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THE I. W. W.

ITS HISTORY, STRUCTURE
AND METHODS

By
VINCENT ST. JOHN



PRICE TEN CENTS

PUBLISHED BY THE
I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU,

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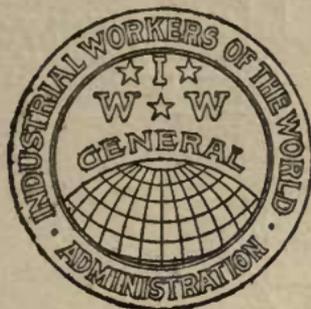


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STRUCTURE

OF THE I. W. W.

LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

One local union for each industry in each locality or district. Local Industrial unions are branched as the need of each industry requires.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

All local industrial unions of the same industry into National Industrial Unions of that industry. An Executive Board of not more than 21 members, and Sec'y-Treas.

DISTRICT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS

All local unions of all industries in a given locality or district. An Executive Council of 1 delegate from each local industrial union, and a Sec'y-Treasurer.

INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS

National industrial unions of closely allied industries into Industrial Departments. An executive board of one member from each national industrial union, and a sec'y-treasurer.

GENERAL ORGANIZATION

All industrial departments combined into the General Organization with International Affiliation.
General Executive Board of one member from each industrial Department. A General Sec'y-Treas. and a General Organizer.

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 Employes, 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 the 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 the invitation, but two declined to attend the proposed conference—Max S. Hayes and Victor Berger—both of whom were in editorial charge of 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 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 movement 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 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 trades 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 trades 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 in-

* Existed almost wholly on paper.

terests 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 fakir. 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 on which to settle their respective merits and demerits. The labor fakirs 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 all 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.

The convention developed 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 but two were sincere—the General Secretary, W. E. Trautman, 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 convention 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

* 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.

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 it contended with 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 were waged by the members for better conditions.

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

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

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

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

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 does not function at all. 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. Their only virtue is that they put their assertions into print, while the other wing of the politicians spread their venom in secret.

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 correct 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 our 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 results in defeat.

The I. W. W. holds that, regardless of the bravery and spirit the workers might show, if they are compelled to fight with old methods and an 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 actions 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: the unskilled workers, 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 that 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.

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

GENERAL OUTLINE

1. The unit of organization is the Local Industrial

Union. The local industrial union embraces all of the workers of a given industry in a given city, town or district.

2. All local industrial unions of the same industry are combined into a National Industrial Union with jurisdiction over the entire industry.

3. National industrial unions of closely allied industries are combined into Departmental Organizations. For example, all national industrial unions engaged in the production of Food Products and in handling them would be combined into the Department of Food Products. Steam, Air, Water and Land national divisions of the Transportation Industry, form the Transportation Department.

4. 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.

SUBDIVISIONS

Taking into consideration the technical differences that exist within the different departments of the industries, and the needs where large numbers of workers are employed, the local industrial union is branched to meet these requirements.

1. Language branches, so that the workers can conduct the affairs of the organization in the language they are most familiar with.

2. Shop branches, so that the workers of each shop control the conditions that directly affect them.

3. Department branches in large industries, to simplify and systematize the business of the organization.

5. District branches, to enable members to attend meetings of the union without having to travel too great a distance. These branches are only necessary in the large cities and big industries where the industry covers large areas.

5. District Councils, in order that every given industrial district shall have complete industrial solidarity among the workers in all industries of such district, as well as among the workers of each industry. The Industrial District Council combines all the local industrial unions of the district. Through it concerted action is maintained for its district.

FUNCTIONS OF BRANCHES

Branches of an industrial local deal with the employer **ONLY** through the Industrial Union. Thus, while the workers in each branch determine the conditions that directly affect them, they act in concert with all the workers through the industrial 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 union 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

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

Each branch of a local industrial union elects a delegate or delegates to the central committee of the local

industrial union. This central committee is the administrative body of the local industrial union. Officers of the branches consist of secretary, treasurer, chairman and trustees.

Officers of the local industrial union consist of secretary and treasurer, chairman, and trustees.

Each local industrial union 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 are elected by referendum vote of all the membership involved, except those of the district council.

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.

National industrial unions hold annual conventions. Delegates from each local of the national union cast a vote based upon the membership of the local that they represent.

The national 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 national unions consist of secretary and treasurer, and executive board. Each national 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, which are a General Secretary-Treasurer, and a General Organizer. 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. The wages of the general secretary and the general organizer are each \$90.00 per month.

* As the organization grows, the system of conventions and electing officers will no doubt have to be changed.

I. W. W. Tactics or Methods

As a revolutionary organization the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. The question of "right" and "wrong" does not concern us.

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

The Industrial Workers realize that the day of successful long strikes is past. 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.

The organization does not allow any part to enter into time contracts with the employers. It aims where strikes are used, 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 "sabotage" is used 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. *

During strikes the works are closely picketed and every effort made to keep the employers from getting workers into the shops. All supplies are cut off from strike bound shops. All shipments are refused or mis-sent, delayed and lost if possible. Strike breakers are also isolated to the full extent of the power of the organization. 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 are but another name for the employing class.

In short, the I. W. W. advocates the use of militant “direct action” tactics to the full extent of our power to make good.

EDUCATION

At the present time the organization has six publications—three weekly, one bi-weekly, and two monthly, in the following languages: English 2, Polish 1, French 1, Italian 1, Spanish 1.

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.

Locals hold educational meetings in halls and on the streets of the industrial centers. Reading rooms and

* Some of the craft unions charge from \$25.00 to \$250.00. One, the Green Bottle Blowers' Union, charges \$1,000.

halls are maintained by all the larger locals. 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 steel 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 their 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 charters 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, Pa., 8,000 workers of the Pressed Steel Car Company, embracing sixteen different nationalities, waged the most important struggle that the I. W. W. has taken part in to 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 fire arms. 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 advent 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 50 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 cossacks were "tamed." The McKees Rocks strike resulted in a complete victory for the strikers.

On November 2, 1909, the city government at Spokane, Wash., 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 them 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 members went to jail during the free speech fight, men and women. 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 that 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 of the organization as their "attorney." Finally, the organizations 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.

A four months' strike of shoe workers in Brooklyn, New York in the winter of 1911, completes the list of I. W. W. conflicts to date. This strike was a most stubbornly contested one on both sides, and resulted in improved conditions for the workers in some of the shops.

I. W. W. AT PRESENT

The organization at present consists of one National Union (Textile Workers) and 100 local unions in various other industries, affiliated directly with the general organization.

The membership today consists almost wholly of unskilled workers. The bulk of the present membership is in the following industries: Textile, steel, lumber, mining, farming and railroad construction. 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 10,437. Due to the causes referred to above, that is all of the membership that keeps paid up on the books at all times. The general office however has issued over 60,000 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 employers 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."

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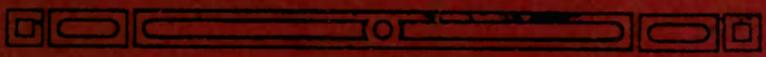
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