

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. I. No. 25.

CHICAGO, AUGUST 17, 1907.

50c. a Year.

As to Revolutionary Unity

Fellow Workers:—The points in this article are presented merely as an outline of the things we should earnestly consider before another national convention is upon us. It is not intended to fully cover the question, but simply call forth the expression of workingmen who are vitally interested in solving problems that mean for them emancipation and life.

The interest that has been shown by members of both political and economic organizations in the controversy that has been carried on through the columns of the Daily and Weekly People, under the title "As To Politics," proves to the keen observer that there is a feeling of unrest throughout the ranks. Editor DeLeon's defense of the ballot as necessary to a revolutionary movement must have clarified minds in both factions and led to the conclusion that there can be no revolutionary movement in America, armed with all modern weapons, without the ballot. But after this has been accepted, it leaves a vague feeling that all is not well with the movement.

Viewing all sides of the question, it would seem that John Sandgren must have had other reasons than those brought forth in his contention that the Socialist Labor party and Socialist party should break camp and the emancipation of the working class be left entirely in the hands of the economic movement, the Industrial Workers of the World. He seemed conscious that the division of forces necessary for the existence of two political organizations weakens the working class revolution. It is not until we find the Industrial Workers of the World standing firmly on the economic basis without "affiliation with any political party." On the other hand, we find the Socialist Labor party standing for and teaching the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World, indorsing it as the proper economic form of organization to bring about the emancipation of the working class.

This state of affairs hangs the burden of the revolution of the movement heavily around the necks of its supporters. The political organization standing squarely for the revolution cannot maintain itself and press without being a constant burden that drains its membership to the limit of its resources. The economic movement being mainly dependent upon the same set of individuals, also requires sinews of war and sends forth its appeals. The establishment of the Industrial Union Bulletin renders the conditions still more acute.

Now, the press is the life-blood of any movement, and if it ceases to circulate the movement dies. The agitator in approaching his shopmates must make a choice as to whether to bring the political or economic, he ought to present in order to shape opinions toward a revolutionary standpoint. This places him in a divided state of mind, for it is plain to be seen that neither fills all requirements. The political only contains the necessary fire to arouse general interest; the economic lacks this, but touches the problems that are close to the individual.

The question, then, naturally arises, is it possible for the present economic organ to be extended so it will embrace the political field, thus doing away with the necessity of maintaining a separate political organization with its press, executive heads and consequent expenses? The working class is reaching out after industrial unionism, and the present need of funds for organizing industries brings this divided state of affairs home with pregnant meaning and must be the means of inducing some action on the part of the class-conscious worker to help complete a unity of forces.

The cry will undoubtedly be raised that the position taken herein is fundamentally the same already taken by all revolutionists; but that it is "too soon" to raise this point now; it should be left until some time later, when "the time is ripe."

The pure and simple fakir says that "socialism is all right, but the time is not ripe." The political S. P. shark says "The I. W. W. is all right, but the time is not ripe." But one fact is plain, there exists within the minds of the individual revolutionists a conviction that they must have a point as a nucleus about which to crystallize. Sentiments are beginning to crop forth in the movement that threaten to destroy the basic principles of the I. W. W. if allowed to spread unchecked.

Fellow workers, do not allow this matter to be smothered by procrastinators and the movement allowed to take on abnormal phases because of the hazy excuse that it is "too young" or "too weak." The movement was not "too young" nor "too weak" last October! Labor organizations, like children, are apt to show evil tendencies in their youth, when experience is all before them and demand correction promptly; for if such tendencies are allowed to develop they become a part of the organism and cannot be torn loose. A revolutionary movement can last nothing unless growth that is as rapid as the life of a grasshopper. There is still another point which calls for consideration for uniting the

political and economic organizations. The presence of the middle class in a revolutionary working-class organization should generally be regarded with suspicion. The contention of the intellectual type that a life devoted to study is required to guide the revolutionary movement sounds "droll" to the class-conscious workman who is fully alive to the situation; for he realizes that no amount of study can balance the loss of actual proletarian experience which is vital to all intelligent working class revolutionary action.

The field of the intellectual teacher is that of a sympathizer, and as such is important; but the way is apt to have pitfalls and the intellectual to take the stand of leader, which a working-class movement does not want outside its own ranks. The development of the movement calls for a purely proletarian organization. This can only be accomplished by the Industrial Workers of the World placing on foot its own political expression; then all that is foreign to working-class experiences will be swept out naturally, as fermenting liquor works itself clear of impurities.

A working-class movement that does not contain the vital revolutionary forces generated by the class struggle is dead, regardless of the artificial life furnished from external sources. In other words a working-class movement that must be initiated, guided and financed by the middle class is simply a farce.

Another consideration demands that the Industrial Workers of the World follow the teachings of Marx, that only a trades union can set up a true political expression party of the working class. Developments have changed the trade union to the industrial union, and the Carl Marx of today would teach that only an industrial union can place on foot a political expression of the working-class interests. At present any political party may claim it stands in the interest of the working class. It may present its motto, as accepting rests entirely in the intelligence of individual workers.

If the Industrial Workers of the World places its political reflex as a constituent part of the economic movement, to which no one but the wage-slave may become a member, the claim of other political parties would obviously be farcical and the worker would be lifted clear of all doubt as to the question of whether to follow any more honest than other politicians?

In closing, the appeal is made to the rank and file of the Socialist Labor party, the Socialist party and the Industrial Workers of the World to give these points serious attention, and not to allow the movement to drift to ruin for want of taking a stand in time. Let the Siamese-Twin revolution be done away with and a revolutionary party established with feet planted squarely under it and its hands grasping both the economic and political forces. Then and then only will it be able to strike out at the enemy with full strength.

SAMUEL L. BROOKS.

Click of Telegraph Ceases

As *The Bulletin* goes to press the strike of the telegraph operators is spreading throughout the country, about 7,000 men being reported out at this writing. The boys so far have given a fine example of class solidarity, and will succeed in compelling the legalization of the strike, which was started by the operators themselves in Chicago, provided their officers do not listen to the allurement of capitalist agents like Ralph Eastley. The companies give out the statement that the strike was caused by the radicals. It is the hope of the radicals within the telegraph operators' organization and out of it that the strikers will stand pat to a man.

The administration to whom the voters handed over the public affairs of Chicago at the last election, has announced through its chief of police that it will exert every means in its power to "stop the strike"; peaceful picketing has been prohibited, orders being given to arrest any man found speaking to a striker, all violators to be arrested under the "vagrancy law."

The I. W. W. is with the operators in their struggle against the pirate corporations now in control of the telegraphic facilities of the country. Let no man break ranks. "Stand pat!"

Handbook in Italian

The "Handbook and Analysis of the Preamble" has been printed in Italian and will be sent at about cost price to any address—8 cents per copy.

Also in Italian we have the "Address to Miners," a sixteen-page pamphlet, at cost price, \$1.25 per hundred; single copy, 3 cents.

Report to International Congress

A limited number of the report to the International Congress at Stuttgart has been printed in pamphlet form and will be furnished while they last at 5 cents each, prepaid.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT

From Far and Near

The Voluntary Fund

It is a natural thing no doubt for one who has contributed from his modest earnings as often as Fellow Worker E. Besselman, to find that when a voluntary contribution list appears in the paper it does not include his name. Besselman has been among the foremost workers for *THE BULLETIN*, as well as a frequent voluntary contributor, and it was due him that his name should have appeared in the first list printed. The omission was due entirely to an oversight on our part. He was one of the first voluntary contributors, and has at various times since last October sent in amounts aggregating about \$15.

This department of voluntary contributions is made permanent by request of those contributing. We hope that none will overlook it, but get in while it is young and the funds are needed. Following are the contributions received since the fund was started:

J. H. Hanlon, Schenectady, N. Y.	\$5.00
R. J. Smith, Minneapolis	5.00
Brewery Workers' Union 125, Lawrence, Mass.	5.00
J. H. Sanderson, Victorville, Cal.	5.00
Br. L. U. No. 95, Denver	5.00
L. Ballhaus, Wash.	1.00
Brewery Workers' Union, Lawrence, Mass.	5.00
L. U. No. 1, Schenectady, N. Y.	50.00
Miners' Union, Burke, Idaho	25.00
O. Sewell, Wash.	1.00
L. U. No. 222, Spokane, Wash.	5.00
C. H. Miller	1.00
A. Simpson	1.00
Ed. Hanlon, Schenectady, N. Y.	10.00
L. U. No. 25, Denver	5.00
F. Koch	.75
G. Franklin	1.00

Larger Headquarters Secured

The general headquarters has been changed from Room 310 to Room 212, Bush Temple. Larger quarters have been needed for some time; the new quarters provide a safe to secure more commodious offices, and the change was made without additional rent until the present lease expires in October. For the safe-keeping of the books and records of the organization and the purchase of a vault, and the purchase of a safe, which had become urgently necessary in case we remained in the old quarters, is thus done away with.

Haywood at Headquarters

William D. Haywood visited the general headquarters of the I. W. W., 212 Bush Temple, Wednesday afternoon, to make inquiry concerning the progress of the organization and shake hands with the office force, all being glad to welcome him after his long incarceration at Boise, Idaho.

Canadian and foreign subscriptions to *The Bulletin*, One Dollar a year.

Tacoma Strike Fund

The following donations have been received for the striking I. W. W. smeltermen:

No. 173, I. W. W., San Francisco, Cal.	\$12.75
J. J. Eitor, dues for Jim Crowley	1.00
No. 25, I. W. W., Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
No. 124, W. F. of M., Vivian, Ariz.	5.00
Br. No. 4 of No. 152, I. W. W., Paterson, N. J.	10.00
No. 53, I. W. W., Toronto, Canada	2.50
No. 251, I. W. W., Hamilton, Ohio	5.00
No. 236, I. W. W., Sacramento, Cal.	.50
No. 302, I. W. W., Buena Vista, Pa.	5.00
No. 253, W. F. of M., Blair, Nev.	25.00
No. 178, I. W. W., donated by Chas. Weil	1.00
Total	\$72.75

Tacoma, Wash. F. EWING.

Strike Contributions

The following is a report of donations to the strike of Locomotive Workers, No. 22, I. W. W., Paterson, N. J.:

Previously acknowledged	\$535.00
L. U. 33, I. W. W., Eureka, Cal.	10.00
Br. III, L. U. 152, I. W. W., Minneapolis, Minn.	4.25
L. U. 7, I. W. W., Paterson, N. J.	5.00
Wood Creek Miners' Union, Ed. W. F. of M.	2.50
Br. III, L. U. 152, I. W. W., Ohio	5.00
L. U. 236, I. W. W., Sacramento, Cal.	.75
L. U. 21, I. W. W., Suttonville, Mass.	2.50
Br. III, L. U. 152, I. W. W., Paterson, N. J.	10.00
L. E. Casbow, Paterson, N. J.	1.00
L. U. 173, N. B. A., Baltimore, Md.	1.00
L. U. 363, I. W. W., San Francisco, Cal.	10.00
L. U. 98, I. W. W., Wakefield, Cal.	10.00
L. U. 15, I. W. W., Denver, Col.	2.50
Globe Miners' Union, W. F. of M.	100.00
L. U. 53, Toronto, Canada	2.50
Total	\$703.50

In the previous printed report, Local 32, U. B. A., was credited with \$30.00. This was a typographical error. Should have been \$5.00, but the total amount, \$535.00, was correct.

RUDOLPH KATZ.

Wichita, Kan., has a strike of unorganized concrete workers; the men are being organized in Local 205 of the I. W. W. and the contractors have been compelled to accede to a demand for \$2.25 for eight hours.

Economic Solidarity Essential

This field about Pittsburgh is rotten ripe for the I. W. W., but many places are awaiting the result of our coming convention. I hope nothing will occur to displace our revolutionary position. Should there be a tendency to depart from the various terms of our program, as expressed in our preamble, that as our organization becomes powerful and financially well balanced the conservatism of reaction will paralyze its ultimate purpose. It sometimes seems to me as I read the various letters from workers over the field, a tendency to ignore the aid, and even reject it, voluntarily offered by those who, through the complex nature of the capitalist state, are placed outside the pale of an actual wage-earner, but who, nevertheless, are proletarian revolutionists and are longing and working for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

I may be wrong, but I believe that as long as the capitalist state endures every detail in the functions of its mechanism must be studied and its every form of organization be duplicated by the working class in order to successfully combat it, and accomplish, with any degree of success, the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

I believe this tendency comes through a lack of class consciousness of many of the various functions of the capitalist state through which mankind has a vital grip upon the resources of the earth and the methods of its production and distribution.

It will be no easy matter "to take and hold the full product of our toil." It is the mightiest task to which mankind has ever summoned itself, and a planless revolution may entail a form of slavery more hellish than capitalism.

I, for one, believe that our preamble as far as it can be interpreted at this stage of development. Whatever changes may be demanded at our coming convention, let us be sure of our position before we attempt to put a baby in the breech of a revolution. I see no vagaries of meaningless words in the declaration, "Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all

the toilers come together on the political as well as upon the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor, through an economic organization without affiliation with any party." To me such a declaration is clear as the noonday sun, as it blazes its revolutionary purpose and embodies in its scope an implied knowledge of the capitalist state.

Economic solidarity presupposes political solidarity. As it is evident enough that political solidarity cannot be gained except through economic solidarity, neither can an economic solidarity, of a revolutionary character, so far-reaching in its purpose as to take and hold the full product of our toil, be gained without a political solidarity. So long as capitalism can keep us divided in any one of its institutions which, from a scientific analysis, is a part of the internal mechanism of the capitalist state, so long will they be enabled through the imperfect nature of our organization, which embraces only a part of that state, to disrupt us at their will.

The political clause, in fact, alone has the power to save a revolutionary movement from being pronounced a reason against the state. And for such power lies in the hands of the capitalist to take from it the rights of an incorporated body, and hence disband it, whenever it becomes a menace to capitalist interests through the common process of law.

The American Federation of Labor needs no such clause as laid down in our preamble, to save it from dissolution. Being a labor union, its movement of reform, it embodies submission to the state in its constitution, and hence is recognized as being subject to capitalist control within the powers of the state. The Industrial Workers of the World have a different function to perform, and its purpose being an overthrow of capitalism, it necessitates a political function to preserve it within the realm of an incorporated body.

"Workers of the World, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

CLINTON SIMONTON.
Pittsburg, Kan.

Haywood Speaks in Chicago

William D. Haywood spoke last Sunday afternoon to a large audience at Luna Park, Chicago. It was his first public address since his acquittal at the hands of the jury at Boise, Idaho. The day was exceedingly hot, and the crowd which follows, was delivered under great disadvantages:

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Moyer and Haywood Conference of the City of Chicago Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades Brethren and Fellow Workers: It is indeed with a light and cheerful heart that I address this multitude to extend to you the heartfelt thanks of myself and of the members of the working class throughout the entire West.

The chairman of this meeting has intimated that if ever a time comes when it is necessary again for the united action of the working class of this country, that that action that has given me to tell you be cheerfully given again.

I want to say on this occasion that the need for support still continues, and the only thing that is required to fill the cup of happiness is the overthrow of the state of Governor Roosevelt on my right and of George Pettibone on my left.

And until those two men are free, and a third, Steve Adams, who is in the toils of the state, are free, and until there is still reason for united action on the part of the working class of this country.

And I want to say that notwithstanding the fact that to all appearances we have had a fair trial, I owe it to the men and women of Chicago, to the men and women of the United States, to the working class of the world, that I am present here today.

And let me tell you that it was not the intention of the Mine Owners' Association of the government of the state of Colorado and of the federal government of Colorado and of the federal government of the United States, to accord us a fair trial when they kidnaped us from the state of Colorado. It was their intention to railroad us to the gallows, and I have to thank you for my life.

When the representative of the state of Idaho came to Colorado, strange as it may seem to you, two of the judges of the supreme court of that state were in conference with the governor when he agreed that we should be exiled from our homes.

Remember, these were the representatives of Governor Gooding, who came into the state of Colorado on Thursday night, and it was arranged by them that there should be no action taken until Saturday night for fear that we would make application to the courts of the state for a writ of habeas corpus. But when I again tell you that members of that supreme court were in conference with the governor you will understand it would have been little use for us to apply for a writ of habeas corpus in the red state, the state of Colorado. Now when we were taken to Idaho

we there applied for a writ of habeas corpus, and we applied to a court one member of which said that he had been hounded around the state and that he was only twenty-four hours ahead of the people who were trying to work him an injury. It is unnecessary for me to say that this was merely a phantom of his brain, but he recounts the instance with considerable nerve on his part, and said that he climbed over the back fence to escape the people that were looking for him.

You can imagine the dignity of one of the highest jurists of a state of this Union when he climbs over the back fence for fear of meeting face to face a member of the working class. Not only he was afraid he was going to be killed, but the chances are that all that would have been done would be to solicit him to give us a square deal.

Well, after going through the procedure in Colorado and Idaho, we then, as you know, applied to the supreme court of the United States. Now, again, you will see where we were getting a fair deal. You will remember that President Roosevelt came on the 14th of last October wrote a letter that is now world renowned, a letter wherein he stated that among other prominent citizens of this country were myself and Moyer, whom he designated as "desirable."

But my only reason for mentioning that fact is to recall to you that the members of the supreme court of the United States were in conference with the president and read that letter. Is there any wonder, then, that they denied us a writ of habeas corpus? There never was an instance in the history of this country before where the members of the working class were up against a combination that consisted of all of the capitalist interests of two state administrations and of the federal government.

Now, standing alone, I surely did not win that fight; but with this multitude behind me, with the working class of this nation, we won the fight. And I stand here at this time typifying what unity means, typifying what it means to stand together, shoulder to shoulder, in the class struggle, and there would be no necessity on my part to urge you to continue to stand together. Not for me, but for yourselves, and each one of you individually. And at this time I am going to ask you to do as much for yourselves as you have done for me. To do that it is necessary for you to unite with your fellowmen industrially and politically.

To the union men that I am addressing in this crowd I will say there is much that you have to learn, and one of those things is that you must not give an employer an agreement or contract of any kind or description. And I will explain to you why you should not do that. You object to any individual bargaining. You say that men of your craft should join with you for a common interest. Well, if it is to the interest of men to join to

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INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Call for Third Annual Convention

In pursuance of constitutional provisions, and in accordance with the decision of the convention of 1906, the Third Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World will be held in the City of Chicago, beginning Monday, September 16th.

The hall in which the convention will assemble will be announced hereafter.

The General Secretary-Treasurer will, within the next two weeks, send to each local union affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World credentials in duplicate for the number of delegates they are entitled to in the convention, based on the provisions of the constitution relative to the payment of national dues.

Immediately upon receipt of the said credentials local unions will proceed to choose and designate by regular election their delegates to the said convention, reporting the same to the general headquarters immediately after such choice has been made.

Local unions chartered directly by the Industrial Workers of the World shall have one delegate for two hundred members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional two hundred or major fraction thereof.

Two or more local unions in the same locality may jointly send their delegate to the convention, and the vote of said delegate in the convention shall be in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.

The expense of delegates attending the convention must be borne by their respective local organizations.

The constitution provides as follows: "Proposed amendments to the constitution shall be in the hands of the General Executive Board and printed in the official publication at least two months before the assembling of the convention; no other amendment shall be considered."

For additional provisions of the constitution relating to delegates and representation, see pages 11 to 14 of the Constitution. Full information for delegates regarding hotel rates, etc., will be published in a later issue of the Bulletin.

Signed on behalf of the General Executive Board.
WM. E. TRAUTMANN, General Secy.-Treas.
M. P. HAGGERTY, Assistant Secy.-Treas.
Industrial Workers of the World.
Chicago, Ill., June 26, 1907.

THE Industrial Union Bulletin... Published Weekly at 212 South Temple, Chicago, Ill.



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

Chicago, August 17, 1907.

Purpose of Industrial Unionism

Industrial Unionism, in its final result, means Industrial Freedom. It is organization to free the worker from the working class, from industrial slavery.

Bridgeport Capitalists Skeered

The Bridgeport (Conn.) Daily Farmer quotes Organizer French's statement as follows from THE BULLETIN: "Assuring you that there are splendid prospects for the I. W. W. in this city, contingent upon success in this struggle, and hoping that our fellow workers everywhere will be urged to back us up for all they are worth, so that Bridgeport may be made to show Connecticut what Paterson has shown New Jersey."

Then, speaking for the business men of Bridgeport, French says: "The above closing of a letter to the Industrial Union Bulletin, the organ of the Industrial Workers of the World, by Sam J. French, organizer and director of the strike at the plant of the American Tube & Stamping Co., is said to have aroused the directors of the company and the members of the Manufacturers' Association so that the company will not give in to the strikers under any consideration. Copies of the Industrial Union Bulletin of August 3, which prints French's letter as above, have been secured by several of the manufacturers and circulated among them."

The consensus of opinion among the manufacturers is that they do not want Bridgeport to get the same reputation as Paterson, N. J., has had as the headquarters of the 'Reds'.

If you are a visitor in Chicago and inquire at the national office of the Socialist party for the location of the I. W. W. headquarters, J. M. Barnes, secretary of the S. P., will direct you to "148 W. Madison street."

that the headquarters of the I. W. W. is in Bush Temple, corner North Clark and Chicago avenue.

The freedom of the workers from the slavery of capitalism will never be accomplished by the jealousies, ambitions and intrigues of politicians—even of politicians of that stripe calling themselves Socialists, and the movement is full of them.

One of the characteristic methods of the A. F. of L. in organizing is to try and take advantage of work done by the I. W. W. and reap where this organization has sown.

The greatest thing in the world is that coming from the machinery of production. It feeds, clothes, houses the race. Without it the race goes homeless, naked and hungry.

When the workers are sufficiently intelligent to understand that a political government means the support of a horde of official parasites, a useless, expensive band of conspirators, fed, clothed and housed by those engaged in socially-useful work, they will organize to establish an industrial republic where none but useful workers will get at the crib.

There is nothing that so affects working-class interests as the separation of the workers from the machinery of production and its exploitation for profit by the capitalist class.

Government in the United States, and in its national aspect, is merely a committee maintained to foster and perpetuate capitalist-class interests.

The Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung announces that the American Federation of Labor and the Western Federation of Miners have one object: The complete emancipation of the working class from the fetters of wage slavery.

As THE BULLETIN goes to press the boys who operate the telegraph system of the country have the Western Union and Postal companies locked.

A special leaflet on Industrial Unionism in Roumanian-Macedonian has been prepared and is ready for delivery.

The state of Colorado is governed by the state's incorporated vampires and not by the people.

Call for Membership Book

It is necessary for us to make the announcement that the I. W. W. has no organization of musicians in Chicago.

Industrial Workers of the World

MEMBERSHIP BOOK

Name _____ Industry _____ Book issued _____ 190_____ Member of _____ Ledger Page _____

The member is entitled to work in any industry of this organization without employment in a business when stamps are attached, showing the member to be in good standing.

Nobody, in Chicago or elsewhere, who cannot show such a book, is a member of the organization.

There is a strike of all I. W. W. clothes pressers at St. Louis, and a good prospect for winning out on the demands submitted to employers.

Haywood Speaks in Chicago

(Continued from page 1)

gether, it is to the interest of unions to join together. If you sign a contract on the part of certain craftsmen and that contract expires on the 15th of next month, and another craft signs a like agreement that expires a couple of months later, don't you see that as unions you are still units, and you are divided as far as the working class movement is concerned?

Now, I want to go a step further. I have said that an individual has no right to bargain individually to the detriment of his fellow workmen. I have said that a local union has no right to bargain as a local union. It is merely a unit in the working class movement.

Briefly I want to give you a history of the Western Federation of Miners. Strange to say we were conceived in jail and born in Butte, Mont., on the 15th of May, 1893, and the same cell that I have occupied for the last eighteen months was my cradle.

I hope that none among you will ever be called upon to suffer, but it will be a strange thing in the onward march of civilization if there are not some martyrs. But in reference to martyrs I don't want you to think for one minute that I have suffered any martyrdom.

During the fifteen years of the life of the Western Federation of Miners in the state of Colorado we have endeavored to pass a number of measures for the working class in many months we have been successful.

We have an anti-gambling law in the state of Colorado, but we have hundreds of gamblers that are still in the state.

We have a check-weighman law, whereby a coal mining company cannot force the men to mine 4,000 pounds of coal for a ton.

We have a ventilation law in the state of Colorado that is not enforced, and Governor Buchtel is responsible.

We have a semi-monthly pay, and the members are supposed to get their checks often than once a month, and Governor Buchtel is responsible.

Now, I want to ask you whether or not the members of the Western Federation of Miners and its officers, who are trying to enforce those laws are the undesirable citizens, or whether the governor, who refuses to enforce the law with his power in his hands—is he not the undesirable citizen?

Now, you all recognize the fact, and if you do not I will soon demonstrate it to you, that the miner who digs in the ground—the coal and the metalliferous diggers—the stepping stone of civilization. It is he who goes down deep into the bowels of the earth and brings up the copper and the tin and the lead and the gold and the silver and the other metals that are made into the tools that are used by you artisans, and without you you would be wearing a breechcloth and plowing with a crooked stick.

There is something in the aims and purpose of the Western Federation of Miners and the interests we have against you. Now you know that an undesirable organization does not build hospitals for the sick and it does not build libraries for the education of its members.

Now, the principles of the Western Federation of Miners have been clearly set forth on many occasions, and it is our purpose to organize industrially

and unite politically so that we can bring the working class into their own. And with those principles in view we are never going to swerve from them, and all hell cannot make us swerve. I want you all to bear this, that the principles of the Western Federation of Miners are intended for the betterment and uplifting of the working class.

I have said a good deal on this occasion about the men, but I want to say something about the women. I just want to say a word in behalf of the women, in behalf of the splendid support that they have rendered to us.

Warriors, lawyers, sinner and saint, May fight and play and pray, But the world will wag on to the end of time.

In that little woman's way.

WORKING CLASS ECONOMICS

Conducted by James P. Thompson

LESSON XI. EXCHANGE.

Q. What is necessary in order that objects may enter into relation with each other as commodities?

A. "Their guardians must place themselves in relation to one another as persons whose will resides in those objects, and must behave in such a way that each does not appropriate the commodity of the other, and part with his own, except by means of an act done by mutual consent."

Q. They must, therefore, mutually recognize each other the rights of private proprietors?

A. "Yes." Q. This jurisdictional relation, which thus expresses itself in a contract, whether such contract be part of a developed legal system or not, is a relation between two wills, and is but the reflex of—what?

A. "The real economical relation between the two." Q. It is this economical relation that determines the subject-matter comprised in each such jurisdictional act?

A. "Yes." Note: The persons exist for one another merely as representatives of, and therefore the owners of commodity.

A. "Because it possesses for himself no immediate use-value. He, therefore, makes up his mind to part with it for commodities whose value in use is of service to him."

A. "Yes." Q. Consequently, what must they do?

A. "Change hands." Q. But this change of hands is what constitutes their exchange, and the latter puts them in relation with each other as values, and realizes them as values?

A. "Yes." Q. On the other hand, must they show that their use-values before they can be realized as values?

A. "Yes." Q. Why?

A. "Because the labor spent upon them counts effectively only in so far as they exist in a form that is useful for others."

Q. How can it be proved whether that labor is useful for others, and its products consequently capable of satisfying the wants of others?

A. "It can be proven only by the act of exchange." Note: "Every owner of a commodity wishes to part with it in exchange only for those commodities whose use-value satisfies some want of his."

Q. To the owner of a commodity, what is every other commodity in regard to his own?

A. "A particular equivalent." Q. Consequently his own commodity is—what?

A. "The universal equivalent for all the others." Q. But this applies to every owner?

A. "Yes." Q. Then there is, in fact, no commodity acting as universal equivalent, and the relative value of commodities possesses no general form under which they can be equated as values, and have the magnitude of their values ascertained?

A. "No." Q. So far, therefore, they do not confront each other as commodities?

A. "No." Q. How do they confront each other?

A. "Only as products or use-values." Q. What does our commodity owners do in their difficulties?

A. "Naturally they conform to the laws imposed by the nature of commodities." Q. How, only, can they bring their commodities into relation as values, and therefore as commodities?

A. "Only by comparing them with some one other commodity as the universal equivalent."

Q. Can a particular commodity become the universal equivalent except by a social act?

A. "No." Q. What is it, therefore, that sets apart the particular commodity in which all others represent their values?

A. "The social action of all the other commodities." Q. Thereby the bodily form of this commodity becomes—what?

A. "The form of the socially-recognized universal equivalent." Q. To be the universal equivalent becomes, by this social process, the specific function of the commodity thus excluded from the rest. Thus it becomes—what?

A. "Money." Note: "Money is a crystal formed of necessity in the course of the exchanges, whereby different products of labor are practically equated to one another, and thus by practice converted into commodities. The historical progress and extension of exchanges develops the contrast, latent in commodities, between use-value and value. The necessity for giving an external expression to this contrast for the purposes of commercial intercourse urges on the establishment of an independent form of value, and finds no rest until it is once for all satisfied by the differentiation of commodities into commodities and money."

Then, as the conversion of products into commodities is being accomplished, so also is the conversion of one special commodity into an estimate of the value of all commodities.

"From this we may form an estimate of a developed legal system or not, is a relation between two wills, and is but the reflex of—what?"

A. "The real economical relation between the two."

Q. It is this economical relation that determines the subject-matter comprised in each such jurisdictional act?

A. "Yes." Note: The persons exist for one another merely as representatives of, and therefore the owners of commodity.

A. "Because it possesses for himself no immediate use-value. He, therefore, makes up his mind to part with it for commodities whose value in use is of service to him."

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that he can only get a dollar for this amount of gold whereas the owner of a coal mine, while he may pay ten cents more on each ton to get it mined, can with very little trouble make the consumer pay one dollar more for each ton he consumes. The thing works like clockwork, and it ticks for the owners and not for the wage workers and the public.

FRANK REED. Eureka, Cal.

Ratner Bros. Strike

Today begins the tenth week of the 225 I. W. W. White Goods Makers' strike against the firm of Ratner Bros. of East 104th street.

Note: "Money is a crystal formed of necessity in the course of the exchanges, whereby different products of labor are practically equated to one another, and thus by practice converted into commodities. The historical progress and extension of exchanges develops the contrast, latent in commodities, between use-value and value. The necessity for giving an external expression to this contrast for the purposes of commercial intercourse urges on the establishment of an independent form of value, and finds no rest until it is once for all satisfied by the differentiation of commodities into commodities and money."

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Law Governing Wages

The man or the union that regards prices in any other light than that of robbery, has no excusable excuse for "kicking" when there is a cut in wages, and for the very plain reason that wages are governed wholly by the law of supply and demand, except in the case of a shrewd wily capitalist.

Needless to say to you I. W. W. men, women and friends that we need in this struggle, and we call on you for support. Send all donations to A. J. Francis, 44 West 26th street, New York, treasurer Strike Committee.

Strike headquarters, Harlem Terrace Hall, 210 East 104th street. Meeting twice daily, from 10:30 a. m. till 12, and from 3 to 5 p. m.

New York, Aug. 12.

St. John Returns West

Vincent St. John returned to Chicago from the East on Wednesday, Aug. 14, and remained over until Thursday night to attend to business connected with the organization, when he left on the return trip to Goldfield.

Holmes Recovered

In the issue of THE BULLETIN of August 3d the illness of Fellow Worker George Holmes is reported. But although he has been seriously ill at Ventura, Cal., the members of the organization learned that Fellow Worker Holmes has entirely recovered and is at present in San Francisco, working as indefatigably as ever in the cause of the working class.

Our attention is called to an error in the report of the organizing committee of Local 265, which appeared in the minutes of the Local Advisory Board of July 27. It was stated that the results of J. H. Walsh's efforts as organizer at Seattle, Wash., from May 1st to May 31st were 31 members admitted; the report should have said 150 members.

We have a supply of DeLeon's Minneapolis address on "The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World" in German, which can be had at 8 cents a copy. It is a 45-page booklet. Send in your orders.

E. F. Richardson has been retained by the Western Federation for the defense of Geo. E. Pettibone, whose trial has been set for October 1st, at Boise, Idaho.

Constitution in Spanish

The I. W. W. Constitution in Spanish is the latest addition to supplies at the general headquarters. It was printed to supply a demand South and West and will be furnished at 10 cents a copy.

THE PINKERTON LABOR SPY

This remarkable expose of the nefarious work of Pinkertons in labor organizations by Morris Friedman, reveals the real "inner circle" and should be read by every workman. Orders filled from this office. Price, 25 cents.

To anyone sending in ten yearly subscriptions, with \$5.00, for the Industrial Union Bulletin, we will send postpaid a copy of the Official Stenographic Report of the Industrial Workers of the World Convention of 1906. It is a book of 620 pages, and should be read by every member of the I. W. W. The price of the book is \$1.00 to any address

