the whole truth be told and taught. You say "the Socialist Party will poll a million votes this fall, which will make Socialism a living issue in this country," and I answer: "I don't care how many votes the Socialist Party polls or doesn't poll; Socialism is already a living issue in this country, a fact of which the Socialist Party seems to be totally ignorant, if we are to judge, and I know of no other way of judging, by its official actions in national convention assembled. I would be comparatively wealthy today if I had a ten-dollar bill for every time the words "economic determinism," "class struggle," "class consciousness," and their variations were howled out and harped on in that recent gabberfest in Chicago, yet after all the excitement and singing of the Marseillaise, all we get is an abortion of principles that the grand old Democratic party must weep with envy when it sees.

Liquor planks, farmers' planks, immediate planks, Roosevelt planks, Bryan planks, planks on everybody and everything, and finally, a labor plank that planks the Socialist party fairly and squarely on the political field as the representative of that economic stinkabus, the American Separation of Labor, robed and arrayed in all its putrescent glory. And you ask me to toil and suffer for such an abortion? Nay, my friend, you are not serious, for for us to serve it is for us to lie to the working class. Again, you say: "The movement needs teachers and educators; before long an avalanche of raw recruits will strike us. They must be drilled and formed into an army." All of which is true, but how, from the platform of the Socialist party, standing on its labor plank, am I to teach and educate the working class? And how can an army be drilled and formed without taking into consideration its base of supplies, which is controlled by the Union and not by a political party? In a war the army that controls the base of supplies is the army that wins, and today the capitalist class, aided by the A. F. of L., holds our base in its grip. It is for the very reason that I do not believe we can "vote each other philosophers or strike to be Shakespeares" that I refuse to be swept away by the hot-air that is pouring out of Milwaukee and Chicago.

And it is as you say: "Without a clearly defined goal there can be no movement, but the movement itself is of the greatest importance. A slowly moving army, taking and fortifying position after position, will accomplish more in the long run than a brilliantly directed cavalry raid," but I fail to see where the Socialist Party has clearly defined the goal, for it straddled everything straddable, and to my mind the political party is the raiding cavalry of the working class movement, while the I. W. W. is the heavy infantry which alone can take and fortify. I also agree with you that "some people only learn how to do things right by doing things wrong first," but I fail to see how you arrive at the conclusion that we can or should "let the labor unions decide for themselves what form of organization they wish to adopt," for the thing called the labor union stands closest to the economic heart of things, and that heart cannot beat in sympathy with Socialist aspirations until the mind that guides it is socialized. So it seems to me, and I cannot conceive how an organization calling itself Socialist can deliberately align itself with a capitalist union as did the Socialist Party with the American Federation of Labor; and it is idle to say that it did not, for I know, and you know, and all other men know, that when we say "organized labor" we mean the A. F. of L., that when we say "Industrial Unionism" the I. W. W. is at once in the hearer's mind. It is this common acceptance of the meaning of terms that makes the I. W. W., weak in numbers as it may be, the soul and center of the new labor movement, the predestined fact that has arrived, a thing that cannot and will not be denied, the keeper and guardian of the unity of the working class, the pillar of fire of Socialism which cannot be "dodged" without peril to the dodger. Whatever else is said, with all its faults, the I. W. W. is Socialism in its overalls, the Industrial Democracy awake and on the march, the working class in its fighting clothes, and this is why the great men hate it so: it compels them to fight the revolution now, today; it refuses to leave the battle to the generations yet unborn. With all its faults, it has done more for the cause of Socialism during the three years of its life than have both of the Socialist parties during all their long and weary years of gabberfests and tirades; on American soil it was the thing that concreted the Marxian message into act, and that brought

the temples of the worshipers of words and theories tumbling about their ears. Like Samson, its body may perish in the falling timbers, but its soul will rise again and conquer the world for those who made it, the sons and daughters of sorrow and labor.

Despite all the heart-breaking disappointments, despite the wreckage I behold in Dreamland's halls, despite the seeming conservatism and apathy of the workers, despite a lifetime spent in war and worry and hunger, despite sorrow and suffering, this faith abides within me still—the working class will rise and free the race from slavery if only we who hold the lighthouse of knowledge stand true to our duty and keep the beacon burning no matter how black the night may grow or how the storms may rage around us.

And this fact seems clearer to me now than ever, that the working class, and the working class alone, is capable of carrying on and out the Revolution that will overthrow capitalism and establish the Commonwealth. Believing this, I must teach Industrial Democracy, I must attack capitalism in all its expressions and bulwarks, and especially I must attack the chiftest and strongest of its bulwarks, the so-called American Federation of Labor, and this the Socialist Party will not let me do; wherefore it follows, if I wish to preserve my intellectual integrity and manhood, I cannot, comrade, friend—and you know I love you—listen to a plea to join an organization that in convention assembled officially denies the very reason for its own existence. I am so constituted that I could not follow such a treason to reason and be worth my salt to any movement, much less to that movement which sums up in itself the totality of all the labors and visions of the human race since time immemorial—the movement that is to expel the kind from industry as he has been expelled from government and from thought—the Socialist movement, the labor movement of the world—the Industrial Democracy that is slowly but surely fighting its way out of the dark and dismal swamps of ignorance and slavery into the clear, white day of freedom.

On to victory or defeat, as the fates may will it, with the army that is marching directly toward that goal, I am going, friend of mine.

With all the old affection for you living still, and going out to you wherever you may go, I remain yours for in the industrial liberty of the class we both have loved so well and fought so hard to waken. COVINGTON HALL.

BRIEFS.

J. J. Hill, speaking before the recent "Governor's Conference" at Washington, D. C., related in detail how "the capitalists are wasting 'out' (the people's) natural resources of forest, mine and soil. Hill's narrative is an appalling one, but his warning to his own class to 'stop the waste' will fall on deaf ears. 'Anarchy in production' will not cease, nor will 'natural resources be conserved' until the working class, organized in the I. W. W., assumes control of production. Then wealth will be produced for the direct use of the producers themselves, not, as now, for sale in a world's market in order to realize profits for Hill and the others who make up the parasitic class. 'Conservation of natural resources' will then be the first order of the day.

It seems that Samuel Gompers has suddenly lost faith in "politics." Some time ago he announced that "organized labor would be the force to make itself felt as a factor in shaping political policies—local and national. His latest announcement, however, in view of a recent Supreme Court decision making 'legal' the discharging of workers by their employers for claims belonging to a union, is to threaten 'secret organization' of labor unions. 'But neither 'craft union politics' nor 'craft union secret organization' will cause any loss of sleep on the employer's part. Either is known to be alike impotent to advance labor's interests, which would be the only cause for alarm the capitalist might see in such 'moves.' The craft union and all that it stands for can harm only the working class.

A "Museum of Safety Appliances" was opened to the public in New York City last month. Similar "museums" have been established in different industrial centers of Continental Europe. The exhibits and demonstrations are arranged to show how easy it is to prevent accidents to workers in the more dangerous occupations connected with industrial pursuits. However, in view of the constantly increasing number of fatal and other accidents in factory, mine and railroad, the worker may well inquire: "When will these safety devices be transferred from the museum to the places for which they were designed?" Again we answer, "Not until the working class, organized in the I. W. W., has acquired sufficient economic power to force that concession from their capitalist masters." "Self preservation is the first law of nature," applies to classes as well as to individuals. The industrially organized working class alone can protect itself.

The Socialist Party national convention adopted a resolution calling for restriction of immigration from foreign countries to America. But the resolution omitted to point out how the "emigration of American capital" to these same foreign countries might be restricted. That omission is a fatal one, in view of the fact pointed out by Railroad Magnate Hill at the "Governors' Conference" above referred to. Hill declared that already foreign competition threatens to exclude from the world's markets the products of American manufacture, on account of the "cheap labor" in other countries. Hill's remedy is to "cheaper 'our' labor accordingly—that is, reduce the standard of living of the American working class. He admits, however, that that cannot be done "without a struggle." The Socialist Party, in opposition to the capitalist program, proposes "restriction of immigration." But neither the capitalist class nor the "pure and simple political Socialist" movement can stem the tide of social evolution. One of the main factors in that evolution will be the economic organization of the working class that will meet the immigrant at the door as he enters

and introduce him to the organization and thereby to the prevailing standard of living in the country of his choice; and which, furthermore, by worldwide organization of the workers on the industrial field will be able to resist the aggressions of the capitalist enemy everywhere, while preparing for the day of final victory. Then the world-competition for markets and the world-competition for jobs will be eliminated forever. Let Hill and the Socialist Party leave the solution of the "immigration" and "wage questions" to the I. W. W.

AMERICANO. PROGRESS MEASURED BY "ACTIONS."

A resolution, adopted by the "Scandinavian Discussion Club" of Portland, Ore., on May 24, 1908, bespeaks the sentiment existing among the workers in that locality, the meeting was attended by about 400 working-men and women, and the subject for discussion was "Should a craftsman belong to the Industrial Workers of the World?" The matter was discussed from all points of view. The A. F. of L. men defended craft unionism as good as they could; but their queer claims regarding the practicability of craft unionism were successfully contradicted by the responders and defenders of industrial unionism. The resolution, adopted by unanimous consent, reads: "We, the Scandinavian Discussion Club, realize that craft unions are impracticable and also reactionary in function, and therefore contrary to the best interests of the working class, and therefore be it resolved, That the industrial organization is not only superior to craft unions in principle and in forms, but also absolutely indispensable to the furtherance of the immediate and ultimate interests of the wage-working class.

GUS. BERG, Chairman; E. S. NELSON, Secretary.

Let it be not words alone. Actions, constructive work and propaganda are essentially necessary for the consummation of the progress of the I. W. W.!

"Get the Habit." To attend the local meetings regularly, and you'll have no kick coming afterwards that a few fellows run the whole thing.

It isn't the "sympathy gag" that makes an I. W. W. man, but his actions expressed in something more tangible than hot air. An' fool can go with the crowd, but it takes a man with nerve and principle to battle against the force of industrial unionism. He who knows that the Industrial Workers of the World are correct, and keeps aloof, on account of fancied or real personal grievance, is a pessimist out of season. An ounce of experience on the firing line in labor's struggle against the master class counts for more in the constructive work of the labor movement than one pound of theoretical knowledge of abstract questions. Just the same as a "moral support resolution" without check does not help a body of workers out on strike to better conditions very much, so does your professed loyalty amount only to hot air unless you practice what you preach. The first order of business is to join the class of your industry. In the fierce and age-long struggle, waged from dawn till set of sun, what triumphs may be compassed, what victory may be won, If we organize industrially, and united take a stand, Put up a fight, assert our right, till the tollers rule the land. To sum up for this week, "Cultivate the habit to stop in time."

BILLS OF J. H. WALSH SINCE 1907 CONVENTION.

Table with columns: Weed Ending, Salary, Mileage, Hotel and Meals, Hall Rent and Printing, Misc., Total. Rows include Oct. 19th, Oct. 26th, Nov. 2, Nov. 9, Nov. 16, Nov. 23, Nov. 30, Dec. 7, Dec. 14, Dec. 21, Dec. 28, Jan. 4, Jan. 11, Jan. 18, Jan. 25, Feb. 1, Feb. 8, Feb. 15, Feb. 22, Feb. 29, Mar. 7, Mar. 14, Mar. 21, Mar. 28, Apr. 4, Apr. 11, Apr. 18, Apr. 25.

J. H. WALSH RECEIVED ON ACCOUNT AND COLLECTED SINCE 1907 CONVENTION.

Table with columns: Date, Description, Amount. Rows include Oct. 3 To Cash, Oct. 19 Supplies, etc., sold for week Oct. 19, Oct. 26 Supplies, etc., sold for week Oct. 26, Nov. 2 Supplies, etc., sold for week Nov. 2, Nov. 9 Supplies, etc., sold for week Nov. 9, Nov. 16 Supplies, etc., sold for week Nov. 16, Nov. 23 Supplies, etc., sold for week Nov. 23, Nov. 30 Supplies, etc., sold for week Nov. 30, Dec. 7 Supplies, etc., sold for week Dec. 7, Dec. 14 Supplies, etc., sold for week Dec. 14, Dec. 21 Supplies, etc., sold for week Dec. 21, Dec. 28 Supplies, etc., sold for week Dec. 28, Jan. 4 Supplies, etc., sold for week Jan. 4, Jan. 11 Supplies, etc., sold for week Jan. 11, Jan. 18 Supplies, etc., sold for week Jan. 18, Jan. 25 Supplies, etc., sold for week Jan. 25, Feb. 1 Supplies, etc., sold for week Feb. 1, Feb. 8 Supplies, etc., sold for week Feb. 8, Feb. 15 Supplies, etc., sold for week Feb. 15, Feb. 22 Supplies, etc., sold for week Feb. 22, Feb. 29 Supplies, etc., sold for week Feb. 29, Mar. 7 For week ending March 7, Mar. 14 For week ending March 14, Mar. 21 For week ending March 21, Mar. 28 For week ending March 28, Apr. 4 For week ending April 4, Apr. 11 For week ending April 11, Apr. 18 For week ending April 18, Apr. 25 For week ending April 25.

RECAPITULATION.

Table with columns: Bills Since 1907 Convention, Amount due since convention. Rows include Bills in October, Bills in November, Bills in December, Bills in January, Bills in February, Bills in March, Bills in April, Total bills, Collected in October, Collected in November, Collected in December, Collected in January, Collected in February, Collected in March, Collected in April, Total collection, Amount due since convention.

BALLOT FOR TEXTILE WORKERS.

Table for National Secretary-Treasurer, F. MILLER, Providence, R. I. For Members of the National Executive Board. (Six to be elected.)

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, Our Fellow Worker Albert Ryan, Secretary of the Jerome, Arizona, Miners' Union of the W. F. of M., and a loyal Industrial Unionist, has been sentenced to serve one year in jail by the whim of a capitalist judge; and WHEREAS, Fellow Worker Ryan's offense consists of a minor charge of assault, and the heinous crime of telling the court that it was the tool of the capitalist class, a truth which the judge was familiar with, was a travesty of even their so-called justice, and is only paralleled by the atrocious crime against our Fellow Workers Preston and Smith, of Goldfield, Nev., who languish in the penitentiary as the result of a capitalist conspiracy, and their staunch manhood; therefore, be it RESOLVED, That we, members of Local No. 125, I. W. W., pledge our moral and financial support to these true members of our class; and be it further RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Fellow Worker Ryan and copies sent to the labor press. J. W. HAWKINS, Sec. & Cor. Sec., Local No. 125, I. W. W., 830 19th St., Denver, Colo. I. W. W. Textile Workers of Philadelphia, Pa., have won their strike. Details next week.

THE SAN FRANCISCO LABOR COUNCIL.

The official central body of the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco is the Labor Council. In the last article on the Building Trades Council it was stated that it was the most typical of the A. F. of L. unions in this city—but that is only true in so far as mutual scabbing is concerned.

benefit of the mechanics." But the foreigners put up a stiff fight when the street carmen who had remained at work and started into submission the laborers, went out on strike to settle their own grievances, the laborers, as reward to the traitors, once more gave battle to the bosses. The carmen went back to work again and the laborers had to take the medicine that the carmen administered. But they could not get the hated foreigners to Americanize themselves to sign a contract with the United R. R. Co. The street laborers showed more fight by far than the mechanics. After the trouble had settled, a few incidents took place to prove the above statement.

Workers everywhere, read, think, organize. Everywhere the pure and simpler prove the same story. They are a stumbling-block in Labor's march to freedom. Join the Industrial Workers of the World. Education, organization, emancipation, is the watchword. JOSEPH J. ETOR. Stockton, Cal., May 14, 1908. A Singular People. [A Modern Tale. By Justus Ebert, Brooklyn, N. Y.] In the great land of Unobstructed Modern Development, there once lived a singular people. Some called them "Unobstructed Moderns," others "Socialist-movement-to-break-up-Capitalism," for the great land of Unobstructed Modern Development was a land in which Indian names, a Socialist movement and Capitalism abounded. Others called them "Union-Wreckers," "Political Actionists," and other names neither so choice nor so easy of phrasing; for the great land of Unobstructed Modern Development was also a land in which hyphenated, invective and anti-profanity leagues were a social necessity and, as a result, held considerable sway.

They reasoned thusly: to have a cause that develops marked perversities, to have ideals without results other than disastrous ones, in a land most propitious in conditions for their success, is not a consummation to be devoutly wished for, even by singular people. The longest lane has a turn; and the most singular people, not even excluding the insane, have a perception of their own folly at times. To paraphrase Lincoln, you can fool all the people some of the time; but it is rare indeed that a people fools itself all the time. We will stop fooling ourselves.

PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

Price List of Supplies: Constitutions, in English, per 100, \$5.00; Constitutions, in other languages, per 100, \$7.00; Local Letterheads, per 100, \$5.00; Envelopes, per 100, \$5.00; Withdrawal Cards, per 10, \$1.00; Application blanks, per 100, \$5.00; Arrearages notices, per 100, \$5.00; Warrant Book, each, \$3.00; Receipt Book, each, \$3.00; Ledger, 100 pages, \$1.25; Ledger, 200 pages, \$3.00; Ledger, 400 pages, \$5.00; Ledger, 600 pages, \$5.00; Day Book, 100 pages, \$1.00; Treasurer's Cash Book, \$75; Minute Book, \$80; Rubber Stamps and Pad, \$50; Seal for the Union, \$1.00; Buttons, cheap grade, each, \$1.00; Buttons, better grade, \$5.

LET THE LIGHT IN YOU WILL NEVER LEARN anything about the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD by absorbing the dope its enemies hand to you; a good antidote for their lies is the TRUTH. Get the TRUTH by reading what the I. W. W. SAYS FOR ITSELF. Here is a good combination for \$1.00. Handbook of Industrial Unionism, 5c; Constitution of the I. W. W., 5c; Report of Secretary Trautmann, 5c; "Industrial Unionism," 5c; "Burning Question of Trades Unionism," 5c; "Address on I. W. W. Preamble," 5c. Sent to any address, prepaid, for 25c. WM. E. TRAUTMANN 212 BUSH TEMPLE CHICAGO - ILLINOIS

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