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DEFENDANT'S
IDENTIFICATION

THE I. W. W.

*Its History, Structure,
and Methods*



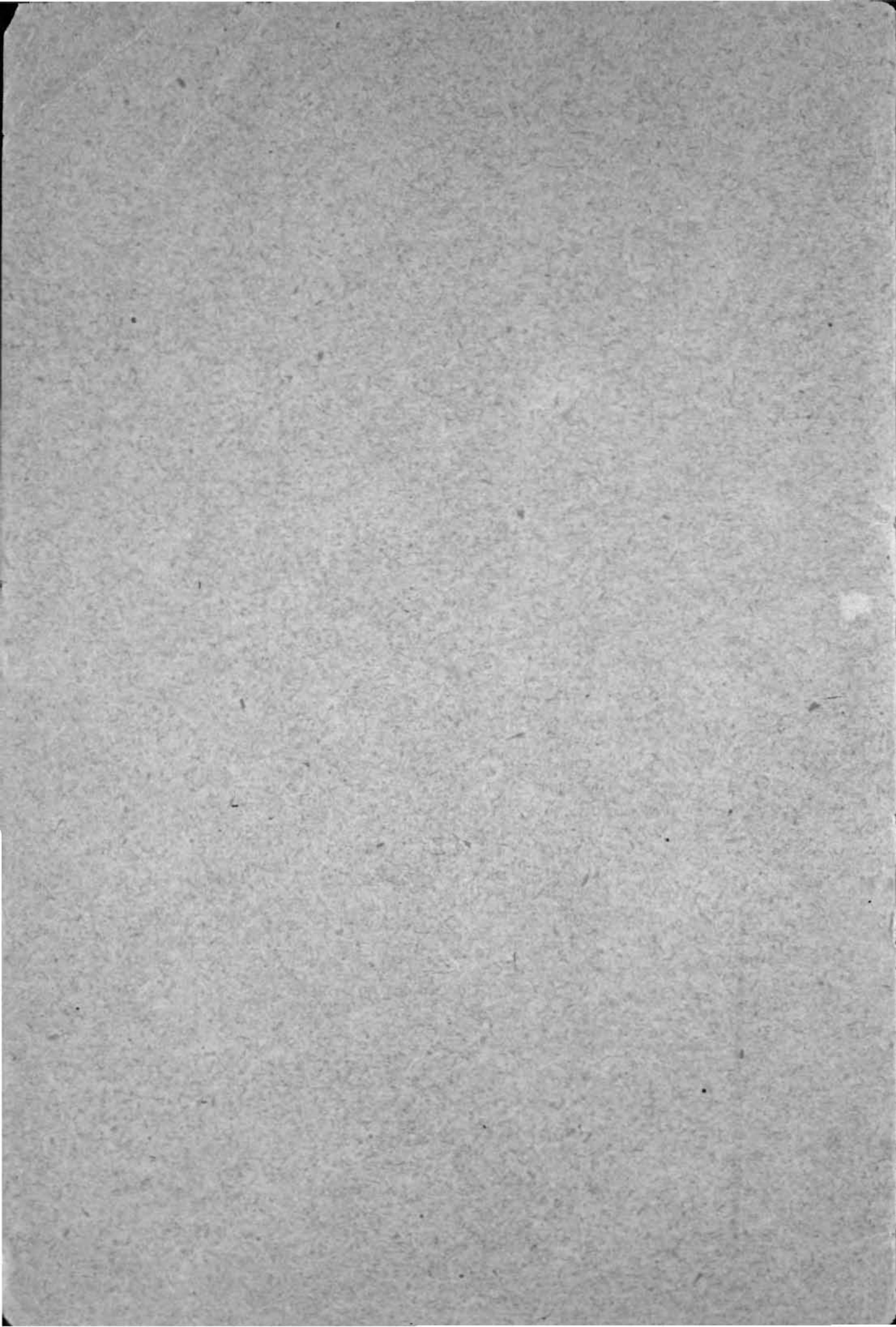
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BY VINCENT ST. JOHN

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Revised
1919

Industrial Workers of the World
1001 W. Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois



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NOTE—On page 16, paragraph 1, sentence 2, should read: The general organization, however, does not allow any union to charge over 50 cents per month dues, or \$2 initiation fee.

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The I. W. W.—A Brief History

In the fall of 1904 six active workers in the revolutionary labor movement held a conference. After exchanging views and discussing the conditions then confronting the workers of the United States, they decided to issue a call for a larger gathering.

These six workers were Isaac Cowen, American representative of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers of Great Britain, Clarence Smith, general secretary-treasurer of the American Labor Union, Thomas J. Hagerty, editor of the "Voice of Labor," official organ of the A. L. U., George Estes, president of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, W. L. Hall, general secretary-treasurer U. B. R. E., and Wm. E. Trautmann, editor of the "Brauer Zeitung," the official organ of the United Brewery Workers of America.

Invitations were then sent out to thirty-six additional individuals who were active in radical labor organizations and the socialist political movement of the United States, inviting them to meet in secret conference in Chicago, Illinois, January 2, 1905.

Of the thirty-six who received invitations, but two declined to attend the proposed conference—Max S. Hayes and Victor Berger—both of whom were in editorial charge of the socialist political party and trade union organs.

The conference met at the appointed time with

thirty present, and drew up the Industrial Union Manifesto calling for a convention to be held in Chicago, June 27, 1905, for the purpose of launching an organization in accord with the principles set forth in the Manifesto.

The work of circulating the Manifesto was handled by an executive committee of the conference, the American Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners.

The Manifesto was widely circulated in several languages.

On the date set the convention assembled with 186 delegates present from 34 state, district, national and local organizations representing about 90,000 members.

All who were present as delegates were not there in good faith. Knowledge of this fact caused the signers of the Manifesto to constitute themselves a temporary committee on credentials.

This temporary credentials committee ruled that representation for organizations would be based upon the number of members in their respective organizations only where such delegates were empowered by their organizations to install said organizations as integral parts of the Industrial Union when formed. Where not so empowered delegates would only be allowed one vote.

One of the delegations present was from the Illinois State District of the United Mine Workers of America. The membership of that district at that time was in the neighborhood of 50,000. Under the above rule these delegates were seated with one vote each. This brings the number of members represented down to 40,000.

Several other organizations that had delegates present, existed mainly on paper; so it is safe to say that

40,000 is a good estimate of the number of workers represented in the first convention.

The foregoing figures will show that the precautions adopted by the signers of the Manifesto were all that prevented the opponents of the industrial union from capturing the convention and blocking any effort to start the organization. It is a fact that many of those who were present as delegates on the floor of the first convention and the organizations that they represented have bitterly fought the I. W. W. from the close of the first convention up to the present day.

The organizations that installed as a part of the new organization were: Western Federation of Miners, 27,000 members; Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance*, 1,450 members; Punch Press Operators, 168 members; United Metal Workers*, 3,000 members; Longshoremen's Union, 400 members; the American Labor Union*, 16,500 members; United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, 2,087 members.

The convention lasted twelve days; adopted a constitution with the following preamble, and elected officers:

Original I. W. W. 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 all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic

*Existed almost wholly on paper.

organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

"The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade unions foster a state of things 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. 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 sad conditions can be changed and the interests 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."

All kinds and shades of theories and programs were represented among the delegates and individuals present at the first convention. The principal ones in evidence, however, were four: Parliamentary socialists—two types—impossibilist and opportunist, Marxian and reformist; anarchist; industrial unionist; and the labor union faker. The task of combining these conflicting elements was attempted by the convention. A knowledge of this task makes it easier to understand the seeming contradictions in the original Preamble.

The first year of the organization was one of internal struggle for control by these different elements. The two camps of socialist politicians looked upon the I. W. W. only as a battle ground upon which to settle their respective merits and demerits. The labor fakers strove to fasten themselves upon the organization that they might continue to exist if the new union was

a success. The anarchist element did not interfere to any great extent in the internal affairs. Only one instance is known to the writer: That of New York City where they were in alliance with one set of politicians, for the purpose of controlling the district council.

In spite of these and other obstacles the new organization made some progress; fought a few successful battles with the employing class, and started publishing a monthly organ, "The Industrial Worker." The I. W. W. also issued the first call for the defense of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone under the title, "Shall Our Brothers Be Murdered?"; formed the defense league; and it is due to the interest awakened by the I. W. W. that other organizations were enlisted in the fight to save the lives of the officials of the W. F. M. which finally resulted in their liberation. Thus the efforts of the W. F. M. in starting the I. W. W. were repaid.*

Second Convention

The Second convention met in September, 1906, with 93 delegates representing about 60,000 members.

This convention demonstrated that the administration of the I. W. W. was in the hands of men who were not in accord with the revolutionary program of the organization. Of the general officers only two were sincere—the General Secretary, W. E. Trautmann, and one member of the Executive Board, John Riordan.

The struggle for control of the organization formed the Second convention into two camps. The majority vote of the convention was in the revolutionary camp. The reactionary camp having the chairman used obstructive tactics in their effort to gain control of the convention. They hoped thereby to delay the conven-

*Berger in the "Social Democratic Herald" of Milwaukee denied that the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone case was a part of the class struggle. It was but a "border feud," said he.

tion until enough delegates would be forced to return home and thus change the control of the convention. The revolutionists cut this knot by abolishing the office of President and electing a chairman from among the revolutionists.

In this struggle the two contending sets of socialist politicians lined up in opposite camps.

The Second convention amended the Preamble by adding the following clause:

"Therefore without endorsing or desiring the endorsement of any political party."

A new executive board was elected. On the adjournment of the convention the old officials seized the general headquarters, and with the aid of detectives and police held the same, compelling the revolutionists to open up new offices. This they were enabled to do in spite of the fact that they were without access to the funds of the organization, and had to depend on getting finances from the locals.

The W. F. M. officials supported the old officials of the I. W. W. for a time financially and with the influence of their official organ. The same is true of the Socialist Party press and administration. The radical element in the W. F. M. were finally able to force the officials to withdraw that support. The old officials of the I. W. W. then gave up all pretence of having an organization.

The organization entered its second year facing a more severe struggle than in its first year. It succeeded, however, in establishing the general headquarters again, and in issuing a weekly publication in place of the monthly, seized by the old officials.

During the second year some hard struggles for better conditions were waged by the members.

The Third convention of the I. W. W. was uneventful. But it was at this convention that it became evident that the socialist politicians who had remained with the organization were trying to bend the I. W. W. to their purpose; and a slight effort was made to relegate the politician to the rear.

The Fourth convention resulted in a rupture between the politicians and industrial unionists because the former were not allowed to control the organization.

The Preamble was amended as follows:

I. W. W. 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 management of the 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 wage 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 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.

The politicians attempted to set up another organization, claiming to be the real industrial movement. It is nothing but a duplicate of their political party and never functions as a labor organization. It is committed to a program of the "civilized plane," i. e., parliamentarism. Its publications are the official organs of a political sect that never misses an opportunity to assail the revolutionary workers while they are engaged in combat with some division of the ruling class. Their favorite method is to charge the revolutionists with all the crimes that a cowardly imagination can conjure into being. "Dynamiters, assassins, thugs, murderers, thieves," etc., are stock phrases.

Following the victory of the Lawrence Textile workers the S. L. P. politicians renewed their efforts to pose as the I. W. W.

By representing that they were the I. W. W. and THE ONLY I. W. W. they were enabled to deceive several thousand textile workers in Patterson, Passaic, Hackensack, Stirling, Summit, Hoboken, Newark, New Jersey; and Astoria, Long Island, and collect from them initiation fees and dues.

In every instance these political fakers betrayed the workers into the hands of the mill owners, and the efforts of the workers to better their conditions resulted in defeat. At Paterson and Passaic the S. L. P. entered into an alliance with the police to prevent the organizers of the I. W. W. from exposing them to the workers.

Their own actions, however, resulted in exposing them to the workers in their true colors and today they are thoroughly discredited with the workers throughout that district.

For a time the other wing of the political movement contented itself with spreading its venom in secret. Since the conclusion of the Lawrence strike the publications of the Socialist Party (with a very few exceptions) have never failed to use their columns to misrepresent and slander the organization and its active membership. Their attacks have extended to members of their own party who happened to be active members or supporters of the I. W. W.

Structure of the I. W. W.

Basing its conclusions upon the experience of the past the I. W. W. holds that it is essential to have the form and structure of the organization conform to the development of the machinery of production and the process of concentration going on in industry in order to facilitate the growth of solidarity on class lines among the workers. Unless the structure of the organization keeps step with the development of industry it will be impossible to secure the solidarity so necessary to success in the struggles with the employing class.

Out of date forms of organization with their corresponding obsolete methods and rules will have to be broken down. To do this in time of a struggle means confusion and chaos that result in defeat.

The I. W. W. holds, that, regardless of the bravery and spirit the workers may show, if they are compelled to fight with old methods and out of date form of organization against the modern organization of the employing class, there can be but one outcome to any struggle waged under these conditions—defeat.

The I. W. W. recognizes the need of working class solidarity. To achieve this it proposes the recognition of the Class Struggle as the basic principle of the organization, and declares its purpose to be the fighting of that struggle until the working class is in control of the administration of industry.

In its basic principle the I. W. W. calls forth that spirit of revolt and resistance that is so necessary a part of the equipment of any organization of the workers in their struggle for economic independence. In a word, its basic principle makes the I. W. W. a fighting organization. It commits the union to an unceasing struggle against the private ownership and control of industry.

There is but one bargain that the I. W. W. will make with the employing class—**COMPLETE SURRENDER OF ALL CONTROL OF INDUSTRY TO THE ORGANIZED WORKERS.**

The experience of the past has proven the mass form of organization, such as that of the Knights of Labor, to be as powerless and unwieldy as a mob.

The craft form of union, with its principle of trade autonomy, and harmony of interest with the boss, has also been proven a failure. It has not furnished an effective weapon to the working class. True, it has been able to get for the skilled mechanics improved conditions; but due to the narrow structure of the craft organization, class interest has long since been lost sight of, and craft interest alone governs the action of its membership. In the last analysis the craft union has

only been able to get advantages for its membership at the expense of the great mass of the working class, by entering into a contract with the employing class to stand aloof from the balance of the working class in its struggles. They have become allies of the employers to keep in subjection the vast majority of the workers. The I. W. W. denies that the craft union movement is a labor movement. We deny that it can or will become a labor movement.

Today in the United States in all of the basic (large) industries, whenever any portion of the workers strive for better conditions, they enter into a conflict with the employing class as a whole. The expense of a strike is borne by the organized employers who have reached the point that, regardless of what competition may still remain, they unite to keep the workers in subjection, because of the common interest all have in securing cheap labor power.

To meet this condition the Industrial Workers of the World proposes:

General Outline

1. The unit of organization is the Industrial Union, "branches" according to the requirements of the particular industry. In some instances the Industrial Union may embrace ALL the workers of a given Industry, while in other industries several Industrial Unions with distinct jurisdiction may be necessary to cover the situation; as, for instance, in the "Industry of Marine Transportation"—one union on the Great Lakes, one on the Atlantic and Gulf Seaboard, one on the Pacific Coast, one on the Mississippi River system—each being branched to meet the special requirements of the particular situation.

2. Industrial Unions of closely allied industries are combined into departmental organizations. For exam-

ple, the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Unions referred to above would be united with Railway or Steam Transportation Industrial Unions, Municipal Transportation Industrial Unions, Motor Truck Transporters, and Aviators' Unions, into the "Department of Transportation and Communication."

3. The Industrial Departments are combined into the General Organization, which in turn is to be an integral part of a like International Organization; and through the international organization establish solidarity and co-operation between the workers of all countries.

Component Parts of the Organization

Taking into consideration the technical differences that exist within the different departments of the industries and conditions existing where large numbers of workers are employed, the Industrial Union is "branched" wherever necessary. If the union includes ALL the workers in a given industry or a distinct jurisdiction within an industry, "Industrial Branches" of the Union are established in the centers most convenient for the workers.

These Industrial Branches are further subdivided into—

1. Shop sections, so that the workers of each shop control the conditions that directly affect them.

2. Language sections, so that the workers can conduct the affairs of the organization in the language with which they are the most familiar.

3. In those large industries which are operated by departments, DEPARTMENT subdivisions are formed to systematize and simplify the business of the organization.

4. When an industry covers a large local area, or is the principal industry of a city, DISTRICT subdivisions are formed, to enable the workers to attend union meetings without traveling too great a distance.

5. In order that every given industrial district shall have complete industrial solidarity among the workers in all industries as well as among the workers of each industry, an INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT COUNCIL is formed by delegates elected from all the Industrial Unions and Industrial Branches operating in that district and, through this Council concerted action is maintained throughout the district.

Functions of the Local Sections and Subdivisions

Shop and language sections, and department and district subdivisions deal with the employer ONLY through the Industrial Branch or the Industrial Union. Thus, while the workers in each section determine the conditions that directly affect them, they act in concert with all the workers of the industry through the Industrial Branch and the Union.

As the knowledge of the English language becomes more general, the language branches will disappear.

The development of machine production will also gradually eliminate the branches based on technical knowledge, or skill.

The constant development and concentration of the ownership and control of industry will be met by a like concentration of the number of Industrial Unions and Industrial Departments. It is meant that the organization at all times shall conform to the needs of the hour and eventually furnish the medium through which and by which the organized workers will be able to determine the amount of food, clothing, shelter, education and amusement necessary to satisfy the wants of the workers.

Administration of the Organizations

Industrial Unions have full charge of all their own affairs; elect their own officers; determine their pay; and also the amount of dues collected by the union from the membership. The general organization, however, does not allow any union to charge over \$1.00 per month dues or \$5.00 initiation fee.

Each Industrial Branch of an Industrial Union elects a delegate or delegates to the Executive Committee of the Industrial Union. This Executive Committee is the administrative body of the Industrial Union. Officers of the Industrial Branches consist of secretary, treasurer, chairman and trustees.

Officers of the Industrial Union consist of secretary and treasurer, chairman, and executive committee.

Each Industrial Union and Industrial Branch within a given district elects a delegate or delegates to the District Council. The District Council has as officers a secretary-treasurer and trustees. The officers of the district council are elected by the delegates thereof.

All officers in local bodies except those of district council are elected by ballot of all the membership involved.

Proportional representation does not prevail in the delegations of the branches and to district councils. Each branch and local has the same number of delegates. Each delegate casts one vote.

Industrial Unions hold annual conventions. Delegates from each Branch of the Union cast a vote based upon the membership of the Industrial Branch that they represent.

The Industrial Union nominates the candidates for officers at the convention, and the three nominees receiving the highest votes at the convention are sent to

all the membership to be voted upon in selecting the officers.

The officers of the Industrial Unions consist of secretary and treasurer, and executive committee. Each Industrial Union elects delegates to the Department to which it belongs. The same procedure is followed in electing delegates as in electing officers.

Industrial Departments hold conventions and nominate the delegates that are elected to the general convention. Delegates to the general convention nominate candidates for the officers of the general organization. These general officers are elected by the vote of the entire organization.

The General Executive Board is composed of one member from each Industrial Department and is selected by the membership of that department.

General conventions are held annually at present.

The rule in determining the wages of the officers of all parts of the organization is, to pay the officers who are needed approximately the same wages they would receive when employed in the industry in which they work.

I. W. W. Tactics or Methods

As a revolutionary organization the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined by the power of the organization to make good in their use.

No terms made with an employer are final. All peace so long as the wage system lasts, is only a truce. At any favorable opportunity the struggle for more control of industry is renewed.

As the organization gains control in the industries,

and the knowledge among the workers of their power, when properly applied within the industries, becomes more general, the long drawn out strike will become a relic of the past. A long drawn out strike implies insufficient organization or that the strike has occurred at a time when the employer can best afford to shut down—or both. Under all ordinary circumstances a strike that is not won in four to six weeks cannot be won by remaining out longer. In trustified industry the employer can better afford to fight one strike that lasts six months than he can six strikes that take place in that period.

No part of the organization is allowed to enter into time contracts with the employers. Where strikes are used, it aims to paralyze all branches of the industry involved, when the employers can least afford a cessation of work—during the busy season and when there are rush orders to be filled.

The Industrial Workers of the World maintains that nothing will be conceded by the employers except that which we have the power to take and hold by the strength of our organization. Therefore we seek no agreements with the employers.

Failing to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and a more favorable time awaited to force the employers to concede the demands of the workers.

The great progress made in machine production results in an ever increasing army of unemployed. To counteract this the Industrial Workers of the World aims to establish the shorter work day, and to slow up the working pace, thus compelling the employment of more and more workers.

To facilitate the work of organization, large initiation fees and dues are prohibited by the I. W. W.*

*Some of the craft unions charge from \$25 to \$250. One, the Green Bottle Blowers' Union, charges \$1,000.

During strikes the works are closely picketed and every effort made to persuade workers from taking the places of the strikers. All supplies are cut off from strike bound shops. All shipments are refused wherever possible. Strike breakers are also isolated. Illegal interference by the government is resented by open violation of the government's orders, going to jail en masse, causing expense to the taxpayers—which is but another name for the employing class.

In short, the I. W. W. advocates the use of militant tactics to the full extent of its power to make good.

Education

At the present time the organization has nineteen publications, nine weekly, three bi-weekly, four monthly newspapers. Three monthly Magazines in the following languages, Newspapers: 4 English, 2 Jewish, one each, Italian, Russian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Swedish, Polish, German, Croatian, Lithuanian, Spanish. Magazines: one English, Russian and Finnish, one Finnish daily paper and one Finnish monthly, advocate the principles set forth in the preamble.

The various Industrial Union's also get out weekly Bulletins devoted mainly to job news and activities of interest to their members.

The general organization issues leaflets and pamphlets from time to time and aims to build up and extend educational literature in all languages as fast as the resources of the organization permit.

The Unions and their Industrial Branches hold educational meetings in halls and on the streets of the industrial centers. Reading rooms and halls are maintained by all the larger Branches. Revolutionary literature is kept on file.

Special shop meetings are held in efforts to organize certain industries.

Struggles of the I. W. W.

In 1906 the eight-hour day was established for hotel and restaurant workers in Goldfield, Nevada.

In the same year sheet metal workers lost a strike at Youngstown, Ohio, due to the American Federation of Labor's filling the places of the strikers.

In 1907 textile workers of Skowhegan, Maine, 3,000 strong, struck over the discharge of active workers in the organization. The strike lasted four weeks and resulted in a complete victory for the strikers with improved conditions. John Golden, president of the United Textile Workers, A. F. of L., attempted to break this strike by furnishing strike breakers.

In Portland, Oregon, 3,000 saw mill workers were involved in a strike for a nine-hour day and increase of wages from \$1.75 to \$2.50 per day. On account of the exceptional demand for labor of all kinds in that section at that time, most of the strikers secured employment elsewhere, and the strike played out at the end of about six weeks. The saw mill companies were seriously crippled for months, and were forced indirectly to raise wages and improve conditions of the employes. This strike gave much impetus to I. W. W. agitation in the western part of the United States.

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1,200 tube mill workers were involved. This strike was lost through the scabbing tactics of the A. F. of L.

In the same year 800 silk mill workers engaged in a strike at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. This strike was lost on account of a shutdown due to the panic of 1907 that occurred shortly after the strike started.

From March 10, 1907, until April 22, the W. F. M. and the I. W. W. at Goldfield, Nevada, fought for their existence (and the conditions that they had established at that place) against the combined forces of the mine owners, business men and A. F. of L. This open fight was compromised as a result of the treachery of the W. F. M. general officers. The fight was waged intermittently from April 22 till September, 1907, and resulted in regaining all ground lost through the compromise, and in destroying the scab charter issued by the A. F. of L. during the fight. This fight cost the employers over \$100,000. The strike of the W. F. M. in October, 1907, took place during a panic and destroyed the organization's control in that district.

Under the I. W. W. sway in Goldfield, the minimum wage for all kinds of labor was \$4.50 per day and the eight-hour day was universal. The highest point of efficiency for any labor organization was reached by the I. W. W. and W. F. M. in Goldfield, Nevada. No committees were ever sent to any employers. The unions adopted wage scales and regulated hours. The secretary posted the same on a bulletin board outside of the union hall, and it was the LAW. The employers were forced to come and see the union's committees.

Beginning in July, 1909, at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, 8,000 workers of the Pressed Steel Car Company, embracing sixteen different nationalities, waged the most important struggle that the I. W. W. took part in to that date. The strike lasted eleven weeks. As usual, the employers resorted to the use of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary, known as the American Cossacks, to intimidate the strikers and browbeat them back to work. This constabulary is a picked body of armed thugs recruited for their ability to handle firearms. Every strike in Pennsylvania since the institution of the constabulary has been broken or crippled by them. Men, women and children have been killed and brutally maimed by them with impunity. Their ad-

vent upon the scene in McKees Rocks was marked by the usual campaign of brutality. Finally one of the cossacks killed a striker. The strike committee then served notice upon the commander of the cossacks that for every striker killed or injured by the cossacks the life of a cossack would be exacted in return. And that they were not at all concerned as to which cossack paid the penalty, but that a life for a life would be exacted. The strikers kept their word. On the next assault by the cossacks, several of the constabulary were killed and a number wounded. The cossacks were driven from the streets and into the plants of the company. An equal number of strikers were killed and about fifty wounded in the battle. This ended the killing on both sides during the remainder of the strike. For the first time in their existence the cossaks were "tamed." The McKees Rocks strike resulted in a complete victory for the strikers.

On November 2, 1909, the city government at Spokane, Washington, started to arrest the speakers of the I. W. W. for holding street meetings. The locals at that point decided to fight the city and force it to allow the organization to hold street meetings. The fight lasted up to the first of March following, and resulted in compelling the city to pass a law allowing street speaking. Over 500 men and women went to jail during the free speech fight. Two hundred went on a hunger strike that lasted from 11 to 13 days, and then went from 30 to 45 days on bread and water; two ounces of bread per day. Four members lost their lives as a result of the treatment accorded them in this fight.

Many more free speech fights have occurred since the one in Spokane, the most notable being at Fresno, California. Here the authorities in cahoots with employers attempted to stop I. W. W. agitation, which was directed toward the organization of the thousands of unskilled workers in the San Joaquin Valley, the fruit belt of California. Street meetings were forbidden in

Fresno. The I. W. W. again made use of "direct action" methods, and filled the jails of that city with arrested street speakers. The fight lasted for four months, and over 100 members were in jail for from two to three months. Arrested members refused to hire lawyers, and plead their own cases in court, or used some member or the organization as their "attorney." Finally, the organization outside of Fresno took an energetic hold of the fight, and organized a movement to "invade California." In accordance with this plan, detachments of free speech fighters started to "march on Fresno" from Spokane, Portland, Denver, St. Louis and other sections. Whereupon the Fresno authorities decided that they had enough, and surrendered. Freedom of speech was completely re-established in Fresno, and the I. W. W. has never since been interfered with, until the beginning of the war.

A four months' strike of shoe workers occurred in Brooklyn, New York, in the winter of 1911. This strike was most stubbornly contested on both sides, and resulted in improved conditions for the workers in some of the shops.

Some of the Strikes of 1912-1917.*

1912

Local Union No. 10, Electrical Supply Workers, Fremont, Ohio. One strike; 30 men involved. Lost because of inability to extend the same and shut down the plant.

Local Unions 161 and 169, Textile and Shoe Workers, Haverhill, Mass. Two strikes involving 572 mem-

*Under this heading all the references to Local Unions and National Industrial Unions are based upon the terms used and the structure provided by the constitution prior to the tenth convention in 1916. The Industrial Workers of the World being as broad as industry and dealing with the workers in the industries rather than along mere local lines, the inconsistency of the words Local and National was cured by striking them out and thus removing any restrictions that may have been imposed upon our ideals by the use of such terms.—W. D. H.

bers. Lasted seven weeks altogether. Both strikes successful. Sixty members arrested and 15 of them convicted and sentenced to jail for one to four months.

Local Union 194, Clothing Workers, Seattle, Washington. Ten small strikes lasting from a few hours up to two months. All of the strikes successful except one. Fifteen arrested, one conviction, two members held in jail nine weeks for deportation finally released. Number of workers involved not specified.

Local Union 326, Railroad Construction Workers, Prince Rupert, B. C. Two strikes, both of which were successful; 2,350 workers involved; 12 members arrested, all of whom were convicted and sentenced from six months to three years. This local also assisted in winning a strike for unorganized workers at the Shenna Crossing.

Local Union 327, Railroad Construction Workers, Lytton, B. C. One strike lasting seven months; 5,000 involved; 300 members arrested; 200 convicted and sentenced to from one to six months. This strike was called off by the local union owing to the failure to keep the line tied up. The contractors were forced, however, to improve wages and conditions.

National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers. Two strikes, involving seven local unions and 7,000 workers. One strike lasted two months and the other three weeks. No record of the number of members arrested, but there were several hundred. Three members were convicted and sentenced to from one to three months in jail. The strikes were partially successful in raising wages in the industry.

Extending the organization of the lumber workers in the southern lumber districts involves a contest with the employing class in a section of the country where the employers have held undisputed sway since the American continent was first settled.

Organizers are assaulted and killed by the armed thugs of the industrial lords. The will of the employing class is the law of the land.

July 7, 1912, a meeting held upon the public road at Grabow, Louisiana, was ambushed by the guards of the Galloway Lumber Company. Three men were killed and forty wounded. Following this attack, A. L. Emerson, the president of the southern district organization, and sixty-four members were arrested and held for trial upon charges of conspiracy to commit murder. Emerson and nine of the members were tried and acquitted in spite of the efforts of the mill owners and lumber companies to railroad them to the penitentiary or gallows. All others were discharged from custody without trial.

Local Union 436, Lowell, Massachusetts, Textile Workers. Two strikes, one of which resulted in victory and the other was lost; 18,000 involved. Number arrested in strikes 26, all of whom were convicted and sentenced to from one to six weeks in jail.

Local Union 557, Piano Workers, Boston, Massachusetts. One strike; 200 members involved. Strike lasted five weeks and was lost.

Local Union 20, Textile Workers, Lawrence, Massachusetts. Five strikes involving 29,000 workers; 333 arrested, 320 of whom were convicted and fined from \$100 down, and to one year in jail. Most of these cases, however, were settled for a nominal fine on appeal to the higher court. (For an account of the great Lawrence strike and of the Ettor-Giovannitti trial growing out of it, see "Trial of a New Society," by Justus Ebert.)

Local Union 157, Textile Workers, New Bedford, Massachusetts. Lockout; 13,000 workers involved. Number of arrests not known.

The workers in the textile mills of the city of Little Falls, N. Y., to the number of 1,500, most all of whom were of foreign birth, walked out of the mills although unorganized, in an effort to better their conditions.

They called upon the National Union of Textile Workers for organizers to assist them in their struggle. The National Union responded to the call by sending Ben Legere and an Italian Fellow Worker named Bocinni.

These two organizers got the unorganized workers together, organized strike committees and a picket line, in an endeavor to prevail upon the English-speaking workers to join hands with their brother workers of other tongues and force the bosses to grant the demands.

Their efforts were of little avail, but the employers after a few weeks resorted to the time-worn practice of using the police to cause riot and disorder. The picket lines were attacked and broken up; men, women and children were beaten and clubbed senseless. The organizers were arrested and charged with being responsible for the police-made riots and Legere and Bocinni convicted by prejudiced juries and sentenced to short terms in prison.

After a period of several weeks the bosses were forced to make concessions in wages and the strike terminated. No organization remained after the end of the strike.

In addition to the above there were other strikes of smaller size, but the locals and members involved in the same have not furnished the General Office with any information, so we cannot include data concerning them.

An estimate of the amount of money expended for relief and other expenses incidental to handling strikes in the year (1912) shows that \$101,504.05 were ex-

pendent in handling strikes involving a total of 75,152 strikers and their families, lasting over a period of 74 weeks in the aggregate. The number arrested during that period totaled 1,446; and there were 577 convictions.

1913 Strikes.

An aftermath of the Lawrence strike was the trial of Ettor, Giovanitti and Caruso, who were charged with the murder of a striking girl mill worker killed by the police. The trial was bitterly fought in an effort to railroad these valiant champions of working class freedom to the gallows or the penitentiary.

In this instance, however, the employers suffered defeat. The trial resulted in the triumphant acquittal of the fellow workers.

As a result of the sawmill owners at Merryville, La., discharging workers who were witnesses in defense of A. L. Emerson, the local of Lumber and Mill Workers declared a strike to force their company to reinstate these workers. The strike was attended by the usual tactics of the labor hating lumber barons of the south.

Mobs of gunmen drove out the strikers and their families, the commissariat of the strikers was raided and the union after a bitter struggle was entirely destroyed.

The workers employed in the tire and rubber goods factories of Akron, Ohio, to the number of 22,000 walked out in an effort to secure a readjustment of working conditions and wages to offset losses suffered by them because of new machinery and the efficiency systems installed by the various companies operating in that industry. After a struggle of seven weeks the strikers were defeated.

Following close upon the termination of the Law-

rence strike, the workers in the silk mills of Paterson, New Jersey, Summit, New York, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, numbering upwards of fifty thousand, came out on strike under the banner of the I. W. W.

The struggle was marked by intense brutality on the part of the police force, especially in the city of Paterson. Every supposed right of the workers was trampled under foot; halls were denied the workers; the pickets were attacked and arrests made by the hundred. Starvation finally forced the workers to accept a compromise settlement of a nine-hour workday and a small increase in wages.

In this struggle, as in the Lawrence strike, the A. F. of L. union, The United Textile Workers of America, through its president John Golden, attempted to serve the silk mill owners.

At Detroit, Michigan, eight thousand employes of the automobile factories came out unorganized in a demand for better wages and working conditions. At the end of a week the strike was called off and the workers returned to work without gaining any of their demands.

The dock workers on the iron ore docks of Duluth and Superior attempted to form an organization and were forced to strike by the companies discharging all known members. The strike was lost and the organization broken up.

One thousand workers in the machine shops of Toledo, Ohio, won their demands after a short strike.

The employes of the Avery Agricultural Implement Company of Peoria, Ill., numbering five hundred, declared a strike for better wages. After a week the pickets were arrested and the hall of the local closed by the police at the bidding of the employing interests of that city. The strike was lost.

The Utah Construction Company, a railroad construction concern, financed by Mormon capital, engaged in grading out of Tucker, Utah, attempted to squeeze heavier profits from the workers employed by them. As a result, the local at Salt Lake City was called upon by the workers involved. A short and bitter strike resulted in gaining better conditions for the workers. No permanent organization resulted from the strike.

The great Industrial center of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, was the scene of a great many strikes in various industries. The Stogie Workers, Oliver Steel Plant, Aluminun Workers and Frank & Seder's department Store Workers were on strike at various times. No organization resulted from any of these strikes and little if anything was gained by the workers.

Longshore workers of the Philadelphia waterfront, becoming disgusted with the A. F. of L. International, broke away and reorganized themselves as a part of the I. W. W. After a short strike the boss stevedores were compelled to grant the demands of the workers, who have maintained shop control on the water front since that time.

One thousand sugar workers struck for better wages in the sugar plants at Philadelphia. The strike was lost.

Philadelphia stone masons and helpers won a short strike as members of the I. W. W., but did not maintain the organization.

The restaurant workers of that city likewise gained some concessions, but did not preserve their organization.

The garment workers of Baltimore lost a fourteen weeks' strike by reason of the A. F. of L. garment workers furnishing strike breakers.

The workers of the Draper Loom Plants at Hopedale and Milford, Massachusetts, rebelled against low wages and long hours, but were defeated in their strike.

Textile workers at Ipswich, Massachusetts, struck for an increase in wages and the return of pay deducted by the companies as forfeits for quitting without giving two weeks' notice. The strike resulted in an increase in wages from 5 to 15 per cent and forcing the company to refund \$60,000.

Ten thousand barbers in New York won a strike of short duration. The organization, however, gradually disintegrated and in a short time died out.

River front workers of New Orleans fought and lost a bitter fight in that city as a part of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union.

The lumber workers of Marshfield, Oregon, Missoula, Montana, and the Puget Sound district engaged in strikes, all of which were lost or compromised for lack of organization to co-ordinate the struggles and extend them thruout the industry.

Two thousand three hundred hop pickers on the Durst Ranch at Wheatland, California, went on strike against the inhuman conditions prevailing there. A riot was precipitated by deputy sheriffs firing into a peaceful body of striking men, women and children. Several strikers and deputy sheriffs were killed. As a result of this occurrence two of the most active strikers, Ford and Suhr, were railroaded to the penitentiary for life.

The lumber workers of the Grays Harbor district came out on strike to the number of 5,000 or more in an effort to establish an eight-hour day and sanitary living conditions in the camps. The strike was unsuccessful in obtaining these conditions generally, but some camps improved the housing and boarding conditions as a result of the strike.

1916 Strikes.

The iron ore miners of the Mesaba Iron Range lost a bitter strike marked by the killing and injury of strike pickets and one of the deputy sheriffs, by company gunmen.

In line with the usual corporation practice in strikes where strikers or others are killed by company gunmen, the organizers and active members in the strike were charged with the crimes committed by gunmen in the employ of the companies.

The sugar workers of Philadelphia again lost a bitterly contested strike in which one worker was killed and several injured by police attacks upon the picket lines.

A strike of the shingle weavers organized in the A. F. of L. took place at Everett, Washington. The strikers requested the I. W. W. to furnish them with speakers to aid in carrying on the strike. Compliance with this request resulted in the authorities attempting to drive all members of the I. W. W. out of that section.

The usual Vigilante tactics were adopted. Members were arrested by deputy sheriffs on trumped up charges and thrown into jail. At night they were taken out of the jail by groups of armed deputies, turned over to mobs of profiteers to be beaten and shot.

In an effort to end this condition of affairs by advertising its existence to the citizens of that section, the I. W. W. decided to hold a mass meeting on the streets of Everett. A boat was chartered and members to its passenger capacity responded to the call. On arrival at Everett they were met by a drunken sheriff and a posse of gunmen who opened fire upon the boatload of men and women. Seven members were killed and many wounded.*

Seventy-four members were indicted for this crime of a drunken sheriff. The trial which followed resulted

*See "Everett Massacre," cloth bound, 50 cents, published by the Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 W. Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

in the acquittal of Fellow Worker George Tracy. The others who were under indictment were discharged. Neither the sheriff nor any of his deputies were ever called to account for their murderous activities.

1917 Strikes.

The year 1917 marked the entry of the United States into the World War, and as an inevitable consequence profiteering became the order of the day with the master class. Prices of the necessities of life soared, millionaires were made over night, but the lot of the workers in the basic industries, where the workers had little or no organization, became worse and worse.

As a result of this condition of affairs the workers in the great copper and lumbering sections of the northwest and southwest began to organize and to demand some share of the fabulous wealth which their labor was creating.

Out of this grew the strikes of the copper miners of Bisbee, Jerome, Globe and Miami, Arizona, and Butte, Montana, and the general strike of the lumber jacks and sawmill workers of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana.

The workers in these industries to the number of thousands came out to enforce a decent standard of living, a standard compatible with the efforts that they as workers were putting forth to help meet the demand that wartime conditions were making upon the industries of the country.

But the profiteers and their henchmen were quick to take advantage of wartime conditions and use them in order to protect profits, and to keep the workers in subjection.

Every attempt on the part of the rebel workers to organize and demand better wages and conditions was met with the charge that it was a pro-German plot to hamper the government in its conducting of the war.

At Jerome, Arizona, organizers and members of the I. W. W. were deported by company gunmen under the cloak of patriotism.

A company owned sheriff at Bisbee in command of 2,500 imported thugs and gunmen deported from their homes 1,200 strikers and sympathizers, after murdering one man who defended his domicile against attack by company thugs.

Butte, Montana, witnessed the crowning act of infamy, perpetrated by the money-mad profiteers posing as patriots, in the cowardly assassination of Executive Board Member Frank H. Little, who, crippled and unable to defend himself, was kidnapped in the dead of night, dragged behind an automobile for miles and hanged to a railroad trestle.

In spite of his reign of terrorism, unparalleled in the history of the nation, the lumber workers were successful in establishing the eight-hour day, an increase in wages, and the installation of sanitary living conditions in the lumber camps of the northwest.

The copper miners, even though their organization was shattered so that its effectiveness has been impaired, forced the wages up and bettered working conditions in the hell-holes where copper is produced.

Failing to destroy the I. W. W. by terroristic methods, the employers next proceeded to use a compliant government in an attempt to destroy the organization. Nation wide raids upon the offices of local and industrial unions and the general offices were staged. Books, papers, literature and supplies of the organization were illegally seized, and in some cases, destroyed by government agents.

This was followed by a grand jury, in the city of Chicago, returning an indictment against 166 officials and members, charging them with conspiracy and sedition.

In a mock trial that followed, before a corporation owned judge, who cloaked his fealty to the profiteers

with a veneer of patriotism, a jury, hand picked by the A. P. L. (American Profiteers Legionaries) returned a verdict of guilty against 98 of the defendants, 93 of whom were sentenced to terms in the penitentiary ranging from one to twenty years.

But in spite of all the I. W. W. still lives and is slowly but surely building up the organization that will strike the shackles of wage slavery from the limbs of the world's workers and make this earth a fit place for free men and women to inhabit.

Note—On account of the seizure of records by the government the data on strikes and other activities is incomplete and lacking in definite detail as to dates, number involved, length of strike and the outcome. Such data from 1912 is from memory, and by the courtesy of H. L. Varney.

Free Speech Fights.

San Diego, California, was the scene of a bitter and brutal fight for free speech, participated in by the I. W. W. and Socialist Party local. The fight cost two members of the I. W. W. their lives as a result of police brutality. The struggle was lost.

Free speech fights in Denver, Sioux City, Kansas City, Omaha and Des Moines, resulted in preserving that supposed right to the workers at these points.

The I. W. W. at Present.

The organization to date Oct. 1st 1919, consists of seventeen Industrial Unions' with Branches, Lumber Workers, Metal and Coal Miners', Agricultural and Oil Workers, Construction Workers, Marine Transport Workers, Railroad Workers, Metal and Machinery Workers, Textile Workers, Shipbuilding Workers, Hotel Restaurant & Domestic Workers, Bakery Workers, Furniture Workers, Leather Workers, Printing and Publishing Workers, Rubber Workers, Food Production Workers, General Distributing Workers and 60 Recruiting Union Branches, directly united with the general organization.

The membership today consists very largely of unskilled workers. The bulk of the present membership is in the following industries: Textile, steel, lumber, mining, farming, railroad construction and marine transportaton. The majority of the workers in these industries—except the textile—travel from place to place following the different seasons of work. They are therefore out of touch with the organization for months at a period. The paid-up membership of the organization at this time is 100,000. Due to the causes referred to above, this is all of the membership that keeps paid up on the books at all times. The general office however has issued 500,000 cards, which is about the number of workers that are in the organization in good and bad standing.

The general practice of exaggerating the membership of the organization is looked upon with disfavor in the I. W. W., as the organization aims to have the membership at all times look at all questions that affect their interests in their actual state. It is absolutely necessary that they do so if they are to be able to judge their strength and their ability to accomplish any proposed undertaking.

As will be seen, the organization in the past has had a continual struggle, not the least of which has been the internal strife engendered by conflicting elements whose activity sprang from many different motives.

The future of the organization will be one of greater struggles. We would not have it otherwise. The internal strife will no doubt be present in the future as in the past. The employing class are fully aware that the most effective way of lessening the power of the revolutionary labor organization is to keep it busy with internal wrangles.

As the membership gain experience from actual contact with the problems of their class they will learn to know each other and the internal wrangles will disappear. Then this weapon in the hands of the employ-

ers will become useless, because the membership will refuse to be divided where their class interests are involved.

The future belongs to the I. W. W. The day of the skilled worker is passed. Machine production has made the unskilled worker the main factor in industry. Under modern industrial conditions the workers can no longer act in small groups with any chance of success. They must organize and act as a class.

We are looking forward to the time when the organized proletariat will meet in their union the world over "and decide how long they will work and how much of the wealth they produce they will give to the boss."

INDUSTRIAL UNION MANIFESTO

Issued by Conference of Industrial Unionists at Chicago, January 2, 3 and 4, 1905.

Social relations and groupings only reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines, ever replacing less productive ones, wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress, the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerve respond

most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile, to starve alongside the discarded machine. A dead line has been drawn, and an age limit established, to cross which, in this world of monopolized opportunities, means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wageslaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by class divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted hither and thither by the demands of profit-takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his master may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by difference in trade skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill or interests among the laborers, are imposed by the employer that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations, they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the injunctions of the judiciary and the use of military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable, they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for suc-

cess upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of the mechanical and industrial concentration, while laborers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions. The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions; the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by their fellow-workers subject to the same masters; the long-struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotency of labor as at present organized.

This worn-out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement and adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle for slight relief from wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the product of which they alone should enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent on the industrial battlefield.

Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial solidarity impossible.

Union men scab upon union men; hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force

men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are thereby fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft.

Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory.

Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the conditions of life of another body of laborers.

Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action.

Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles which serve only to further the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

A movement to fulfill these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries—providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally.

It must be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration must be conducted in harmony

with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

All power should rest in a collective membership.

Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax should be uniform throughout.

All members must hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

Workingmen bringing union cards from industrial unions in foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

The general administration should issue a publication representing the entire union and its principles which should reach all members in every industry at regular intervals.

A central defense fund, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained.

All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth, will meet in convention at Chicago the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto.

‘ POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE I. W. W.

By Vincent St. John.

I am in receipt of many inquiries relative to the position of the I. W. W. and political action. One fellow

worker wants to know, "How is this revolutionary body going to express itself politically?" and "if it is going to hop through the industrial world on one leg?"

A little investigation will prove to any worker that while the workers are divided on the industrial field it is not possible to unite them on any other field to advance a working class program.

Further investigation will prove that with the working class divided on the industrial field, unity anywhere else—if it could be brought about—would be without results. The workers would be without power to enforce any demands. The proposition, then, is to lay all stress in our agitation upon the essential point, that is upon the places of production, where the working class must unite in sufficient numbers before it will have the power to make itself felt anywhere else.

Will it not follow that, united in sufficient numbers at the workshops and guided by the knowledge of their class interests, such unity will be manifested in every field wherein they can assist in advancing the interest of the working class? Why then should not all stress be laid upon the organization of the workers on the industrial field?

The illustration used by our fellow worker in which he likens the economic organization to a one-legged concern because it does not mention political action, is not a comparison that in any way fits the case. As well might the prohibitionist, the anti-clerical, or any other advocate of the many schools that claim the worker can better his condition by their particular policy, say that because the declaration of principles of the economic organization makes no mention of these subjects, the I. W. W. is short a leg on each count.

The Preamble of the I. W. W. deals with the essential point upon which we know the workers will have to agree before they can accomplish anything for themselves. Regardless of what a wage worker may think on any question, if he agrees upon the essential

thing we want him in the I. W. W. helping to build up the organized army of production.

The two legs of the economic organization are **KNOWLEDGE** and **ORGANIZATION**.

The only value that political activity has to the working class is from the standpoint of agitation and education. Its educational merit consists solely in proving to the workers its utter inefficacy to curb the power of the ruling class and therefore forcing the workers to rely on the organization of their class in the industries.

It is impossible for anyone to be a part of the capitalist state and to use the machinery of the state in the interest of the workers. All they can do is to make the attempt, and to be impeached—as they will be—and furnish object lessons to the workers, of the class character of the state.

Knowing this, the I. W. W. proposes to devote all of its energy to building up the organization of the workers in the industries of the country and the world: to drilling and educating the members so that they will have the necessary power and the knowledge to use that power to overthrow capitalism.

I know that here you will say: what about the injunction judges, the militia and the bull pens? In answer, ask yourself what will stop the use of these same weapons against you on the political field if by the political activity of the workers you were able to menace the profits of the capitalist?

If you think it cannot be done, turn to Colorado where in 1904 two judges of the supreme court of that state, Campbell and Gabbert, by the injunction process assumed original jurisdiction over the state election and decided the majority of the state legislature, the governorship and the election of the United States senator.

Turn to the Coeur d'Alenes where the military forces of the United State put out of office all officials who would not do the bidding of the mining companies of that region.

Turn to Colorado, where a mob did the same thing in the interest of the capitalist class.

The only power that the working class has is the power to produce wealth. The I. W. W. proposes to organize the workers to control the use of their labor so that they will be able to stop the production of wealth except upon terms dictated by the workers themselves.

The capitalists' political power is exactly the measure of their industrial power—control of industry; that control can only be disputed and finally destroyed by an organization of the workers inside the industries—organized for the every day struggle with the capitalists and to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

With such an organization, knowing that an injury to one member of the working class is an injury to every member of that class, it will be possible to make the use of injunctions and the militia so costly that the capitalist will not use them. None of his industries would run except for such length of time as the workers needed to work in order to get in shape to renew the struggle.

A stubborn slave will bring the most overbearing master to time. The capitalists cannot exterminate a real labor organization by fighting it—they are only dangerous when they commence to fraternize with it.

Neither can the capitalists and their tools exterminate the working class or any considerable portion of it—they would have to go to work themselves if they did.

It is true that while the movement is weak they may victimize a few of its members, but if that is not al-

lowed to intimidate the organization the employers will not be able to do that very long.

Persecution of any organization always results in the growth of the principle represented by that organization—if its members are men and women of courage. If they are not, there is no substitute that will insure victory.

The I. W. W. will express itself politically in its general convention and the referendum of its members in the industries throughout the land, in proportion to its power.

The work before us is to build up an organization of our class in the field wherein our power lies. That task must be accomplished by the workers themselves. Whatever obstacles are in the way must be overcome, however great they seem to be. Remember that the working class is a great class and its power is unbounded when properly organized.

As we organize we control our labor power. As we control our labor power a little we control industry a little; as we organize more we will control more of our labor power, and also control industry more. When we control enough of our labor power we will meet in our representative assembly—the Convention of the I. W. W.—and tell the boss how long we will work and how much of what we produce he can have.

The sooner all the members of the working class who agree with this program lend their efforts to bring it about—by joining the I. W. W.—the sooner will the struggle be ended in spite of all the machinations of the capitalist and his judges and armies.

Therefore it will never be necessary for the I. W. W. to endorse any political party, whether we will gain support or not by so doing. Neither will the I. W. W. carry on a propaganda against political action. To do so would be as useless as to carry on a campaign for it.

We are forced, however, to point out the limitations of political action for the working class in order that the workers be not led into a cul se sac by the politician, and because of that lose all idea of ever being anything but slaves for generations to come.

This we can only do by devoting our entire effort in the work of organization and education to the industrial field.

To those who think the workers will have to be united in a political party, we say dig in and do so, but do not try to use the economic organization to further the aims of the political party.

THE TREND TOWARD INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

By B. H. Williams.

(Written for the American Journal of Sociology.)

"What kind of a world does the I. W. W. want?" Such, in substance, is the question asked of the writer by the editor of the American Journal of Sociology. Nothing would please me more than to attempt to draw a picture of that world; but space is too limited. I shall, therefore, indicate only some salient features of the I. W. W. forecast and program, which seem to me wholly in accord with scientific principles and facts, and therefore not to be successfully controverted.

In harmony with the theory and the established facts of evolution, the Industrial Workers of the World holds that the general tendency of the organism we call Society is progressive—that is, from lower or less finished forms and functions, to ever higher and more nearly finished forms and functions, approaching the infinity of perfection. In other words, Social Evolution differs in no essential respect from organic evolution.

Applying this evolutionary principle, we discover:

1. That this society which we call Capitalism is a more advanced form of the social organism than was any prior state. Its crowning achievement is the Age of Machinery, bringing into existence an enormous increase in wealth and in the capacity for producing the accessories of an ever-richer civilization; in short; transforming the face of Society in a manner undreamed of prior to its advent.

2. That the manner of producing the social wealth has evolved from an individual or small group form to an ever larger group form, embracing great industries and correlating these industries into what is approaching a world-system of production and exchange. In other words, machinery or the Machine Process has evolved Social Wealth Production, in which, generally speaking, all workers co-operate nationally and internationally in the creation and exchange of the accessories of civilization.

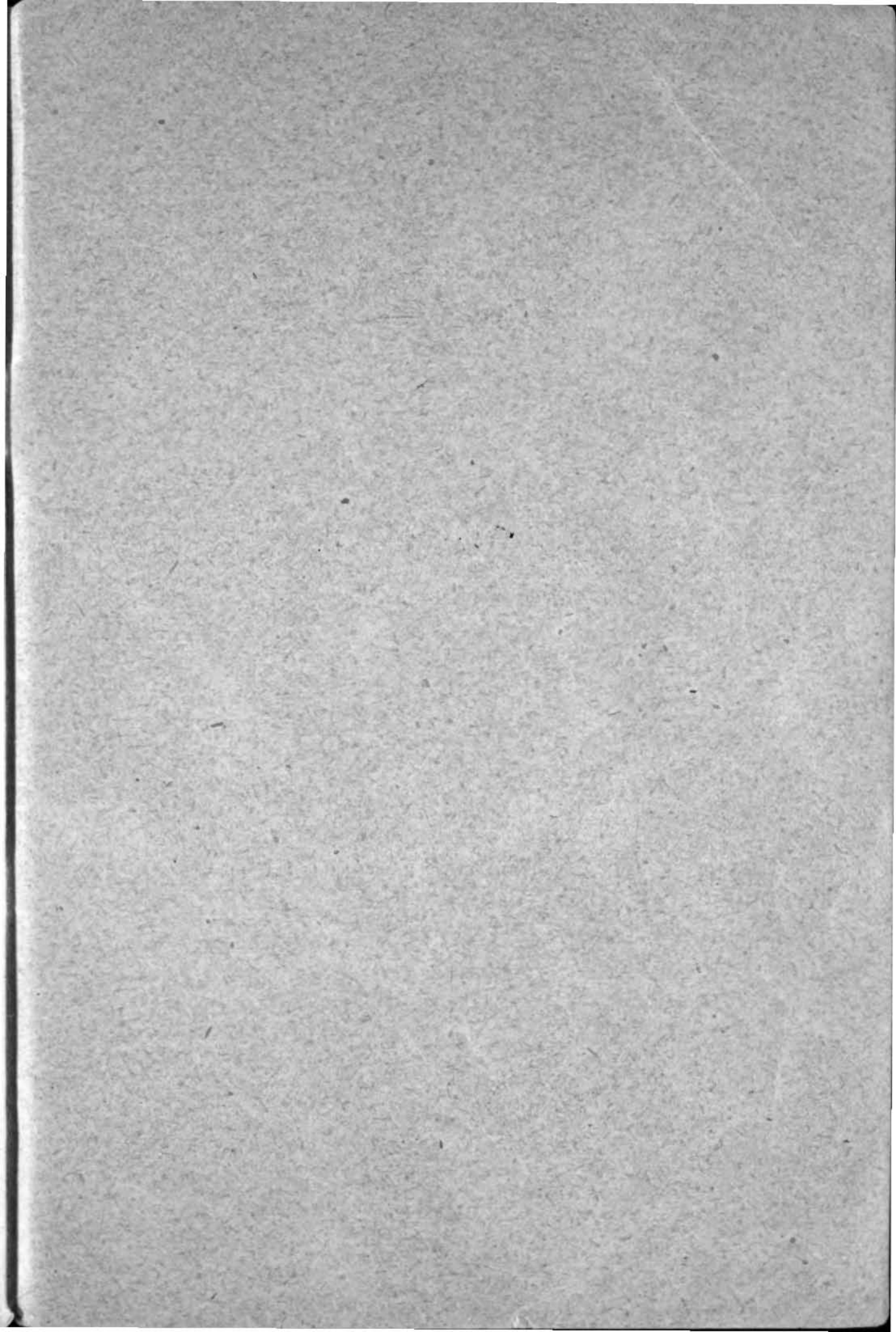
3. That the control or management of this system of production and exchange is not democratic, but autocratic—is in the hands of individuals or groups of capitalists, who claim absolute control over the product of labor as well as absolute ownership of the natural resources and of the machinery of production. In brief, the system of ownership and control is in contradiction to the system of producing and exchanging wealth in accordance with the machine process.

4. That the contradiction aforementioned inevitably keeps alive and intensifies the class struggle between the owners or controllers, and the workers, in which struggle the latter seek (some consciously, some unconsciously) to remove the contradiction by eliminating autocratic, and substituting democratic, control as well as operation of the system of wealth production and distribution, and therefore of Society itself. To

put it in another form: The most promising tendency that the I. W. W. discovers in modern society is that toward Industrial and Social Democracy.

This tendency, in our judgment, is the one that should be most emphasized, in the American thought both of the present and of the future. Its goal—the complete democratization of industry—means the freeing of the social organism from economic contradictions, whose social fruitage has been and is: wars between nations, panics or industrial depressions, strikes, lockouts, riots, unemployment, long hours of toil, insufficient wages, excessive labor, prostitution, pauperism, many classes of crimes and diseases, and other evidences of social malnutrition. It means a freer play of individuality, and the unfolding of a social initiative whose fecundity will make this old Mother Earth as near a paradise as can well be conceived of at present. And for all this and more, we shall still have to thank our old step-mother, Capitalism, for having made us rebels against her crudeness and barbarism.

The I. W. W. wants the world for the workers, and none but workers in the world. "By organizing industrially, we (the workers) are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."





WE ARE IN HERE
For You You Are Out
THERE FOR US