

"WORKINGMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE, YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS, AND A WORLD TO GAIN." THE I. W. W. IS THE WAY TO UNITE

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 20, 1909.

50c a Year.

Vol. II. No. 29.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

WAR IN MONTANA.

The I. W. W. lumber workers in Western Montana are now in the midst of a desperate struggle with the combined forces of the Lumber Companies and the A. F. of L. "International" and the United States Government...

WORK FOR I. W. W. IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

Editor Bulletin: In this section, the Imperial Valley of Southern California, after years of strike work for a great deal of farm work and work of various kinds, such as land leveling, etc. it is our wish to get as many I. W. W. men into the valley as we can possibly get, in order to combat the situation here next season.

INDUSTRIAL MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.

London, Eng., Nov. 22, '08. To the Industrial Union Bulletin: Please see that the "Industrialist," published at the above address, 25 Queensdale Rd., Notting Hill, London W., is put on your exchange list.

WORK FOR A WEEKLY BULLETIN.

The prospect of again having the Bulletin weekly should be a powerful stimulus to the Active Brigade to increase the circulation of the official organ. On a weekly basis, again, we plan to make the Bulletin as complete as possible with reference to the Industrial Union movement of the world in general.

TO THE WORKERS OF BUFFALO.

Local 317, Industrial Workers of the World, maintains headquarters at 1219 Broadway. Open all day and evenings. A fine library containing books, pamphlets and popular sciences in several languages, also labor papers in English and from "home," are kept for the use and education of the workers.

TENDENCIES IN AUSTRALIAN MOVEMENT.

The following is from an article on the Australian labor situation by Tom Mann, published in "The A. S. E. Journal," official organ of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers of Great Britain, for November, 1908:

MASSEMEETING IN FULLMAN.

A mass meeting under the auspices of Local 30, I. W. W., will be held in Van Meter's Hall, corner 115th street and Michigan avenue, Pullman, Sunday afternoon, March 14, at 3 o'clock. Good speakers will address the meeting. Everybody invited.

SHOE WORKERS' STRIKE CALLED OFF.

On December 11 about 150 lasters employed in that department of the Selz shoe factory in Chicago, went on strike against intolerable conditions. The leading rebels in the shop just before that had joined the Industrial Workers of the World, and the strike was conducted by that organization.

ATTENTION COAL MINERS OF THE ANTHRACITE DISTRICT AND ALL OTHERS.

Joe J. Ettor, G. E. B. member of the I. W. W., is now stationed in this district, and all miners or other workers who desire his services or wish any information about the I. W. W., should communicate with him at 218 Spruce St., Scranton, Pa.

GENERAL ORGANIZER W. E. TRAUTMANN LEFT CHICAGO SATURDAY, JAN. 16.

General Organizer W. E. Trautmann left Chicago Saturday, Jan. 16, for the East, to go on some four or five months. He is now in the New York district, where he is being kept busy with mass meetings and other work in the different cities.

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN CONNECTION WITH THE STRIKE.

Educational work in connection with the strike was carried on with the assistance of W. E. Trautmann, Vincent St. John, J. P. Thompson, and others. A number of large mass meetings were held, with the result that the agitation has awakened interest among the shoe workers generally. Over thirty lasters

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MOVEMENT IN OTHER LANDS

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London, Eng., Nov. 22, '08. To the Industrial Union Bulletin: Please see that the "Industrialist," published at the above address, 25 Queensdale Rd., Notting Hill, London W., is put on your exchange list. By reading our paper you must have seen we have advocated the same policy all along, as the I. W. W. adopted and declared for at its last convention, and for which I can safely couple the name of the "Industrial League" in congratulating you on. We suffered from the tactics of the politicians, the same as you, only we succeeded in staking them off a little earlier.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN GERMANY.

Writing from Eslingen an Neckar, Germany, under date of Dec. 15, Fellow Worker Eugene Krans, formerly of Local 92, Portland, Oregon, says: "As far as industrial conditions here are concerned, they are growing from bad to worse. More slaves are being thrown out of employment and the industrial reserve army has reached such proportions that the slaves still employed are working on shorter time than ever before. Some industries have been compelled to shut down entirely for a certain period, as there are no orders in sight, and for the first time in the history of the Empire the slaves are confronted with real conditions. Now that Germany has made such great headway in her industrial development, with the concentration of capital into fewer and fewer hands, the present method of organization is becoming more and more useless. So we find that there is an ever increasing tendency towards industrial organization and the centralizing of forces. Recently the leather workers by referendum voted seventy per cent of their members for complete industrial organization. There is also a strong movement on foot in the same direction among the tailors, and the wood workers have already carried it through. So that we can see that the slaves are moving all along the line. The same is true of France, where the marine workers have consolidated forces to ward off the leather workers' masters, and ultimately to strike the blow for economic freedom. So we can say with a certain degree of satisfaction, the ball is certainly beginning to roll pretty fast, and the more we gain the faster it will roll!"

PLEA FOR AN ORGANIZED EFFORT.

To the Members of the Industrial Workers of the World: We, the members of Local 179, I. W. W., wish to call your attention to a plan which, if carried out, will put an official organ, "The Industrial Union Bulletin," in a position where it can be issued weekly. Our plan is for each member to obligate himself to contribute ten cents each week to the fund, which will be forwarded to Headquarters for the purpose of sending out three months' trial subscriptions to the Bulletin. This could be called a special fund.

Each and every member should also try to send in the names and addresses of workmen who will agree to receive and read the Bulletin. The locals should keep these names on file and as their trial subscriptions expire, call on them and make every effort to get them to renew for six months or one year. There would be little use in giving one copy to a man, as he might not find anything in it to interest him. But if he has the Bulletin sent him for any length of time he is bound to find something in it to interest him. A little figuring will show that if every member will pay his ten cents each week, it would mean \$100.00 per week from each weekly contributor. Think for a moment what this means. It would mean an ever increasing circulation of the Bulletin, going into the homes of thousands of workmen. On a conservative estimate ten per cent will renew for six months, or one year, which would mean about \$25 or \$40 more coming in, besides the advertising of our literature, and the building up of our organization.

Fellow Workers, this is your paper, and it is up to you to support it. This is the cheapest and best plan that we have yet found. Hoping that this plan will meet with your approval and hearty cooperation and support, we remain, yours for Industrial Freedom.

RECRUITING LOCAL 179.

(Seal) New York City.

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RECRUITING LOCAL 179.

(Seal) New York City.

A NEW YEAR'S RESOLVE

Fellow workers, have you your obligations towards your local union? Have you a clear card? If not, read this call to duty and act as the common sense of a worker, aware of his duties no less than his rights, should dictate.

From time to time, locals will inform delinquent members to put themselves in good standing, attend meetings more regularly and otherwise take a more interested part in the affairs of the local union.

Some to whom such delinquent notices have been sent, have fulfilled their obligations and resolved to take a deeper interest and more active part in the business of the organization. Some have asked for an extension of time in which to square up, which should be granted at all times when reasonable grounds are presented; while others not even up at a meeting for many months.

There are also workers who kick and play the aggrieved when an arrearage notice is sent to them from the secretary of the local, who shout that all the union is looking for are dues-paying members, etc.

We might state that some of those sentiments expressed are prompted by honest motives, but let us be granted the privilege of saying just as some of the high sounding declarations of those workers.

This doubt is the reason why we make this seemingly small matter a thing to be considered by the membership throughout the country. For small as it may seem, the neglect of this as well as other duties is bound to result in infinite harm, to be overcome only by a long period of arduous labor.

Such behavior of members is quite often the cause why a local union is unable to make any headway, no matter how efficient its officers may be, no matter how hard a few determined and tireless members may hustle. Such a local union just lingers along without power, vim or life.

Of what use are those members when they are only such on paper? Of what use are those members who at every opportunity are bragging about being in good as the result but who regard the payment of dues as a harmful imposition on the part of union officials, and when finally the arrears become too high simply ask to be readmitted as non-members, but do not become just standing again without having done their duty as such?

The organized worker should know that he as such, in the vanguard of the present day class struggle, has an important mission to fulfill, that the fulfillment of that mission cannot be achieved without sacrifices on the part of the workers engaged in the fight for emancipation.

The consummation of this goal will give to him and his family the assurance to lead a life becoming a wealth producer, to enjoy the liberty of a human being of mind and reason unlimited in the pursuit of happiness. It would mean to him the abolition of this abhorrent wage system and open up a bright future—the Industrial Workers' Republic.

Admitting that this may not be the result of a few years' arduous battle, and realizing that many a worker may not live to see the rise of his class, to reap the fruits of his and his comrades' struggle for freedom from slavery—there is this satisfaction which is an end in itself, the satisfaction of having fought the best he knew how in his time for the final aim—the triumph of labor that his children will behold and benefit by. Of him the workers will say: He was a class-conscious, true blue comrade.

And to whom this serves not as a spur, he should look around and observe what workers in other lands have done since being organized along advanced lines and to become a method of production. Organized for the revolution, organized to fight now for better conditions in the workshops, higher wages, shorter hours, they have bitter enemies and all this has not come by itself. All this has not been presented to the workers on a platter. No, the workers had bitterly to fight for every inch of ground; they had to sacrifice time, energy and lots of money, but conscientiously have been forced from the master class. We must fight for more. We will improve our conditions provided we stand by the industrial union of our class.

And this is the all: We have confidence in ourselves, in our ability, in the power of organization, such as the I. W. U. will afford in time. And it is this confidence in our just cause, and our might as organized workers, which guarantees us victory in the near future.

Therefore it is unpardonable neglect on the part of workers who weaken their only and safe fort by withholding for petty reasons the necessary material aid to the union.

Whatever is paid in to the union treasury in dues or voluntary contributions is a sure and safe investment which bears good interest.

Today, enthusiasm alone does not make a movement. Money talks with the exploiters of labor. Money is also required by us to carry on the propaganda for industrial unionism on a scale that will bring tangible results to the strengthening of existing locals, the organizing of new ones. We want a solid organization, brought about by educating, drilling and preparing our membership in the art of giving battle to the employers in Twentieth Century style, considering all means fair when it comes to a war between labor-slaving hyenas and the slaves who rebel against the shaming process.

And you fellow workers it is about time for you to realize that we are in the midst of a constant war and not making preparations for a vacation picnic in the good old summer time.

If with your aid we could manage to secure for the Industrial Union Bulletin a circulation large enough to make it a greater factor in the education of a hostile public opinion, the time for you to "get something new" has come.

If the workers' organization to weak the boss can't resist the desire to cut wages. On the other hand, if we stand united, organized on the industrial plan, the bosses will have a devil of a time

to beat us, we will be forced to grant concessions in order to stave off for a little longer the giant Labor from taking and holding the industries of the land; to save themselves for a little while from the worst punishment in the capitalists' estimation—going to work to produce wealth.

What we said about members paying regularly their dues and giving closer attention to affairs of the local union, pertains also in a measure to some of our local unions towards the General Administration.

If the members pay their dues regularly and otherwise make themselves useful in a line that they are fitted for, they are not only doing their duty then, but working for their own material benefit.

To the member who is in the movement for emancipation of the toiling masses, himself a part thereof, we say: Turn over a new leaf at once. Not only promise, but do it.

By Local 179, New York, \$1.00; otherwise collected, \$1.00. A. Borje on list—M. Ebrhard, \$1.50; A. Borje, \$1.50; P. F. H. Alexander, \$1.00; John Budnick, 50c; J. M. Antonio, 10c; D. Ticarra, collected on list—L. Terravis, 10c; A. Bernosconi, 10c; A. Antonetti, 10c; B. Cesare, 10c; G. Magin, 5c; B. Leo, 10c; G. Colombo, 10c; Nussoloni, 15c; B. Casare, 10c; E. Fortuna, 5c; J. Bertelle, 15c; P. Gianotti, 25c; 1/4.

Francis Miller, on list—Eugene Caprau, 50c. Paul Weidman, collected on list—P. Weidman, \$1.00; I. Latham, 50c; L. H. Lofberg, 50c; F. Kamrowski, 50c; J. James, 25c; F. Ford, \$1.00; R. Richman, 50c; J. D. Smith, 50c; G. H. Axelson, 25c; L. A. Ferrino, 25c; J. O. Johnson, 50c; J. Olson, 25c; Ackestain, 25c. Liebrecht, collected on list—J. Howe, \$1.00; C. Miller, \$1.00; J. Pierson, \$1.00.

A. L. Schiermeyer, collection—P. J. Boyle, 25c; A. L. Schiermeyer, 25c. Tom Corra, on list—Gro. Swieger, on list—Andrew Nelson, \$1.00; W. Davonport, 50c; T. G. Knutson, \$2.00; W. Pappert, \$1.00; O. Pappert, \$1.00; Tom Sawyers, \$1.00; T. Smith, 50c; J. Sahlin, 50c; W. P. Campbell, \$1.00; A. Lindstrom, \$1.00; R. Greenham, \$1.00; J. Carey, 50c; S. Pearson, \$1.00.

J. H. Reynolds, 25c. John Raymond, 50c. S. H. Hales, 50c. C. H. Axelson, 50c. E. Takahashi, 50c. Local 413, St. Louis, Mo., \$1.00. Local 157, New Bedford, Mass., \$1.00. J. Powers, collected on list—Local 152, Bra' h 1, Paterson, N. J., \$1.00.

A. S. Brown, \$5.00. Jack Walsh, 1.00. Local 511, Old Forge, Pa., \$2.00. Local 215, Pittsburgh, Pa., \$1.00. V. St. John, collected Wilkes-Barre and New Castle, Pa., \$1.00.

P. E. Peterson, collection—Ole Peterson, 60c; Alfred Peterson, 50c; V. E. Peterson, 50c. Anna Tewksbury, on list—Frank Allers, on list—J. Fritz, 25c; G. O. Hildon, 25c; Frank Alers, 75c; L. Gull, 25c; L. Swerson, 25c; O. Neime, 25c.

F. R. Schlein, on list—F. Brown, \$1.00; W. E. Edwards, \$1.00; H. Turngreen, 50c. R. J. Anderson, on list—P. M. Greig, 25c; J. Anderson, \$1.00; Otto Rickward, 50c; M. Abraham, 50c; Jos. Stoeke, 25c; Ike, 10c; Geo. C. Mooney, 25c.

L. Huber, 1.00. B. E. Nilson, 1.00. Jack Keister, 1.00. Peter Johnson, 1.00. George Hope, 1.00. P. H. Reynolds, 25c. H. A. Edwin, 1.00. Chas. Nelson, collection—Wm. Liebrecht, on list—F. Morris, 50c; E. Faust, 50c; John Rodriguez, 50c. Local 105, W. F. M., Trail, B. C., on list—Frank Ewing, 50c; Chas. Newman, 50c; E. McLean, 25c; F. D. Hardy, \$1.00; E. Hockstedt, \$1.00; contribution, 25c; Jacob Friedrichs, \$1.00; Hector M. Charles, \$1.00; Wm. Hockstedt, \$1.00; McSchrean, \$1.00; F. J. F. 25c; Ernst Bosselmann, 1.00; M. P. Haggerty, 1.00; F. H. Alexander, contribution, \$1.00; propaganda stamps, 50c.

J. T. Brillhart, 1.00. Ernest Bosselmann, 1.00. A. B. Erickson, 1.00. H. Goff, 1.00. Cash, 50c. Thos. Whitehead, 1.00. E. Bosselmann, 50c. R. Smith, 50c. F. Velarde, 50c. E. I. Socialist Unity Society, 50c. O. Ghezzi, 50c. F. Janke, 1.00. F. Morris, 50c. A. B. Cobbs, 2.00. Geo. H. Johnson, on list—Martin Clah, 50c; Pat Casey, \$1.00; T. Ekram, \$1.00; Michigan F. 25c; J. Wag-horn, 50c; Ed. Douglas, 50c; Jos. Casey, \$1.00; Jan. Trepe, \$1.00; T. E. Woodridge, 50c; W. Matson, \$1.00; C. F. Mc-Ater, 50c; E. F. Kirby, 50c; E. H. H. 25c; W. K. H. 50c. Geo. H. Johnson, 5.00. Local 215, 5.00. P. Coldits, 1.00. Chas. Bernat, 1.00. F. Morris, 50c. Prop. Stamp, 50c; Donation, \$1.00. W. E. McDermott, donation to Org. Fund, 17.00. A. Friedl, 1.00. Emma Petric, 1.25.

ADOLPH LESSIG, Recording Secretary, ULRICH FRUEH, Chairman, Local 152, Branch 1.

RESOLUTIONS OF LOCAL 152. Whereas, There appeared in the Daily People of Oct. 23, 1938, a set of resolutions signed by one Wm. Glanz, and presumably the above mentioned Industrial Union, Local 152 of Paterson, N. J., severing its connection with Headquarters of the I. W. U., and

Resolved, That we, the membership of Silk Workers' Industrial Union, Local 152, in general meeting assembled, do hereby repudiate the above mentioned resolutions, and brand them as the work of Wm. Glanz and three or four other disrupters; and be it further

Resolved, That we remain affiliated with General Headquarters, 210 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill., and endorse the action taken by General Organizer Vincent St. John, in instructing National Organizer Frank Bohn, to take possession of the furniture and other property of the Industrial Workers of the World of Paterson, N. J., until such time when we will have again secured suitable headquarters in this city; and be it further

Resolved, That we embody these resolutions in the minutes, and send a copy to the Industrial Union Bulletin for publication.

ADOLPH LESSIG, Recording Secretary, ULRICH FRUEH, Chairman, Local 152, Branch 1.

NEW YORK LECTURES. The following course of lectures will be held by the New York District Council of the I. W. U., in Brevoort Hall, 156 E. 54th St., near Third Avenue. All lectures begin at 3:00 p. m. and will be followed by questions and discussion. Admission is free.

NOW OR NEVER

The following contributions to the above fund have been received since our last acknowledgment:

C. E. Payne, \$2.00. Collected by Ino Edstrom—Oliver Makis, \$1.00; A. Larzer, \$1.00; Ino Edstrom, \$1.00. Local 86, Omaha, collected by B. H. Vail, \$1.00; N. F. Lindahl, \$1.00; F. H. Alexander, \$1.00; A. L. Schiermeyer, \$1.00; J. P. Roe, \$1.00; A. Gruter, \$1.00; N. Gruter, 50c; Geo. Markstall, \$1.00; Chas. H. Huber, \$1.00.

By Local 179, New York, \$1.00; otherwise collected, \$1.00. A. Borje on list—M. Ebrhard, \$1.50; A. Borje, \$1.50; P. F. H. Alexander, \$1.00; John Budnick, 50c; J. M. Antonio, 10c; D. Ticarra, collected on list—L. Terravis, 10c; A. Bernosconi, 10c; A. Antonetti, 10c; B. Cesare, 10c; G. Magin, 5c; B. Leo, 10c; G. Colombo, 10c; Nussoloni, 15c; B. Casare, 10c; E. Fortuna, 5c; J. Bertelle, 15c; P. Gianotti, 25c; 1/4.

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P. E. Peterson, collection—Ole Peterson, 60c; Alfred Peterson, 50c; V. E. Peterson, 50c. Anna Tewksbury, on list—Frank Allers, on list—J. Fritz, 25c; G. O. Hildon, 25c; Frank Alers, 75c; L. Gull, 25c; L. Swerson, 25c; O. Neime, 25c.

F. R. Schlein, on list—F. Brown, \$1.00; W. E. Edwards, \$1.00; H. Turngreen, 50c. R. J. Anderson, on list—P. M. Greig, 25c; J. Anderson, \$1.00; Otto Rickward, 50c; M. Abraham, 50c; Jos. Stoeke, 25c; Ike, 10c; Geo. C. Mooney, 25c.

L. Huber, 1.00. B. E. Nilson, 1.00. Jack Keister, 1.00. Peter Johnson, 1.00. George Hope, 1.00. P. H. Reynolds, 25c. H. A. Edwin, 1.00. Chas. Nelson, collection—Wm. Liebrecht, on list—F. Morris, 50c; E. Faust, 50c; John Rodriguez, 50c. Local 105, W. F. M., Trail, B. C., on list—Frank Ewing, 50c; Chas. Newman, 50c; E. McLean, 25c; F. D. Hardy, \$1.00; E. Hockstedt, \$1.00; contribution, 25c; Jacob Friedrichs, \$1.00; Hector M. Charles, \$1.00; Wm. Hockstedt, \$1.00; McSchrean, \$1.00; F. J. F. 25c; Ernst Bosselmann, 1.00; M. P. Haggerty, 1.00; F. H. Alexander, contribution, \$1.00; propaganda stamps, 50c.

J. T. Brillhart, 1.00. Ernest Bosselmann, 1.00. A. B. Erickson, 1.00. H. Goff, 1.00. Cash, 50c. Thos. Whitehead, 1.00. E. Bosselmann, 50c. R. Smith, 50c. F. Velarde, 50c. E. I. Socialist Unity Society, 50c. O. Ghezzi, 50c. F. Janke, 1.00. F. Morris, 50c. A. B. Cobbs, 2.00. Geo. H. Johnson, on list—Martin Clah, 50c; Pat Casey, \$1.00; T. Ekram, \$1.00; Michigan F. 25c; J. Wag-horn, 50c; Ed. Douglas, 50c; Jos. Casey, \$1.00; Jan. Trepe, \$1.00; T. E. Woodridge, 50c; W. Matson, \$1.00; C. F. Mc-Ater, 50c; E. F. Kirby, 50c; E. H. H. 25c; W. K. H. 50c. Geo. H. Johnson, 5.00. Local 215, 5.00. P. Coldits, 1.00. Chas. Bernat, 1.00. F. Morris, 50c. Prop. Stamp, 50c; Donation, \$1.00. W. E. McDermott, donation to Org. Fund, 17.00. A. Friedl, 1.00. Emma Petric, 1.25.

J. A. Stronquist, collected—J. P. Erskine, \$1.25; "Symphoizer," 35c; Ernest Bauman, 3.25; Eugene Krause, 50c; S. Schulberg, 1.00. Previously acknowledged \$1,115.19. Total \$1,397.74.

A LESSON IN DISCIPLINE. West Hoboken, N. J., Jan. 4, 1938. Secretary-Treasurer I. W. U. Fellow Workers: At a regular meeting of Textile Workers' Industrial Union 120, held on Dec. 18th, the matter of voting on the referendum was taken up and discussed at length. As the time was referring late and the members present thought they were not sufficiently enlightened, a motion to hold an extraordinary meeting for Friday, Dec. 18th, prevailed.

At this meeting the matter was discussed in detail. The actions of the General Officers prior to the convening of the convention, and the assault upon Fellow Workers Francis by three delegates, the unseating of three delegates, the getting of \$50.00 from the local unions which Francis represented, under the claim that he would be seated, and the unseating of Delegate Francis by the General Officers, we consider of sufficient importance to consider the late convention null and void.

The undersigned election committee, have been instructed to draw up this explanation so as to show the reasons of the vote taken by the members of this local union.

We were further instructed that this explanation shall appear in the next issue of the Industrial Union Bulletin.

We shall stand by the constitution as adopted by the Third annual convention and ratified by a general vote of the members, until another convention taken up and is properly conducted. Textile Workers' Industrial Union 120, is in good standing both with General Headquarters and with the National Textile Workers' Industrial Union of the Industrial Workers of the World, therefore we want this vote to be counted and explanation published.

Yours for Industrial Freedom, JOE ANTONIETTI, (Seal) ERNEST ALAZZONE, DOMENIO FIORO, CESARE BALLINI.

Owing to the fact as stated in the above communication, that Local 120 is in good standing both with the General Administration and the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers, and the further fact that the Local's act of voting in effect recognized, in spite of its declaring, "the late convention null and void," we comply with their request to count the local vote (which is solidly negative on every proposition), and to publish the same in the Bulletin. We will publish their statement for another reason as well. That is, to show the fellow workers, if possible, the absurd and contradictory attitude the local has allowed itself to assume with reference to the General Organization, through the influence of a clique of would-be "wreckers" of the I. W. U. in New York.

In the first place, where did Local 120 get its information on the matters mentioned in the above communication as their reasons "to consider the late convention null and void." No communication whatsoever came to the General Office from Local 120, in the actions of the General Officers prior to the convening of the convention," (2) as to the "assault upon Fellow Worker Francis by three delegates" (3) as to the "unseating of three delegates," (4) as to "the getting of \$50.00 from the local unions which Francis represented, under the claim that he would be seated," or (5) as to "the unseating of Delegate Francis in spite of the payment of the debt owed to General Headquarters."

Yet we are told these matters were "discussed in detail" by the local. On the other hand, the question of reference by Local 120 was based upon alleged information derived from an outside and hostile source, with no attempt on the local's part to get any information from the side and the local even consulted the published minutes of the convention in the Bulletin. Had they done so, their statements regarding the "getting of \$50.00" could not have been made.

For the enlightenment of the fellow workers of Local 120, we will take up in detail the five points raised above:

1. The actions of the General Officers prior to the convening of the convention" are subject to inquiry from Local 120. No specifications are made by the local, consequently there is nothing to affirm or to deny.

2. The "assault upon Fellow Worker Francis by three General Officers" had nothing whatsoever to do with the convention. By no possible stretch of imagination could that incident be construed as a reason for "considering the late convention null and void."

The incident in question occurred at General Headquarters on the morning of the first day, before the convention was called to order. It grew out of the fact that several weeks before that Francis had done some work for the I. W. U. in New York, which he (Francis) considered should be paid for by the General Administration, and had paid himself out of receipts obtained at the time, without previously putting in his bill, and sent the balance to General Headquarters. Secretary St. John, in a letter to Francis, acknowledged the indebtedness, but reemphasized the matter, and Francis, however, refused to send a voucher for the amount he had received, the voucher to be signed and returned to General Headquarters. Francis, however, replied with a sneaky letter, and returned the voucher signed by Francis, and among the delegates in the General Office on the morning of Sept. 21, St. John took the voucher to him, and said: "Sign that." Francis signed without a murmur. St. John said:

"Next time I may have occasion to send you a voucher, you sign it, and don't send any sneaky letter in, as you or I will go to New York and knock your block off." Francis, rising from his chair, replied: "Who in hell are you?" whereupon St. John slapped him in the face with his open palm. Francis then used his hand against St. John, and that being taken away from him, grabbed up a chair and assaulted St. John with that "weapon of physical force." It was then that Jones and others interposed to protect St. John whom they knew had use of only one arm; and in his anger Jones gave Francis several well-directed blows in the face. Shortly afterwards Francis, standing on one side of a table, boasted: "I believe I could lick that fellow" (meaning St. John), which so angered Heulwood that he made for Francis. Heulwood, however, restrained himself (which was lucky for Francis), and the incident ended. It will be seen from the foregoing that the incident in question had nothing to do with the convention.

3. No reasons are given by Local 120 for objecting to "the unseating of three delegates." It was assumed that the only reason is partiality for the delegates in question, without regard to the literal and implied constitutional grounds upon which they were excluded? Here are the facts:

Max Ledermann of Local 85 was denied a seat in the convention as proxy delegate for Local 85, because he did not bear credentials from his own local also. Section 14 of Article IV of the constitution, as amended by the Third annual convention, reads as follows: "Two or more local unions in the same locality, with a total membership of 500 or less, may jointly send a delegate to the convention and the vote of said delegate shall be based on the representation heretofore provided for; provided said delegate is a member in good standing of one of the locals so sending him." Ledermann offered as excuse for bearing Local 52's credentials that some of the members of that local could speak English which was afterwards found to be false. It was also found out subsequently that Ledermann obtained Local 52's credentials on the false representation that he would also have credentials from his own local. The convention, however, in denying him a seat, acted only on the constitutional ground above quoted.

Daniel DeLeon of Local 58 was excluded on grounds given in a protest by members of his own local in New York. Trauring and J. Ebert—who contended:

(a) That DeLeon, who was working in a printing office, properly belonged in the local of the printing industry in New York City (Local 161), and not in the Store and Office Workers' (Local 58); and that DeLeon's supporters in Local 58, while admitting the fact, refused to transfer him to 161.

(b) That DeLeon's supporters packed off 58 new members to the convention of his election as delegate to the convention.

(c) That DeLeon's "pernicious activity" and disruptive tactics towards the I. W. U. in the past year had reached untold injury to the organization.

The committee on credentials reported that they had sustained the protest on the first two charges, but had taken an order to be filed in the third contention, but the discussion in the convention brought out all three of them; and the charges were substantiated by irrefutable facts. (See minutes in Bulletin in English or Italian.)

A. J. Francis of Local 59 was denied a seat (1) pending the settlement of a debt of \$51.05 owed General Headquarters by Francis' local; and again (2) pending the disposition of further protest before the Credentials Committee, based upon the grounds of Francis' conduct as a member of the protest. On the last named protest Francis refused to appear before the Committee on Credentials in his own defense, and therefore ruled himself out of the convention.

The convention acted with coolness and deliberation on all these cases, and each of the protesting delegates was given the floor to present his side of the case. Again we refer the members of Local 120 to the published minutes for further details and confirmation of the above statements.

It is to be noted, as Local 120 does, that "the \$50.00 from the local unions which Francis represented" was gotten "on the claim that he would be seated," but a partial statement of facts and the whole truth as to the matter was not presented. In the first place, the protest against seating the delegate from Local 59 was made by St. John as Assistant Secretary, and was based upon the fact that Local 59 owed the General Administration the sum of \$51.05; and was therefore not in good standing according to the constitution. (See Article III, Section 15.) The protest was sustained by a roll call vote of the convention. The question then asked the chairman by Delegate A. Yates, whether on payment of the \$51.05, Francis would be seated at once. The chair answered that the delegate from Local 59 would be seated on payment of the sum owed. At the beginning of the afternoon's session, Delegate A. Yates announced that Francis had made good with the money (showing a receipt therefor), and asked if he was not thereby seated. The chair ruled that the matter would have to go to the Credentials Committee and be reported on in regular order; but on a point of order by Katz that the chair had ruled in the morning that the delegate would be seated immediately on payment of the union's obligation, the chair reversed that decision and decided in accordance with Katz' point of order. Williams then appealed from the decision of the chair on the ground that a motion was necessary to seat the delegate from Local 59. By a roll call vote Williams was sustained and the chair overruled. A motion was then made to seat the delegate from Local 59, and after an entire day's discussion, in which Williams, Flynn and other delegates gave reasons for protesting—not Local 59, but Francis personally—the motion to seat Francis was lost by a roll call vote. Delegate Francis then appealed through a vote by Delegate Trauring that he (Francis) was through with the matter, and he refused

to appear before the Credentials Committee in answer to the protests filed by Williams, Flynn and others. The subsequent motion by A. Yates, that the money should be paid back to Local 59, on the ground that it was obtained under false pretenses, placed those who supported that motion in the position of appearing before the convention in the role of saboteurs trying to buy a seat for Local 59 and then wanting the money back (which they admitted was owed by the local) when they found the seat was not for sale, and could not be obtained by a delegate from that or any other local, whose conduct gave grounds for further protesting him personally. Yates' motion was voted down.

The position taken by Local 120, that "we shall stand by the constitution adopted by the Third convention," etc., betrays a lack of understanding on the members' part of their relation to the I. W. U. as a whole. If these members will take a look at work and constitution which the local announces its intention "to stand by," they will see that it provides a structural form for the I. W. U., consisting of Local 120, for instance, is subordinate to the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers, to the Department, and the latter to the General Administration whose supreme power resides in the General Referendum of the entire membership of the I. W. U. The acts of the Fourth annual convention have been ratified by referendum. Consequently the constitution as amended by the Fourth convention, is the only one that exists. It should be apparent, then, to Local 120 that as a part of the I. W. U., they are bound to work under the organic law established by and for the whole body of which they are not a part. Otherwise the local cannot function as a part of the I. W. U. If there is anything but the amended constitution which the members of Local 120 do not like, let them work for changes at future conventions. Only in that way will they act as all members of the I. W. U. must learn to act if the organization is to accomplish its mission.

The response on the Dinner Set offer in the last Bulletin, not being sufficient, the offer has been withdrawn.

OFFICIAL NOTICES. Under this heading we will publish all notices of an official nature coming from the Industrial Union of Textile Workers as places and time of meetings, location of headquarters, etc. must reach this office not later than Tuesday, week of assurance publication in the issue of the same week.

SECRETARIES AND CORRESPONDENTS. Secretaries should use full size letter-head in writing to the General Office. It will facilitate the work of keeping the files. Fill out the report blanks regularly and send them to the Office. When ordering stamps, supplies, etc., confine your order to the work of the letter and do not scatter it through the envelope. In remitting money to the General Office, be careful to specify whether it is for an order to be filed in payment for one already filed. For example: "Enclosed find \$5.00, which send the following": "Enclosed find \$2.00 in payment for literature received in such and such a date," etc. Standing orders for Bulletins will have to be paid for advance. Extra bundles ordered from time to time will be sent subject to being paid for as soon as possible. Address all communications, subs., resolutions, and articles for publication, to the Industrial Union Bulletin, Room 310, Bush Temple. Organization means system. System means organization. Let us have system. That we may have organization. V. ST. JOHN, General Secretary.

Local unions having on hand any of the leaflets, "Shall the Miners Always Be Slaves?" in English or Italian, should send them to J. J. Eitor, 213 Spruce St., Scranton, Pa., where they can be used to good advantage at this time.

NOTICE. Painters' Branch 1, Local 18, meets every second and fourth Tuesdays in each month at 112 North Main St., Druid's Hall, at 8 o'clock sharp. Workers invited to attend these meetings.

ERNEST CRANE, Secretary, 1648 South Olive St., Los Angeles, Cal.

Local 85, Branch 2, I. W. U., meets at Trade Union Hall, 55 North Clark St., Chicago, Ill., on the first and third of each month at 8 o'clock sharp. Workers invited to attend these meetings.

JOE H. REYNOLDS, Secretary.

SPOKANE WASHINGTON. Local-Union No. 444, Industrial Workers of the World, meets every Friday evening at W. W. Hall, 524 Washington St. All workings are cordially invited to attend these meetings.

FRED ILLER, Secretary.

ed to appear before the Credentials Committee in answer to the protests filed by Williams, Flynn and others. The subsequent motion by A. Yates, that the money should be paid back to Local 59, on the ground that it was obtained under false pretenses, placed those who supported that motion in the position of appearing before the convention in the role of saboteurs trying to buy a seat for Local 59 and then wanting the money back (which they admitted was owed by the local) when they found the seat was not for sale, and could not be obtained by a delegate from that or any other local, whose conduct gave grounds for further protesting him personally. Yates' motion was voted down.

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The Fourth Annual Convention of The I. W. W.

TENTH DAY'S SESSION—Continued.

TENTH DAY, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1920. FORENOON.

Chair called the convention to order at 9 o'clock a. m., and suggested that the convention adjourn to 2 o'clock p. m. to give the committee time to finish their work. Motion to that effect carried.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chair called convention to order at 2 o'clock p. m. Roll call was read; 7 absentees. Minutes of previous session were read.

Communications—Secretary read a communication, to-wit:

"Whereas, the unseated delegate from Local Union No. 58 has published a deliberately garbled account of part of the proceedings of the fourth annual convention of the Industrial Workers of the World in the Sunday People of September 27th, 1920, as proven by the minutes adopted by the convention and 'Whereas, the said delegate in said article has referred to members of the I. W. W. as 'slum proletarians,' 'Be it resolved that this convention go on record as denouncing said report, and declares such actions as detrimental to the I. W. W. and requests that the incoming executive board take constitutional action in the matter.'"

"J. A. McArthur, J. D. Smith, Eliz. G. Flynn, H. L. Gaines, C. H. Axelsson."

Moved by McArthur, seconded by House, that the resolution be adopted. Motion carried.

Whitehead requested that the report of the auditing committee be taken up as special order of business, so that the general secretary treasurer could get away and attend to other important duties.

Request was granted.

Whitehead reported that the committee had gone over the books and accounts of the organization carefully and that they found everything correctly entered and vouchers for all expenditures. He read the total of income and expenditures, and found according to books a balance of \$202.75. One mistake to the amount of \$14.80 was found, though entered on day books, but not transferred to cash book, but in justice to the secretary it should be stated that the entry had the mark in the handwriting of the secretary, "Look up," and as an overplus of \$14.85 was found on hand, there is a difference of 5 cents in favor of the general secretary treasurer. He then read the liabilities of the organization and stated that the general secretary treasurer asked that the liability of \$465.43 due to the Preston Smith fund be explained by him to the convention.

The committee made several recommendations, which are recorded as action was taken on them.

Trautmann explained the Preston-Smith fund. He stated that the general office had issued three calls for funds. In the first two calls the contributors were requested to send the money to Goldfield, and a part account of that money thus collected was given through the Bulletin by the committee in charge of the defense in Goldfield. The third leaflet advises contributions to be sent to Denver. In connection with the defense there were 12,000 letters sent out, and an equal number are in preparation, and with the cost of printing the expense exceeds the amounts that a few contributors sent to general headquarters of the I. W. W. instead of forwarding it to the places as directed on the printed circulars. Yet he could not see his way clear to pay these expenses from these receipts and it is up to the convention to decide whether the expense of conducting the preparations for defense be deducted, or the money be forwarded and the organization defray all the expenses incurred.

Questions were asked relative to the accounts of Williams and the overpayment of organizers. The secretary explained the situation and showed that these were caused by circumstances over which the secretary had no control.

Yates wanted to know since when Williams was not considered under pay of the organization, and Williams requested that his accounts be referred to the incoming executive board for investigation.

A motion was made by Hertz and seconded by Wm. Yates that the matter of overpayment to Rud. Katz and

of Williams be referred for further investigation to the incoming executive board. Motion carried.

Committee on audit recommended as follows:

"We, your auditing committee, recommend that the G. E. B. shall elect from the unseated delegates an auditing committee of three, who shall audit the books three days prior to the convention, to be paid at the rate of \$3 per day.

"We also recommend that all delegates bring with them tabulated statements from locals they represent of all receipts from the general headquarters with 'date,' 'number of receipt' and amount.

(Signed) Thos. Whitehead, George Conover, O. J. Sautter."

Motion made to adopt part 1 of recommendation.

After some discussion the motion was carried.

Motion was made to adopt part 2 of recommendation. After some discussion it was amended by Axelsson, seconded by McArthur, that the word "receipts" be inserted in place of tabulated account.

Amendment carried, and motion as amended carried unanimously. Moved by Miller and seconded by McArthur that auditing committee be discharged. Motion carried.

Motion was made that the general executive board deduct the amount of expenses for getting out the appeals for support of Preston and Smith. Motion was amended that the full amount of money collected be turned over to Preston and Smith.

Amendment carried.

Committee on resolutions reported that the following resolution be adopted, to-wit:

"Be it resolved by this convention that in accordance with the resolution passed at the convention of the French branches of the I. W. W. held on May 30th and 31st, 1920, at Lawrence, Mass., the co-operative movement of the working class in France and Belgium be studied during the ensuing year and that the editor of the I. U. Bulletin be instructed to publish valuable articles and news items relating to it."

Signed by thirteen delegates.

Motion made to concur in report of committee. Motion carried.

Communication was read as follows:

"Resolved that we rescind our action re minority report of grievance committee in regard to executive board member Williams and substitute a vote of censure for failure to proceed to Philadelphia re matter of Bakery Workers, but commend him for his strenuous fight against the enemies of the I. W. W."

"Elizabeth Gurley Flynn."

Motion made by McArthur, seconded by Axelsson, to rescind the action of previous day against Williams. Motion carried, three votes dissenting.

Motion made by Executive Board Member Williams be censured for failure to proceed to Philadelphia re matter of bakery workers, but commend him for his strenuous fight against the enemies of the I. W. W.

Motion to divide the question carried. The first clause was then adopted.

Committee on constitution reported. Committee recommended not to concur in the proposed amendment of L. U. No. 15 to Article 5, Section 2, to-wit:

"Local unions which would come under the jurisdiction of the textile department shall pay ten cents per capita tax to general headquarters."

Motion was made to adopt report. Motion carried.

On Art. 6, section 6, committee recommends the following amendment: "The general executive board, or not less than ten locals in at least three industries, may initiate a referendum on any subject, but local unions demanding a referendum on deferring action on any matter upon which the date has been set, must have sufficient endorsement at least sixty days prior to the close of such vote. All referendum returns shall be based upon the membership for the month prior to the issuance of such referendum."

Motion made and seconded to adopt report. Motion carried.

Committee recommended on Article 6, Section 7, be amended to read as follows: "As soon as there are two or more National Industrial Unions in

closely kindred industries with an aggregate membership of not less than ten thousand, the General Executive Board shall immediately proceed to call a convention of these National Industrial Unions, and to organize them as a National Industrial Department of the Industrial Workers of the World."

Motion to adopt report was carried.

(To be continued.)

THE ETHICS OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

E. J. FOOT.

Is it not, let me ask you, by moral life, by internal movement on the one hand and by order and discipline on the other, that institutions take possession of society?—Guisot.

When a great change takes place in society, operating through a large development of wealth and power, the revolution with its transformation of the entire social fabric expresses itself in two distinct categories; notwithstanding that these two facts are comprehended in one great fact, it exists out of two conditions and makes itself manifest by two symptoms; namely: the condition of social activity and individual activity; the condition of society as a whole and the condition of the individual as a part.

It is a truth which meets with ready acceptance, that wherever the material conditions of the individual extends, vivifies and ameliorates itself; whenever a unit of society displays itself with luster at the expense of society as a whole, it necessarily involves and carries with it the desire, the sentiment of the whole society expressed in some degree, however imperfect.

Reverse this viewpoint: Suppose the social development in progress at the expense of the individual; does it regenerate in like degree and manner in its process of refining and regulation of the material conditions of the individual?

It is this apparent contradiction in the elements of society that lead some to deny the possibility of a union, the one with the other of these two warring factors; but if we inquire into the spontaneous, instinctive convictions of men, we find the two elements associated and closely joined together; that from the effect of the one we expect a like result from the other, and we are not to suppose that this progress of society does not react upon and militate to the advantage of the individual.

Admitting all the crimes charged against social development committed at the expense of its members, society regulates and disciplines because it is inherently an expression of the mass of individuals and furnishes the occasion, the *mobile*, for individual advancement, and though obstacles of all sorts may interpose, though a thousand transformations may be undergone, in fact, have been undergone, yet sooner or later they will rejoin each other because this is a law of nature expressing itself as the great fact of history—the faith and the hope of the race.

And this faith and hope which has come to express itself in a theoretical ideal is borne of the recognition of that integral relationship of the individuals and has to do with a more harmonious self adjustment of the minute material interests which form a thread and weave a design in the woof of society. The condition of this adjustment and relationship is what is properly constituted in the meaning of the word, ethics.

After arriving at a definition we can well afford to leave the academic form of discussion and descend, armed with this formulated knowledge, into the intricate and complex mechanism of the labor movement.

In discussing the ethics of industrial unionism, one is forced into the use of this form of organization as a criterion of the labor movement; to acknowledge at the outset, the true nature of the causes that have brought the I. W. W. into existence. For is it not true that the violation of all ethical standards by the American labor movement; the progress of the movement at the expense of the individual; the scabbery and villainy condoned and excused by partisans of the general movement, has formed itself into a universal protest against crime, a protest which assumes the role of critic finding voice in the Industrial Workers of the World.

To the lay reader it may appear that the internal dissension of the American labor movement is instigated by pompous individuals who assume the role of preceptor and carry on the interclass strife in behalf of this vainglorious ambition; the facts are, however, that the cause for the lack of working-class solidarity is of a deeper and more vital importance; that the source of the menace is not to be traced to the bumpkins, but exists and flows out of the original relationship of workers in the industries.

The primitive mental attitude of the working man who is known to his fellow workers by the slang phrase of "nucker" who by fawning subservience, plays the part of informer against his

fellow workers, furnishes the key to the system of capitalist control of the American labor movement.

It is perhaps true that the ideas which found expression in craft unionism originally was borne of an attempt to overcome this primitive individual theory of self protection by organizing all the workers in a given craft into international unions whereby the demands of the individual could be formulated along the lines of his immediate self protection with the additional advantage of the numerical strength of all craftsmen; this idea carried to its highest completion through a federation of craft unions, has given us an organization numbering two million members known as the American Federation of Labor.

By the light of industrial development we find, however, that instead of doing away with the petty and narrow idea of the individual workman who seeks redress from aggression of obverse material conditions, that the craft unions have formulated this original idea into a program of scabbery under the name of unionism; by putting craft interest against craft interest in the industry and enabling the employers to more easily control the working class in their gigantic industries by using the international unions of the A. F. of L. in place of individual spirit of malice displayed by the informers and stool pigeons with which the working class is infested.

It is the recognition of this fact by "labor leaders" on the one hand and by politicians of varied denominations on the other and the means of livelihood to be gained by exploiting this form of impotency that the workers have become harassed by men who prey through this system of espionage, from the most insignificant labor fakir to the political shysters posing as saviors of the working class.

If it is true that terms are only of relative importance and are only applicable to conditions as necessity dictates, then it is true also that the virtue of this entire controversy hinges upon the ethical declaration of industrial unionism, that "An injury to one is an injury to all." For, in view of the facts herein set forth, it is plain that this principle did not apply to previous conditions, but that it does now apply to present conditions and will apply with an ever growing necessity by virtue of industrial development. For the good and sufficient reason that the self interest of workmen has kept pace with this development and today finds itself expanded into organic class interests.

Thus it is that we have arrived at a true ethical standard of working class action to find that it is expressed in its completest sense by the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World, and at the same time justified the existence of the I. W. W. with its plan of organization as the scientific way of binding together the material interests of the individual, making it possible to bring about that union referred to at the outset: the individual and social activity of the working class.

I would gladly stop here were it not that more remains to be said as regards those individuals of whom mention has already been made. The logic of this ethical standard has, however, saved us some effort by convicting that class of individuals whom we have referred to as labor fakirs, of their crimes and expurgates the question at issue of the contamination of their continued existence.

It does not, however, entirely shut out that class of men who have held to the general social activity of the movement, and in so doing, condoned and ignored or exploited the ethical standard herein set forth. An unlimited ambition and an admirable faculty of extracting from every day and circumstance some new means of creating dissension, "The art of turning chance to profit, without pretending to rule it," swayed and guided by interested views and the necessities of their situation, who in contributing to the overthrow of the capitalist system of production are discovered in the act of laying plans whereby they can foist themselves into the place of power soon vacant; who after posing as fiery revolutionists are found facing about for anti-revolutionary reaction; successively a Danton and a Bonaparte.

It is of these men that the working class stand in most danger in assuming the new role of industrial organization. Not content with the scheming coercion long clothed in the sophistry of economic phrases, we discover them on the eve of their final expulsion from the arena of revolutionary working class action, abetting discord in our ranks; heaping calumny upon our members; holding us up singly and collectively to persecution by the capitalist class in denouncing us as "assassins," "veiled dynamiters," etc., and finally, intruding from without and within to maintain their insidious domination of the working class.

To rid ourselves of this form of chicanery we must trust to our growing consciousness in the meaning of that greatest of ethical ideals, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

THE NEW PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution:

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Local Union No. 223 of the Industrial Workers of the World of Spokane Wash., meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at the Union Hall, No. 514 Washington St., Spokane, Wash. All workers are heartily invited to these meetings. JAMES J. STARK, Financial Secretary, No. 211 Spokane, Wash.

For news of the Industrial movement in Great Britain read THE INDUSTRIALIST, which contains news of the British movement and the continental Syndicalist movement. Published monthly.

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