



The Industrial Union Bulletin

PUBLISHED BY THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

212 BUSH TEMPLE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Yearly subscription... 50 Cents
Six Months... 25 Cents
In Advance... One Dollar
Canadian and Foreign Subscriptions (per year)... One Dollar

Entered as second-class matter March 1, 1907, at the postoffice at Chicago, Ill., under the act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

THE "SLUM PROLETARIAT."

Immediately after the second I. W. W. convention the sonorous phrase monger, otherwise known as editor of the Miners Magazine, coined and hurled at the majority of delegates to that convention a number of choice epithets.

A second time, following the fourth convention of the I. W. W., an equally celebrated coiner of phrases echoed the same cry in slightly different and more sinister terms.

We have no reason to waste space deploring the attitude of the above-named individuals and their followers. Both O'Neill and DeLeon may be expected to feel sore at the well-merited drubbings they and their respective followings received from the proletarian delegates of two I. W. W. conventions.

But, lest some workmen, unacquainted with the lay of the land, may chance to hear the cry, "slum proletariat," and be led astray thereby, we wish to take up this charge, and distinguish between the "slum proletariat," properly so called, and that element of the working class in the I. W. W. to whom this term has been falsely applied.

The "slum proletariat" does not consist of workers, but rather, as Marx defines it, of the "dangerous" class, the social scum, that PASSIVELY rotting class thrown off by the lowest layers of old society—in short, of parasites of the "under world."

Associated with the middle-class elements in the slums are, of course, many former members of the working class, especially women, whom starvation wages in department stores and factories have driven into the ranks of prostitutes.

But the cry, "slum proletariat," uttered by enemies of the I. W. W., does not proceed from the discovery of such elements in the organization. On the contrary, that cry is raised against a militant element of the working class, popularly known in the West as the "hobo."

With a territory embracing in area more than one-third of the United States, that section of the country has a combined population scarcely exceeding that of the single state of New York.

Like the pioneers of an earlier day, workmen who travel westward are for the most part imbued with the restless spirit of enterprise born of the desire for improved conditions. But unlike the pioneer seeking a homestead and finding it, the modern wage worker who "goes west" finds no alternative except to hunt for a master.

With his perceptions quickened by travel and varied experience, the "hobo" not only absorbs readily the idea of industrial unionism, but carries that idea with him wherever he goes.

It was the "hobo" miner that constituted the backbone of the Western Federation of Miners in its struggles with the Mine Owners' Association. He it was who led the fights in Cripple Creek and Telluride, in Bisbee and Goldfield; and it is he that is struggling today, with some notable exceptions, among the "home guard," to save Butte from the "copper collar" of the Standard Oil.

to prevent the W. F. of M. from falling into the ranks of "conservative, safe and sane" labor organizations.

In the lumber, general farming, and fruit industries of the West, similar types of shifting workers are found. At the end of the harvest, or when the lumber camps close down in the fall, thousands of fruit pickers, harvest hands and lumber jacks gather for a few months in cities like Spokane, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles, where they spend much of their leisure in public libraries and show up in large numbers at Socialist and I. W. W. meetings.

The "hobo" in his travels does not "always ride first-class." He may not enjoy the luxury of "health bread" or of a "summer home" beside the "cool and beautiful shores of Long Island Sound."

The cry, "slum proletariat," like that of "dynamiter," is an intended "shield" to reaction in its worst stage of disappointment and consequent mendacity.

RESOLUTION ON PRESTON AND SMITH AFFAIR.

(Adopted by the Fourth Annual Convention of the I. W. W.)

WHEREAS, In March, 1907, John Silva, a restaurant keeper of Goldfield, Nevada, had trouble with a waitress and discharged her; and WHEREAS, Because of the fact that after discharging the girl, Silva stubbornly refused to pay her the wages due, a strike was called and pickets established to induce people not to patronize the restaurant while the strike was on; and

WHEREAS, Silva seeing fellow worker M. R. Preston doing picket duty outside of the restaurant, grabbed a revolver and aimed at Preston; and

WHEREAS, Preston, realizing it was a case of life or death, drew his own revolver and shot Silva in self-defense and then gave himself up to the authorities; and

WHEREAS, Fellow Worker Joseph Smith, who was not present at the time and knew nothing of what had happened, was arrested and along with Preston indicted for murder; and

WHEREAS, In the so-called trial that followed, irrelevant testimony tending to confuse the jury and prejudice their minds against the defendants was accepted from men who have a record as professional thugs and hold-up men; and

WHEREAS, The counsel for the State was permitted to tell the jury, "You must convict the defendants because such a conviction will tend to cause people living outside of Nevada to invest their money in the State and so bring about great prosperity. Convict these men as an example!"; and

WHEREAS, The judge by not allowing proper cross-examination of witnesses, by his different rulings during the trial (?) as well as in his charge to the jury showed himself to be either violently prejudiced against the defendants or overanxious to serve the robber class who were persecuting them; and

WHEREAS, In spite of being coerced into a verdict the jury recommended the defendants to the mercy of the court; and

WHEREAS, Fellow Worker Preston was sentenced to serve twenty-five years and Fellow Worker Smith ten years in prison for manslaughter; and

WHEREAS, In the case of Fellow Worker Preston it is clear that he did nothing except to obey the first law of nature—self-preservation; and

WHEREAS, Manslaughter as defined by the laws of Nevada is as follows: "Manslaughter is the unlawful killing of a human being without malice, expressed or implied, and without any mixture of deliberation. It must be voluntary upon a sudden heat of passion, caused by provocation, apparently sufficient to make the passion irresistible; or, involuntary in the commission of an unlawful act or a lawful act, without due caution or circumspection"; and

WHEREAS, It is conceded that Fellow Worker Smith was home with his family at the time Silva was killed and therefore his conviction under the above law is an absurdity; and

WHEREAS, It is clear from the above facts that the trial of Preston and Smith was a farce and their conviction a crime against the working class; and

WHEREAS, The only real criminals in this case are those who "wearing the purple of hypocrisy" in the form of "spread eagle" talks about "justice," "liberty," "prosperity," "civilized methods," etc., are slowly taking the lives of our fellow workers in the prison of Nevada; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we gather together all the facts in this case and carefully search out the records of all the men behind it and keep it ever before the workers as a sample of the kind of law and the kind of "even-handed justice" the ruling class of this country sometimes ask us to defend with our lives; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge ourselves to do all in our power to secure the freedom of our fellow workers, Preston and Smith.

RESOLUTION ON MEXICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS.

(Adopted by the Fourth Annual Convention of the I. W. W.)

WHEREAS, the ruling class of Mexico, through its chief representative, President Porfirio Diaz, and his army of sneaking, lying witnesses and butchers, have succeeded in grinding the members of our class in that country down to a condition of slavery almost unequalled in history; and

WHEREAS, These members of our class, obeying the first law of nature, self-preservation, are bravely striving against terrible odds to better their condition; and

WHEREAS, Certain active workers in this struggle, among whom are Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio I. Villarreal and Librado Rivera, having sought refuge in the United States, and having been trailed here by the human bloodhounds of President Diaz, are, through the co-operation of American officials being held in prison in this country; and

WHEREAS, Jan Janoff Pourten, owing to a struggle going on in Russia almost identical with that in Mexico, has, in order to escape the bloody hand of the Czar, also sought refuge in this country and has likewise been thrown into prison; and

WHEREAS, By thus co-operating with the emissaries of the Czar and President Diaz in bounding these political refugees, the ruling class of this country shows that it considers itself as one with the robber classes of other countries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members of the Industrial Workers of the World, extend greetings of solidarity to our fellow workers in Mexico and Russia, and pledge ourselves to do all in our power to secure the freedom of all political refugees in this country.

IMPORTANT TO READERS OF THE BULLETIN.

FELLOW WORKERS:

You all realize the utmost importance of the Bulletin to the organization.

It is the means of communication between the members of the organization.

It is the one and only avenue of publicity that the organization has.

All of you must have realized the effort it has cost to maintain the Bulletin.

The temporary suspension of the Bulletin has served to emphasize these facts.

The present situation in the labor movement of this country makes it more than ever imperative that the WEEKLY BULLETIN be assured.

In order to have the paper on a self-sustaining basis at the subscription price of 50 cents per year, 20,000 copies must be printed.

Until this number is had the cost of issuing the Bulletin will be an expense on the organization.

To meet this expense we are submitting the following propositions to the readers of the Bulletin:

1. Are you willing to contribute the sum of 50 cents or more as a donation to the Bulletin in the present emergency?

2. Are you in favor of raising the subscription price of the Bulletin to \$1.00 per year?

Cut out the below coupon and send it in at once with your answers to the above questions. VINCENT ST. JOHN.

Vincent St. John, 310 Bush Temple, Chicago, Illinois.

I hereby enclose... as a donation to the INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN SUSTAINING FUND, which you will please acknowledge receipt of in the paper.

I vote... raising the subscription price of the INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN from 50 cents to \$1.00 per year.

Yours truly, Name... Address...

A LESSON IN CIVILIZED TACTICS.

How the I. W. W. Entertains Its Visitors.

By Catharine Flynn, New York.

I have read in the papers lately about the tactics strike and the interruption of some of their meetings by the police. This reminds me of an incident which occurred at one of the meetings of the Transportation Local of the I. W. W.

The Transportation Department were conducting a strike which caused much sensation and disturbance among the newspapers, police and employers. Their outdoor meetings were broken up by the police as often as possible, the newspapers gave bad reports of them, and they did everything in general that could be done to hinder the strike.

One evening the strikers announced their intention of holding a business meeting. At the appointed hour and place they met to discuss several necessary things in carrying on the strike.

In succession, the report of the financial secretary was making his report. The door opened, and ten or twelve policemen entered, led by their captain, and lined themselves up in the back of the hall. Several members of the organization arose excitedly, but the chairman rapped loudly for order, and bade them resume their seats.

The financial secretary looked at his report, the audience, the policemen, and the chairman, in succession, very much confused. The chairman asked the policemen to remove their hats, but they refused. He requested them to be seated, but the captain replied that they preferred to remain standing. Some one arose, and said it is my duty as chairman to dispense with a program as uninteresting and unentertaining to them as the business of our organization, and call on some one who can explain its principles briefly and well.

The same one arose and moved that Comrade O'Hara be called on, which motion was put through. The chairman then gave the floor to Comrade O'Hara. He walked up to the front of the room with a broad smile on his face. "Comrade Chairman," said he, "Fellow Workers," at which the strikers looked doubtful, "and Friends: I greatly appreciate the honor that is being bestowed on me here tonight, in calling on me to speak before so large, intelligent and appreciative an audience, but I will do my very best to explain our principles briefly. As our time is greatly limited, I will not go into them deeply. I will explain briefly the socialist theories, their relative position to Christianity, the relation between trades unionism and the woman question, that of law and the land question to the social and labor problem, the difference between trades unionism and anarchism and its relation to wages and religion, the position of the socialists on evolution and the unemployed, their ideas on the growth of woman suffrage and the Paris Commune, and, if our time will allow, I will explain historical materialism, sex relation, and the attitude of the socialists on the new method of spelling, and, if our friends are then still interested, I will give a brief outline of Karl Marx' theory of value. Then, if our friends are not weary, I will go deeper into the philosophy of Industrial Unionism and its various phases."

O'Hara seemed then in his element and enjoying himself immensely. The audience settled themselves for a good lecture. The policemen listened attentively and politely. O'Hara talked rapidly for about two hours without stopping, and was then so weary that at the beginning, except that he looked against the speaker's desk. Then the policemen signed, and looked longingly at those who were seated. But this only increased O'Hara's energy, and he stood on both feet and talked louder.

When two hours and a half had passed, a man arose in the back, and disputed the speaker, asking for the floor to prove his point. He talked for some time, citing cases from the history of various countries to convince his listeners. He said he would read from Karl Marx' "Value, Price and Profit" to show that O'Hara was wrong. Then he drew from his pocket a worn and tattered pamphlet, and read it from cover to cover, and ended his argument by a dissertation on the Paris Commune. Then a little son of Israel arose. He said, in Jewish dialect, "Mister Chairman: I would like to dispute the last speaker. If you will give me the floor for a few minutes, I will convince him that I am right." He then talked for half an hour in broken English which no one understood but himself, and sat down, fully satisfied that he had convinced the last speaker (who was asleep) and O'Hara also.

Some of the policemen looked at their clubs almost longingly. Then O'Hara arose, and said that both were wrong, much to the indignation of the Jew and the historian, who justly awakened and showed signs of getting dangerous. He tried to drown the Jew's voice and O'Hara's shouts and the chairman's repeated raps for order by every possible way. At last order was restored. The interrupter of the historian and the Jew had only refreshed O'Hara, who started again with renewed energy. The policemen were now getting quite tired. They looked longingly at the empty chairs, the door, the sleepers, and had the bad habit of breathing through his mouth. The captain looked as if he, too, were losing courage, and were wishing that he had accepted the chair. When the time advanced towards the early hours of morning, most were weary but O'Hara and a few others who now and then disrupted him, much to the amazement of the visitors.

At last the captain looked at his watch, and muttered something which, though it could not be exactly understood, did not sound very nice from a visitor and a captain of police, and turning towards the door, led his men out, much to their relief. As they were going out, the historian, who had been sitting Chairman: A point of order, but I was drowsed by the slumming of the door.

Our story ends with the exit of the police. I do not know what happened after that, except that the meetings of the Transportation Local of the Industrial Workers of the World were never again disturbed by the police.

stood on both feet and talked louder. When two hours and a half had passed, a man arose in the back, and disputed the speaker, asking for the floor to prove his point.

He talked for some time, citing cases from the history of various countries to convince his listeners. He said he would read from Karl Marx' "Value, Price and Profit" to show that O'Hara was wrong.

Then he drew from his pocket a worn and tattered pamphlet, and read it from cover to cover, and ended his argument by a dissertation on the Paris Commune. Then a little son of Israel arose. He said, in Jewish dialect, "Mister Chairman: I would like to dispute the last speaker. If you will give me the floor for a few minutes, I will convince him that I am right."

He then talked for half an hour in broken English which no one understood but himself, and sat down, fully satisfied that he had convinced the last speaker (who was asleep) and O'Hara also.

Some of the policemen looked at their clubs almost longingly. Then O'Hara arose, and said that both were wrong, much to the indignation of the Jew and the historian, who justly awakened and showed signs of getting dangerous. He tried to drown the Jew's voice and O'Hara's shouts and the chairman's repeated raps for order by every possible way. At last order was restored. The interrupter of the historian and the Jew had only refreshed O'Hara, who started again with renewed energy. The policemen were now getting quite tired. They looked longingly at the empty chairs, the door, the sleepers, and had the bad habit of breathing through his mouth. The captain looked as if he, too, were losing courage, and were wishing that he had accepted the chair. When the time advanced towards the early hours of morning, most were weary but O'Hara and a few others who now and then disrupted him, much to the amazement of the visitors.

At last the captain looked at his watch, and muttered something which, though it could not be exactly understood, did not sound very nice from a visitor and a captain of police, and turning towards the door, led his men out, much to their relief.

As they were going out, the historian, who had been sitting Chairman: A point of order, but I was drowsed by the slumming of the door.

Our story ends with the exit of the police. I do not know what happened after that, except that the meetings of the Transportation Local of the Industrial Workers of the World were never again disturbed by the police.

I. W. W. ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE.

The twenty-eighth anniversary of the Paris Commune, which occurs on the 18th of March, will be commemorated in Chicago two days later, March 20, 1909, by a grand entertainment and dance given by the I. W. W. Propaganda League. The affair will be held in Bohemian School Hall on the South Side at 48th and Honor streets. Music for the occasion will be furnished by Prof. Weicker's Band and the Bohemian Singing Society, a well known Bohemian society of Chicago. A first class entertainment is promised all who attend. All I. W. W. members and readers of the Bulletin should come to this entertainment and bring as many of their friends as possible. Admission 25 cents, including wardrobe.

WOODWORKERS OF NEW YORK.

Local 630, I. W. W., meets every first and third Wednesday evening at Headquarters of the New York Industrial Council at 250 West 125th Street, Woodworkers of any branch should attend.

SECRETARY.



to the real significance of the I. W. W.—in fact unconditionally, merely appealing to its misery in order to get it to accept the generous offering of membership, only promising to subsequently make good financially and otherwise. Oh, yes, membership books, with-out-of-work stamps and other insignia of affiliation are to be issued for the asking, thus practically conferring all the rights, privileges, prerogatives and prestige, while the very nature of entire lack of any sort of economic anchorage and responsibility attached to the strenuous life of the organization. In plain words, to all intents and purposes, regardless of marked limitations of self-protective power—according to the scheme the I. W. W. is to deliberately assume direct and full responsibility for a positively uncertain, unreliable, constantly shifting, great mass of unfortunate poverty, beggary and misery.

And then with astounding seeming innocence is proposed, presumably as a profound query: "What has the employed of the I. W. W. to lose by that venture?" Admittedly the coupling is most gracious. Let us hope at least that it does honor to the unfortunate readily understanding that the unemployed can lose nothing. Indeed, its condition of permanent unemployment doubtless will fully answer for all its risks. But we are obliged to confess that just how that same principle of risking nothing can apply to the I. W. W. does not appear entirely clear—at least a large number of our membership is quite likely to demand some further showing.

If for no more cogent reasons, at least as a matter of tolerance and forbearance with ourselves or with our fellows. But in all good faith the circumstance would seem to warrant the conclusion that those sponsor for such a proposition would have done a more efficacious job of their own intelligence and good intent had they been more explicit in making clear just what the I. W. W. could gain by such project; had they been a little more explanatory relative to the how or nature of this process, and in what special form it is to be expressed that promised gain; had they given more light in reference to these important matters, it might have been conducive to greater clearness and less confusion in our dull minds.

Admittedly by such a project there might have been enhanced the opportunities for more or less noisy cheap parade, exhibitions of petty vanities, small showings, gratifying certain morbid desires for halcyon emotionalism and gross sensationalism. But it does not as yet appear clear just how the cause of the proletariat is to be in any manner truly conserved by such methods. Quite true, the movement in industrialism is in that fellow feeling and heart stirring impulse all sufficient to clasp to its succoring protecting bosom all of suffering humanity. But in these times of brutal class warfare the I. W. W. happily is also possessed of the high sense of the actual gross and practical, which guards against all utopian, visionary, suicidal attempts at the impossible.

As a well defined, positive, sagacious, clearly understood, a reason and a goal it must, though with great sorrow, at all times with diplomatic coolness, view millions of its own class fellows go down, perishing miserably, ruthlessly slaughtered in capitalist merciless industrial mechanism. Clearly understanding that in the unavoidable eventualities of the great class war, while at times its heart may be stirred with deepest indignation, yet with all the grimmer determination it must retrace its steps and even over the crushed and dying bodies, dead and rotting corpses of its own fellows.

Regretful though it may be to acknowledge, the facts of this cruel class war will not be denied. Frequently, all too frequently, with cautious care, right hand precision, deliberation and thoroughness, the army of the proletariat aligns itself expressly to crush its own kind class, as the only alternative of coming directly to the capitalist class enemy. That manner of stating the case may sound cold blooded, shocking and dreadful to the womanish; but even at the risk of further annoying those gentle souls it must be made clear that in times of war, common sense, strong measures are required for the protection of even their precious selves.

While in all fairness to the common cause we are bound to hold ourselves open and susceptible to reason and logic, at the same time we shall maintain, when at any time a proposition like unto the one under criticism obtains right of way for any length of time for serious consideration within the jurisdiction of the I. W. W., we may know by that sign that our household is sadly in need of rearranging. And with not the slightest intention of reflecting on the honesty or good intentions of those standing sponsor for the idea, we feel in duty bound to vote the whole scheme impractical, decidedly out of order, and but little more than a childish dream.

To the question, "Shall the I. W. W. as such assume responsibility for the organized unemployed," our answer is a most emphatic No.

**INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL UNITY.**

(From "The Harp," Organ of the Irish Socialist Federation.)

At meetings throughout this country one frequently hears speakers laboring to arouse the workers to their duty, exclaiming:

"You unite industrially; why, then, do you divide politically? You unite against the bosses in strikes and lock-outs, and then you foolishly divide when you go to the ballot box. Why not unite at the ballot box as you unite in the workshop? Why not show the same unity on the political battlefield?"

At first blush this looks to be an exceedingly apt and forcible form of appeal to our fellow workers, but when examined more attentively it will be seen that in view of the scope of our industrial warfare this appeal is based upon aagrant mis-statement of facts. The real truth is that the workers do not unite industrially, but on the contrary are most hopelessly divided on the industrial field, and that the political division is the direct result and confusion of the industrial field. It would be easy to prove that even our most loyal trade unionists habitually play the game of the capitalist against the industrial class as surely as the Republican and Democratic workers do on the political field. Let us examine the situation on the industrial field and see if it justifies the claim that economically the workers are united, or if it justifies the contention we make that the division of the workers on the political field is but the reflex of the confused ideas derived from the practice of the workers in strikes and lock-outs.

Quite recently we had a great strike of the workers employed on the subway and elevated systems of street car service in New York. The men showed a splendid front against the power of the mammoth capitalist company headed by August Belmont, against which they were arrayed. Conductors, motor-men, ticket choppers, platform men, repairers, permanent way men, ticket sellers—all went out together and for a time paralyzed the entire traffic on their respective systems. The men on the other hand, had the usual recourse to Jim Farley and his scabs and sought to man the trains with those professional traitors to their class. The number of scabs was large, but small in proportion to the men on strike, yet the strike was broken. It was not the scabs, however, who turned the scale against the strikers in favor of the men. That service to capital was performed by good union men with union cards in their pockets. The men who supplied the electric power to run the cars, and without whom all the scabs combined could not have run a single car. A scab is a vile creature, but what shall we say of the men who helped the scab to commit his act of treason? The law says that an accessory before the fact is equally guilty of a crime with the actual criminal. What, then, are the trade unionists who supplied the power to this scab? They were unconsciously being compelled by their false system of organization to betray their struggling brothers. Was this unity on the industrial field? And is it any wonder that the men accustomed to make each upon their fellow workers in a labor struggle should also scab it upon their class in a political struggle? Is it not rather common sense to expect that the recognition of the necessity for common action of workers in a political struggle against the capitalist enemy in the industrial battlefield must precede the realization of the wisdom of common action as a class on the political battlefield? The men who are taught that it is all right to continue working for a capitalist against whom their shopmates of a different craft are on strike are not likely to see any harm in continuing to work for a capitalist nominee at the polls, even when he is opposed by a candidate of a Socialist and Labor organization. Political scabbery is born of industrial scabbery; it is its legitimate offspring.

Instances of this industrial division could be cited indefinitely. The open shoring of the port of New York went out on strike. They at first succeeded in tying up the ships of the Shipping Trust, great as its wealth is, and in demonstrating the real power of labor when unhampered by contracts with capital. The Shipping Trust was taken by surprise, but quickly recovered, and as usual imported scabs from all over the country. Then was seen what the unity of the working class on the industrial battlefield amounts to in present conditions. As scab longshoremen unloaded the ship, union steamers with union buttons in their hats received the goods from their hands, loaded them into their teams, and drove merrily away. As scab longshoremen loaded a ship union men coaled it, and when the cargo was safely on board union marine engineers set up steam, and union seamen and firemen took it out of the dock on its voyage to its destination. Can men who are trained and taught to believe that such a course of conduct is right and proper be expected to realize the oneness of the interests of the working class as a whole against the capitalist as a whole, and vote accordingly? In short, can their field of vision be so extensive that it can see the brotherhood of all men, and yet so restricted that it can see no harm in a brother labor organization in the one industry being beaten to death by capital?

Now, as an equally valuable object lesson in American unionism, an object lesson in how not to do it, let us picture a typical state of affairs in the machine industry. The moulder's contract with the boss expires, and they go out on strike. In a machine shop the moulder occupies a position intermediate between the pattern-maker and the machinist, or, as they are called in the industry, the engineer. When the moulder goes out the boss, who has had all his plans laid for months beforehand, brings in a staff of scabs and installs them in the places of the striking workers. Then the capitalist begins to relate the engineer when the pattern-maker and hands them over to the scab moulder; the scab moulder casts his moulds and when they are done the en-

gineer takes them from him and finally finishes the job. Then, having finished their day's work, they go to their union meetings and vote donations of a few hundred dollars to help the strikers to defeat the boss after they had worked all day to help the boss to defeat the strikers. Thus they exemplify the solidarity of labor. When the moulders are beaten the machinists and the pattern-makers, and the blacksmiths, and the electricians, and the engineers, and all the rest, take their turn of going up against the boss in separate bodies to be licked. As each is taking its medicine its fellows of other crafts in the same shop sympathize with it in the name of the solidarity of labor, and continue to work in the service of the capitalist, against whom the strike is directed, in the name of the sacred contract of the craft union.

When the coal miners of Pennsylvania had their famous strike in 1902 the railroad brotherhoods hauled in scabs to take their places, and when the scabs had mined coal the same railroad men hauled out this scab-mined coal.

Need we go on to prove our point that industrial division and discord is the order of the day amongst the workers, and that this division and confusion on the economic field is the reflex of the division upon the political field? Those orators who reproach the workers with being divided on the political field, although united on the industrial, are simply mis-stating facts. The workers are divided on both, and as political parties are the reflex of economic conditions, it follows that industrial unity once established will create the political unity of the working class. We feel that we cannot too strongly insist upon this point. Political division is the inevitable outgrowth of industrial scabbery; political weakness keeps even step with industrial weakness. It is an axiom enforced by all the experience of the ages that they who rule industrially will rule politically, and therefore they who are divided and wrongly organized industrially will remain impotent politically. The failure of Mr. Gompers to unite politically the force of the American Federation of Labor was the inevitable outgrowth of the industrial division of the industrial battlefield; he reversed the natural process by trying to unite men on class lines whilst he opposed every effort, as in the case of the brewers, to unite the workers on the industrial field. The natural lines of thought and action lead from the direct to the indirect, from the simple to the complex, from the immediate to the ultimate. Mr. Gompers ignored this natural line of development and proposed the general union of labor with separate craft interests of the workers, and then expected them to heed his call to unity on the less direct and immediate battlefield of politics. He failed, as even the Socialists would admit. The natural lines of thought and action lead from the direct to the indirect, from the simple to the complex, from the immediate to the ultimate. Mr. Gompers ignored this natural line of development and proposed the general union of labor with separate craft interests of the workers, and then expected them to heed his call to unity on the less direct and immediate battlefield of politics. He failed, as even the Socialists would admit. The natural lines of thought and action lead from the direct to the indirect, from the simple to the complex, from the immediate to the ultimate. Mr. Gompers ignored this natural line of development and proposed the general union of labor with separate craft interests of the workers, and then expected them to heed his call to unity on the less direct and immediate battlefield of politics. He failed, as even the Socialists would admit.

**AGITATE FOR A SHORTER WORK DAY.**

Editor Industrial Union Bulletin:

Permit me to consider my frequent and long letters as a means for wasting your time. If so my excuse is that I consider the subjects on which I have written to be of importance. Perhaps it is presumption on my part to expect that you are taking such active part in the real work of agitation and organization, anything new. Yet it is possible that I may see some things more clearly just because I am in the position of an interested observer.

What I wish to suggest at this time is that the I. W. W. take up for special propaganda the evil of enforced idleness and the only remedy for this evil is a shorter work day, which is a shorter work day. My reasons for believing such a move advisable are:

(1) That the demand for an eight-hour day was almost universal some twenty years ago and caused a great increase in the membership of labor unions then existing; and I see no reason why a similar demand should not gain the ear of workmen of today and produce similar results.

(2) A request of the kind of the workday would be directly in line with our final aim, and would therefore be an actual progressive step for the labor movement.

(3) Our final aim—to take and hold the means of production and distribution—hardly within the average workman's mental range of vision. He is in sympathy with our movement, but he hates to part with his hard-earned dollars for what he regards as a pipe-dream. But if you say to him: "Come, join us in a struggle for a shorter work day; when we have won that you may have more confidence in our ability to win the rest," then he will be more ready to give us his active support. And there will be no objection in this, for when our organization has become the dominant factor in the labor movement, we will not only be able to shorten the work day, but I am certain that we will be forced to do so.

(4) The I. W. W. has so many enemies and so much opposition that it is not permitted to choose a "safe" pipe-dream; but to give fact it must keep up an active and ceaseless agitation, and yet never allow that agitation to become monotonous. Propaganda meetings are more successful when they have a definite object, and one that has not been threatened by the boss.

(5) If it is conceded that a shorter work day would be beneficial to our class, then it is certainly up to the I. W. W. to see that we get it. The A. F. of L. is striving for eight-hour contracts and the political socialists strive for eight-hour laws, but neither seems to care much about the length of the work day.

(6) The most important work we have to do is to teach the working class to act as one united body—not only in one shop or in one locality, but throughout the civilized world—and we should teach that both by words and deeds. For this reason we should choose such subjects for special agitation as will command at least national and, when possible, international interest. Hard times are international and the need for a shorter work day is an international need. The fact that we were represented at the International Socialist Congress should assure us of co-operation in such a matter from every Socialist-organization in the world. We have a chance to teach a lesson in proletarian solidarity.

I want it to be distinctly understood that I do not wish this matter to interfere with the agitation in behalf of New York State. The necessity of doing all we can for these two men. Not that picketing nor the existence of the I. W. W. depends on court decisions—but we must return loyalty for loyalty in full measure or brand ourselves as cowards and ingrates. And I am sure we have plenty of time for the matter I have suggested. But I take it for granted that time is needed for preparation in order to make such agitation effective and that it will be the most effective the sooner it is started.

Yours for Industrial Democracy,  
E. E. NILSSON.

**NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS.**

All members and sympathizers of the I. W. W. in New York City and vicinity should take notice that local headquarters have just been established by New York State Council at 250 W. 125th St., room 17.

H. TRAUJMAN, Secretary.  
741 E. 5th St., New York.

**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 will 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:

**I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS**

**Industrial Union HANDBOOK No. 1**  
By Wm. E. Trautmann

Gives an outline of the Structure of Industrial Unionism and Analysis of the Preamble, by A. S. Edwards. Very useful in arriving at an understanding of the form of organization of the

**Industrial Workers of the World \$3.50 a hundred prepaid**

**Industrial Union HANDBOOK No. 2**  
MEANS AND METHODS  
By Wm. E. Trautmann

**PART I**  
To know what Industrial Unionism is you must read what is said about it by its friends and what it says for itself; only in that way can its present aims and ultimate purposes be understood.

**\$3.50 a hundred prepaid**

**PART II (same as above)**

**Industrial Union HANDBOOK**

In Italian, per hundred.....\$3.00  
In Polish, per hundred.....\$3.00  
In Finnish, per hundred.....\$3.00

**VINCENT ST. JOHN**  
Room 310, Bush Temple,  
CHICAGO - ILLINOIS

**I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS**

Leaflets in English, per 1,000—  
Address to Wage Workers .....\$1.50  
The Textile Industry..... 1.50  
Metal and Machinery Industry..... 1.50  
Story of a New Labor Union..... 1.50  
Address to Lumber and Wood Workers..... 1.50  
Address to Street Car Workers..... 1.50  
Address to Railway Workers..... 1.50

**LEAFLETS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES.**

Address to Wage Workers in German..... 4.00  
Address to Wage Workers in Yiddish..... 3.00  
Address to Wage Workers in French..... 3.00  
Address to Textile Workers in French..... 3.00  
Special address in Roumanian..... 4.00  
Special address in Slavonian-Dalmatian..... 3.00  
Japanese address to Wage Earners..... 7.00  
For above send to I. W. W. Headquarters, 292 Valencia St., San Francisco, Calif.

For Story of a New Labor Union in Spanish send to O. Brostrom, 432 1/2 E. 3rd St., Los Angeles, Calif.

**I. W. W. CONSTITUTION.**

English (per 100).....\$ 5.00  
French..... 5.00  
Polish..... 5.00  
Hungarian..... 5.00  
Spanish..... 10.00  
Finnish..... 5.00  
Lithuanian..... 5.00

Membership application blanks in Polish, per 100, 50c.  
Membership application blanks with preamble in Slavonian - Dalmatian, per 100, 50c.

**VINCENT ST. JOHN**  
Room 310, Bush Temple,  
CHICAGO ILLINOIS

**ADDRESS TO WAGE WORKERS IN PORTUGUESE.**

Send to Wm. Yates,  
1017 Acorn Street, New Bedford, Mass.

Local Union No. 122 of the Industrial Workers of the World of Spokane, Wash., meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at the Union Hall No. 124 Washington St., Spokane, Wash. All workers are heartily invited to all meetings.  
Financial Secretary No. 122, Spokane, Wash.

Send your subscription for THE INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN to Wm. E. TRAUJMAN, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago.

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.

Yearly subscription.....50 cents  
Half yearly subscription.....25 cents  
Bundles of 30 copies of each issue sent post free, 60 cents.

Send money orders only, to H. B. F. O., Stamford Hill, London, N.

**THOS. WARNER,**  
Business Manager,  
14 Spendon Road, Broad Lane, South Tottenham, London, N.

**ATTENTION COAL MINERS OF THE ANTHRACITE DISTRICT AND ALL OTHERS.**

Joe J. Eitor, 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., may communicate with him at 212 Spruce St., Scranton, Pa.

**SPOKANE, WASHINGTON.**  
Local Union No. 124, Industrial Workers of the World of Spokane, Wash., meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m. at L. W. Hall, 124 Washington St. All workmen are heartily invited to attend these meetings.  
FRED HILBR, Secretary.

**PORTLAND, OREGON, ATTENTION!**  
The headquarters of Local 91 and Building Constructors' Industrial Union, Local 11 of the I. W. W., are now located at 209 Couch St. Free reading rooms are heartily invited. Members are cordially invited. Members take notice.  
FRED C. LEWIS, Secretary.