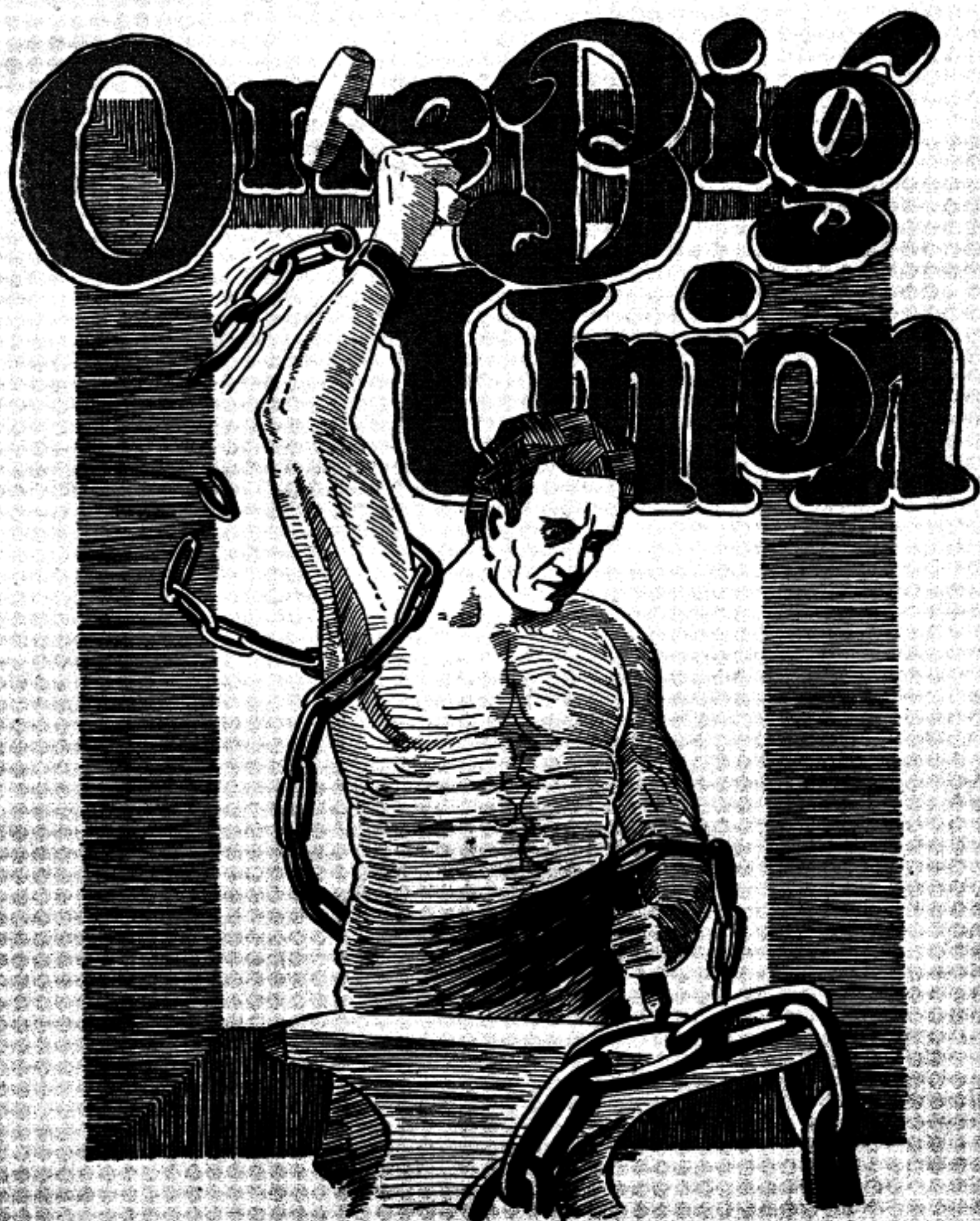


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ONE BIG UNION OF THE I. W. W.

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1001 WEST MADISON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

One Big Union of the I. W. W.

Social relations are the reflex of the grouping of industrial possessions. The owners of all resources and means of wealth form a class by themselves; the owners of labor power, as their only possession in the market, another. Political, judicial, educational and other institutions only mirror the prevailing system of ownership in the resources and means of production.

One class—the capitalist class—owns and controls the social necessities, to wit: the economic resources of the world. That class, for its own protection and perpetuation in power, subjects all institutions to its own interests. On the other hand, there is a class—the working class—which is eventually to change the whole system of the ownership of the means of production. Intelligent workers realize that immediately following the change, these social relations will also be shifted; institutions deriving their support and sustenance from the class in power will be made to conform to new conditions after the overthrow of the existing industrial system.

Social structures collapse as a result of ever recurring changes in their economic foundation. But the new structure is not a ready-made product of each of the epochs of reconstruction. A historic process of evolution reaches a climax in a revolutionary upheaval. Achievements of preceding epochs are always utilized in the constructive work of a never-resting, always advancing civilization.

Decaying elements render nourishment to Mother Earth for the generation of new species and structures. Nothing is lost in the reciprocal process of nature. Precisely so in social systems. Achievements of social and industrial evolutions are always preserved after a revolutionary climax removes all obstacles to further developments. Only the class previously dominating the policies and actions of the social institutions is supplanted by the revolutionary change; ownership in the means of life is shifted to another class.

Capitalist ownership of industries had its origin in the unfolding of conditions which hastened the downfall of the feudal system, and the advent of the capitalist class to power.

Working class control of industries, by all engaged in the process of production, must build its foundation on the highly perfected form and methods of production, and upon the conditions which accelerate the passing away of the capitalist system of ownership in the instruments of production and distribution.

The feudal lords had to surrender their scepter to the ascending bourgeoisie, better known today as the capitalist class. The latter, at the outset, had in view only the free development of all forces of production, in an era of unrestricted competition between individuals. When, over a century ago, the change was consummated by revolutions, the instruments of production were more equally distributed. They were in possession of a multitude of victorious capitalists, who owned small enterprises. Most people believed that in such a competitive system, as was then established, every one would have a chance to rise to a superior station in life. The instruments of production were not then highly developed. Handicraft in the operation of small machines, or in the use of tools, still predominated. Small capital only was required in starting the manufacture of things for small margins of profits.

This epoch, beginning with the revolution of the "Third Estate" in France, found its counterpart in the revolution of the American people against British semi-feudalistic rule. Since then the forms, methods and yield of production have rapidly developed in every industrially developed country. The ownership of the means of production have been centralized ever more into fewer and fewer hands. With the centralization of the means of production and distribution, the agencies protecting the new interests in power also grew proportionately. Gradually all elements that obscured the line of cleavage, between the producers of wealth and the class that expropriated all economic resources of the world, are eliminated.

The manufacturers of the early capitalist era were found only in small communities. They depended upon the superiority of the embryonic system over the prevailing handicraft system, and won through only by demonstrating its advantages. Their start was circumscribed and handicapped by the slow and cumbersome methods of transportation of that early day. The coming

of steam had yet to knit localities closer together, and to reduce the oceans to ponds.

In this process of transformation other things are to be observed. Social relations are shifting with the change in forms of the ownership of the means of production. Social strata are fiercely struggling for their conservation, in vain. There is no escape from the inevitable and irretrievable result of these rapid changes in the industrial possessions and arrangements.

The howls of reactionaries and the frantic appeals and clamors of reformers will not in the least effect the course of events. The destructive battles of trade unions, divided up in factions and sections that find their traditional base in the middle ages, will not turn back the wheel that rolls on with irresistible and crushing force.

The outcry, so often heard before, redounds in vociferous strength again: "A revolution! A revolution is needed to change these conditions." It voices the recognition of an imperative social need. The middle class is frantic in its despairful wailings. They are successful in lining up a large political following of workers. Millions are made to believe that an impending struggle against predatory wealth will have as its object and result the restoration of by-gone conditions, or the enforcement of restrictive measures for curbing further concentration in the control of industries.

But the workers are not, and should not be concerned in the hopeless struggles of a decaying element of society. They have a historic mission to perform; a mission that they will carry out, despite the allurements held out to them that a restoration of past conditions would accrue to their benefit.

The workers are beginning to realize that in the constructive work for the future they have to learn the facts of past evolutions and revolutions. And from these facts, expressed in theories, they find the guide for the course that they have to pursue in their struggle for the possession of the earth, and the goods that they alone have created. That growing class conscious portion of the working class is building on the rockbed of historic facts, and the structure to be erected follows the principle that:

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism—the army of production must be organized. By organizing industrially the workers are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Some definite conclusions must be drawn from the previously established premises. It is the heritage of the working class to utilize to the fullest extent the great achievements of the preceding and existing processes and methods of production, for the benefits of all useful members of society.

In its advent to power and supremacy the present economic master class succeeded another that had decayed in the process of evolution. This mastery of the present owners of the economic resources also only paves the way for successors. Such is the inexorable law of evolution.

The workers, conscious of their mission, must recognize the fact that the industries are developing to the highest state of perfection, and will be ready for operation under a new arrangement of things, that is, after the class now in possession and control of them have gone the way of decay, under the pressure of the advancing force of an industrially organized proletariat driving toward a new civilization.

But it is imperative to arrange the human forces of production for the operation of the vast resources and implements of production under a system wherein products will be made for use alone. To build and to arrange correctly, and for lasting purposes, the constructors of a further developed industrial structure must possess a thorough knowledge of the economic facts, and of organizations destined to accomplish the task. The architects must know the proper grouping of each component part and cell in the composition of industrial combinations, so that, when harmony in the industrial relationship of mankind is established, it will be reflected in the harmonious social, and ethical institutions of a new age.

We repeat: Industrial and social systems are not ready-made products. In their changes, from one stage to another, they derive their propelling forces from the achievements and accomplishments of every preceding epoch. In its onward course to a further advanced system, mankind is going to utilize all that present day society has evolved and constructed. This the workers must know, and then they will also learn the intricate, interdependent arrangements of the component parts of the whole industrial system. Equipped with this knowledge, they will be able to construct and form their own industrial organizations, the frame structure of the new society, accordingly. By learning the social relations and understanding their source, they can profit and prepare to change the industrial structure of society, which, as a matter of course, will determine also the changes

in the social character of the system which is bound to be inaugurated. And this is the problem. The working class, as the promoter and supporter of a higher standard of social relations and interrelations, must be equipped with the knowledge, must construct the organizations, by which the cause of social classes can be removed. Industrial inequality is the source of every other inequality in human society. The change in the ownership of the essentials of life will bring automatically, so to say, the change in the intercourse and the associations, and also in the institutions for the promotion of these things between the human beings upon the globe.

Good will, revolutionary will power, determination, courage, are valuable assets in the struggle for the change. But they are, like the water on the millwheels, unconscious of the great service that they are rendering. To convert force and power into useful operation requires intelligence. And that intelligence must guide us to use the accumulated force for a defined purpose. That purpose, as it seems to be agreed, is to form a new social, or rather industrial structure within the shell of the old society. To accomplish this the advocates, the militants for the new society, must know to what extent the present factors in industrial development have organized and systematized industrial production. When this is fully understood it will explain the subsequent domination of industrial possession over the political, social and other agencies in present day and previously existing societies.

The workers of the world, conscious of their historic mission, will learn to avoid the mistakes they would make should they depend upon other forces than their own industrial power for the solution of the world's problem. Agencies and institutions deriving their lease of life from the industrial masters of today cannot be looked to for support. They may feign being in favor of radical changes in the effects. They will, however, strenuously, even violently oppose any attempt at destroying the base, or the cause. They will strive to perpetuate the wages system at all costs.

The working class alone is interested in the removal of industrial inequality, and that can only be accomplished by a revolution of the industrial system. The workers, in their collectivity, must take over and operate all the essential industrial institutions, the means of production and distribution, for the well-being of all the human elements comprising the international wealth producers.

No destruction, no waste, no return into barbarism! A higher plane for civilization is to be achieved. When the workers understand how the industrial system of today has developed, how one industrial calling dovetails into another, and all comprise an inseparable whole, they will not wantonly destroy what generations of industrial and social forces have brought forth. The workers will utilize the knowledge of ages to build on a solid rockbed the foundation of a new industrial and social system.

The foundation must be firm and solid. The revolutionary climax, after an incessant course of evolutionary processes by which forms and methods undergo changes, will eliminate forever the cause for the industrial division of society into two hostile camps. Harmonious relations of mankind in all their material affairs will evolve out of the change in the control and ownership in the industrial resources of the world.

That accomplished, the men and women, all members of society in equal enjoyment of all the good things and comforts of life, will be the arbiters of their own destinies in a free society.

We present, with this introduction, to all our fellow workers in battle and strife, a portrait of industrial combinations.

ANALYSIS OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES

The Chart Expained in Detail

The main purpose of this chart is to show how the industries are grouped together in the existing arrangement under the capitalist system of production.

Production begins with the application of human labor to the natural resources of the earth. This labor is applied to extract material for human use which nature generates, or has stored up.

Modern production involves and includes all classifications of labor in the present complex system. Transportation is a productive function as well as agriculture, manufacturing and mining. These, with other industries, constitute the system by which wealth is produced and the resources of the earth are made available to mankind.

Each and every one of the activities of mankind, in their present stages, are necessary one to the others in order that the present social standard be maintained, and further progress be possible.

All of the products in the modern world can be reduced to terms of food, clothing, shelter and culture. All the productive processes are interlinked and interdependent. The kinship of labor, no matter where or how employed, is established, and its social importance is made evident. The industries constitute the foundation upon which the structure of modern civilization is upreared. But the industries depend upon the workers who function in them. Material passes from hand to hand, from group to group, and all along the way finished products, of one kind and another, are made available for human use, until every want and need of modern man is supplied.

The industrial arrangement is not a haphazard, happy-go-lucky one, but an ordered, systematized, harmonious human mechanism in which mechanical factors really play only a subordinate role. **The laborer is the indispensable factor.** Part fits to part, section to section, industry to industry and department to department, until there results a world-covering, coordinated, wealth producing system which depends upon the workers of the world.

These workers are organized by the capitalist class and made to function for the benefit of that class. The workers ought to, must and will, organize themselves as they are arranged in the industries, so that they will be enabled to function in their own interest and for their own benefit.

The chart is only intended to approximate the outlines of those differentiations which we term industries—steel, coal, oil, textiles, transportation, etc.—whose boundaries are not rigidly set, and are consequently more or less indeterminate.

It may happen that in this rough sketch important distinctions may appear to have been overlooked while in other instances there may seem to be an over-emphasis. But the chart is, at best, only intended to approximate. There is no pretention that it is exact and precise. It is a guide to rather than a blue-print of the capitalist industrial arrangement. Changes are constantly occurring and new alignments follow as a result. The intention of the I. W. W. is to make corresponding changes in its own structure and methods, which will enable the workers to use it for emergencies when they arise, and to provide an effective instrument for their use at all times.

In presenting this plan of organization of industries we have in mind only the object before explained. The workers, forced by capitaist ownership of the means of production must organize themselves in all the industries in their proper places. **Their**

places in industry will determine their places in the working class economic organization.

Every worker who studies this chart will find where he will fit in when the industries are organized for control by the workers through industrial organization. Of course, it is the ultimate purpose of this arrangement that each worker shall have equal rights, and equal duties also, with all others in the management and operation of the industry in which he or she serves in the process of production.

Another and equally important purpose is to organize the workers in such a way that all the members of the organization in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any part thereof, thus making an injury to one and injury to all.

This can only be accomplished when the workers organize by industries along class lines. That is to say, all the workers in any one industry must be members of one and the same organization—no division along craft lines. The capitalist institutions are organized today in this manner. The industries as they are grouped today, dovetailing into each other, furnish to the workers the basis upon which they must construct their organization for the struggles of today for better living conditions; and for the supervision, the management and operation of industries in a future industrial commonwealth of workers and producers.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTS IS PART OF PRODUCTION

All natural resources of the soil, mines and water receive their first value when labor is applied to win useful things from them.

But all these products have more social value when they are transported to other places for the purposes of manufacture and commerce; where they are transformed and converted into many commodities for exchange.

The life of human beings will not consist only of common drudgery when all the good things created by the workers are available to them.

For all purposes, present and future, the functions of the public service institutions have to be defined industrially and the people engaged in their maintenance must be given a place in the industrial organization, the same as those who take care of the sick and disabled. Those who render social service are usefully engaged, altho most of the institutions in which they

serve today are prostituted for the protection of capitalist interests.

For all functions combined, the industries are arranged on the general plan presented in the chart, as follows:

1. The Department of Agriculture, Land, Fisheries and Water Products.
2. The Department of Mining.
3. The Department of Construction.
4. The Department of Manufacture and General Production.
5. The Department of Transportation and Communication.
6. The Department of Public Service.

These departments again have their subdivisions. As it is proposed that the workers organize in accordance with the industries in which they are serviceably engaged, it is essential that a general term shall apply.

The term Industrial Union is therefore applied to those callings where the labor of the workers is expended upon the same or similar basic raw material; or where the products may be included under a general designation, as, for instance, "metal goods," "food products," etc.

But within these general classifications there are working groups whose industrial contacts are more intimate, and whose problems are consequently more special to them than to other workers in the same industrial union. For example, in I. U. No. 440 the workers in a steel plant have everyday problems which are different in their special phases and aspects than those of workers in a jewelry factory; those in a locomotive works have questions to deal with that never occur in a plant where watches are produced. Or again the packing house worker and the cigar or cigarette worker, have different everyday problems.

In fact it may be pointed out that under the general classifications there are included many callings wherein the special needs of the workers demand an organization arrangement whereby they may readily and effectively use their organized power in their own behalf. An organization must afford ready expression to the workers who compose it. There the industrial unions are arranged by Sections. Thus we have Steel Workers Section; I. U. No. 440; Packinghouse Workers' Section; I. U. No. 460; Etc.

The Sections include all workers of every labor classification

necessary for the production of any commodity or commodities, or for the rendering of any service. This system of organization enables the workers in recognized industrial groups to advance their interests, and assures them, through the general organization, sufficient industrial support to enable them to do so.

Each Section comprises, as stated, all workers necessary to a product or products, but will not separate or divide them. It is not division but co-ordination that results when this arrangement is followed.

It is impossible, at this stage, to eliminate entirely the terms now used to designate certain functions which different sets of workers perform in each industry. But it must be distinctly understood that this is not meant to imply that these groups will organize, as has been the case heretofore, in craft organizations within the industries, or according to the tools that each set of workers uses. That would mean the maintenance of craft division under another name. A worker in an industry will be assigned to the Section representing the product or products of that Section in the industry. The Industrial Union includes all Sections and welds them into a unified, cohesive, co-ordinated industrial force.

When the several classifications of workers engaged in a particular industrial production organize industrially all are subject to the rules governing the affairs of that industry. But certain fundamental rules and principles governing the "One Big Union of Workers" cannot be infringed upon by any of its component parts without doing injury to the whole organic body.

Still another point to be made clear: The process of production does not cease until the finished product reaches the consumer. All workers engaged in the process of distribution of any certain product are members of the same Section of the Industrial Union in which the makers of the commodity are organized.

Of course, the railroad and water-transportation will be in the Transportation Department, although it might be said that they also are engaged in the process of distribution. But here is the difference: railroad and marine transportation connects localities and countries without regard to particular products. Their function is general distribution, and is essentially of a social character. But those workers who are engaged in transporting particular products from their places of completion to the consumers, are part and parcel of the working

force, and are included with the workers organized in that Section of a given industrial union.

But in municipal and interurban transportation there are workers engaged in conveying goods, who have no established connection with any particular product or set of products. These come under the head of transport workers. For instance, a salesman or clerk in a shoe store would be a member of the industrial union section in which all workers engaged in the shoe industry are organized. A teamster delivering meats, or other goods from a grocery would be in the organization in which all the food-stuff workers of that particular branch are organized. But a truck driver, who may haul a shipment containing mixed products from one depot to another and between times hauls general merchandise, performs the work of a transport worker, and as such organizes under that head.

With these necessary explanations, suggestive of a better understanding of the plan of organization, one will be able to see far better how and why industries are grouped on the accompanying chart.

I.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, LAND, FISHERIES AND WATER PRODUCTS, 100

Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, No. 110

All workers on farms, irrigation work, cotton and sugar plantations or engaged in the raising of cattle, live stock etc.; on fowl and bird farms; on dairy farms; fruit orchards, etc.

Lumber Workers Industrial Union, No. 120

All workers in forests—lumber cruisers, rangers, foresters, etc.; all workers engaged in logging operations, in saw and shingle mills, and in preparing wood for fuel and manufacturing purposes; collectors of sap, bark, etc.

Fishery Workers Industrial Union, No. 130

All workers in fisheries and fishing pursuits on oceans, lakes and rivers; oyster and clam-bed keepers. Workers engaged in the collecting of pearls, corals and sponges. Workers in fish hatcheries, divers, etc.

Floral Workers Industrial Union, No. 140

All workers engaged in the cultivation of garden and land tracts devoted to the raising of flowers, etc.; and all workers engaged in the distribution of floral products.

DEPARTMENT OF MINING AND MINERALS, No. 200

Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union, No. 210

All workers engaged in the mining of gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tin, platinum, iron, etc., etc.; in mills, smelters, refineries and other reduction works. For the present this division also includes quarry workers and such as are engaged in the mining of salt, sulphur, clay, borax, mica, bromide, graphite, hoda, gypsum, asphalt, limestone, sandstone, whetstone, marble, onyx, slates, building stone, granite, etc. All precious gems, salines, salt, and soda dry works, etc.

Coal Mines Workers Industrial Union, No. 220

All workers engaged in coal mining, lignite, anthracite, bituminous, etc.; in the production of coke, briquettes, peat and turf, and in the distribution of these products.

Oil Workers Industrial Union, No. 230

All workers engaged in the production of oil; workers on oil and gas wells; pipe lines, refineries, filters, etc.—and in the distribution of these products.

DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL CONSTRUCTION, No. 310

Railroad, Road and Tunnel Construction Workers Industrial Union, No. 310

All workers engaged in the construction of docks, railroads, highways, levees, streets, bridges, sewers, subways, tunnels, canals, viaducts, irrigation ditches, etc.

Shipbuilding Workers Industrial Union, No. 320

All workers engaged in the building of ships and steamers, boats, and launches; and in the repairing of them.

Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330

All workers engaged in erecting and constructing houses and buildings, and the delivery of building materials; plumbers, steam and sprinkler fitters, architects, excavators, stone masons, bricklayers, hod carriers, electricians, painters, iron and concrete workers, etc.

DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURE AND GENERAL PRODUCTION, No. 400

NOTE:—If this Department be subdivided in industrial unions only there would have been no provision made for workers in the various industrial sections, who, while included in the

Industrial Union, still have problems peculiar to their own activities, and require an arrangement which will enable them to meet and deal with these problems as they arise. The industrial unions in this Department include so many diversified callings that unless the various, well-defined groups are equipped with organization groupings which will easily and readily enable them to find industrial expression they will be loth to organize. Organization of the working class must necessarily reflect the capitalist arrangement in industry. It must not lag behind, nor should it anticipate. In doing either it would forfeit its claim to being scientific.

Therefore, by sectionalizing these industrial unions we are enabled to arrange the workers upon each kind of raw material until it has been converted into a finished product and ready for use, whether these products be food, clothing or instruments of production. The several sections of any given industrial union are thus put in the position where the workers can accomplish the maximum of benefit for themselves, and are qualified to render greatest support to their associated sections in the industrial union and to any other set (or sets) of workers as well.

TEXTILE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 410

A. Fabric Workers' Section; I. U. No. 410

All workers employed in the manufacture of silk, linen, cotton, wool and worsted fabrics, mule-spinners, loom-fixers, weavers, warpers, carders, sorters, office workers, etc. All workers in dye-houses, including chemists, inspectors; also all workers employed in the making of knitted wear, passementerie workers, wood silk workers, etc.

B. Clothing Workers' Section; I. U. No 410

All workers employed in the making of garments of silk, artificial silk, linen, cotton, and woolen fabrics, such as clothing workers, shirt and collar workers, dress and cloak makers, etc.; also all salesmen, clerks, stenographers in these establishments and the places of distribution.

C. Fur, Felt, and Straw Workers' Section; I. U. No. 410

All workers employed in establishments where wearing apparel is made of fur, felt, straw—furriers, glove makers, hat makers, straw hat makers; millinery workers, etc.

WOOD WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 420

A. Furniture Workers' Section; I. U. No. 420

All workers engaged in the manufacture of furniture and office equipment, including salesmen, office workers and distributors.

B. Piano Workers' Section; I. U. No. 420

All workers engaged in the production of pianos, player pianos, graphophones, etc., case makers, inspectors, tuners, polishers, movers, salesmen, office workers, etc.

C. Planing Mill Workers' Section; I. U. No. 420

All workers in and around planing mills, molding factories, cabinet shops, picture frame factories, etc.

CHEMICAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 430

A. Drug, Medicine and Perfume Workers' Section; I. U. No. 430

All workers engaged in the manufacture and distribution of drugs, medicines, perfumes and kindred products.

B. Rubber Workers' Section; I. U. No. 430

All workers engaged in the manufacture of rubber goods of every kind and description, such as auto tires, rubber boots, bands, etc., and in the distribution of these products.

C. Explosive Workers' Section; I. U. No. 430

All workers engaged in the production and distribution of powder, dynamite, gelignite and other explosives.

D. Paper Workers' Section; I. U. No. 430

All workers engaged in the production of paper and paper products for printing and commercial purposes.

METAL AND MACHINERY WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 440

All workers employed on metal products such as: Bench hands, core makers, machinists, polishers, floor men, spinners, moulders, rollers, helpers, milling machine hands, punch press operators, drill press hands, lathe hands, office help, assemblers, inspectors, truckers, chippers, testers, draftsmen, hammermen, electric welders, specialists, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, silver-smiths, laborers, etc., which are common to all, or nearly all sections.

A. Steel Workers' Section; I. U. No. 440

All workers in and around blast furnaces, steel mills, rolling mills, tin-plate mills and all steel by-products, etc.

B. Engine and Machinery Workers' Section; I. U. No. 440

All workers engaged in the production of locomotives, (steam and electric) railway cars and equipment, stationary engines, steam shovels, machinery, machine tools, cranes, etc.

**C. Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers' Section;
I. U. No. 440**

All workers engaged in the manufacture of automobiles, trucks, tractors, motorcycles, bicycles, airplanes, vehicles of all kinds and all accessories and equipment.

D. General Metal Product Workers' Section; I. U. No. 440

All workers employed in making general metal products; watch and jewelry factories, and in the manufacture of instruments, utensils, gold and silver products, etc.

**PRINTING AND PUBLISHING WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL
UNION No. 450**

A. Newspaper Workers' Section; I. U. No. 450

All workers on newspapers and periodicals: Compositors, linotypers, pressmen, cartoonists, photographers, proofreaders, office workers, reporters, writers, engineers, firemen, electricians, janitors, delivery men, etc.

B. Book and Catalogue Workers' Section; I. U. No. 450

All workers employed in publishing houses, other than newspaper establishments.

FOODSTUFF WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 460

A. Packinghouse Workers' Section; I. U. No. 460

This section comprises all workers employed in meat packing establishments, including all the workers in every department; dairy and milk depot workers and deliverers; all workers in fish-packing places, etc.

B. Flour, Cereal and Bakery Workers' Section; I. U. No. 460

All workers in flour and cereal mills, bakeries, biscuit factories, candy and confectionery establishments, sugar refineries, fruit packing and canning plants. This section, like all others,

includes engineers, firemen, milkers, truckers, bakers, deliverers, mechanics, clerks, coopers, etc.

C. Beverage Workers' Section; I. U. No. 460

All workers employed in distilleries, breweries, malshouses, vinegar, cider and ginger factories; all workers engaged in the manufacture of sodas, soft fermented drinks, and distribution of these products.

D. Tobacco Workers' Section; I. U. No. 460

All workers employed in the manufacture of tobacco products: Cigarmakers, stogie makers, cigarette makers and all other workers in tobacco factories including clerks in tobacco retail establishments, distributors, etc.

E. Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Section; I. U. No. 460

All workers employed in hotels, restaurants, cafeterias, boarding houses, lunch rooms, domestic service, etc.—cooks, waiters, housemen, pantrymen, dishwashers, clerks, maids, porters, janitors, etc.; chauffeurs and baggage haulers, when employed in hotel service exclusively.

LEATHER WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 470

A. Tannery Workers' Section; I. U. No. 470

All workers employed in tanneries, etc.

B. Boot and Shoe Workers' Section; I. U. No. 470

All workers employed in the manufacture of boots, shoes, slippers and leather footwear.

C. Trunk and Bag Workers' Section; I. U. No. 470

All workers engaged in the manufacture of trunks, bags, cases, salesmen's and travellers' leather supplies, including, of course, clerks, teamsters, chauffeurs, engineers, and all other workers.

D. Harness Workers' Section; I. U. No. 470

All workers engaged in harness making establishments, belt makers, etc.

GLASS AND POTTERY WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 480

A. Glass Workers' Section; I. U. No. 480

All workers employed in the making of glasswares—flint glass, green glass, window glass and plate glass,—furnace men,

mixers, blowers, gatherers, cappers, snappers, flatteners, polishers, and all other workers in glass making establishments.

B. Pottery Workers' Section; I. U. No. 480

All workers in potteries, porcelain factories, chinaware factories, and including designers, decorators, office workers, clerks, salesmen, teamsters, chauffeurs, etc.

C. Tile and Brick Workers' Section; I. U. No. 480

All workers in and around brick yards, tile and terra cotta works, cement plants, etc.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION, 500

Marine Transport Workers' I. U. No. 510

All workers engaged in marine transportation, steam, motor, sailing ships, submarines, etc.; docks, wharves; longshoremen; clerks; all workers in this industry.

Railroad Workers' I. U. No. 520

All workers engaged in long distance railways, steam and electric; third rail and trolley, in freight and passenger service; locomotive car and repair shops; passenger and freight yard service; car cleaning, freight sheds; passenger stations and office forces, etc.

Telegraph and Telephone Workers' I. U. No. 530

All workers engaged in postal telegraph, telephone, wireless, etc. All workers in this industry.

Municipal Transportation Workers' I. U. No. 540

All workers engaged in municipal, short distance transportation service; street cars, elevated roads, subways, sidewalks, etc.

Aerial Navigation Workers' I. U. No. 550

All workers employed in aerial navigation.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE, 600

Health and Sanitation Workers' I. U. No. 610

All workers engaged in hospitals and health restoration services; physicians, surgeons, internes, nurses, attendants, clerks, janitors, etc.

Park and Highway Maintenance Workers' I. U. No. 620

All workers engaged in street cleaning in parks and on street crossings.

Educational Workers' I. U. No. 630

All workers in educational institutions, schools, colleges, universities and other institutions of learning.

General Distribution Workers' I. U. No. 640

All workers engaged in general distribution, department stores; packers, drivers, clerks, salesmen, etc.

Public Utility Workers' I. U. No. 650

All workers engaged in municipal, water and electric supply service; waterworks, public service works, etc.

Amusement Workers' I. U. No. 660

All workers in theaters, playhouses and motion pictures; and other places of amusement and recreation.

CONCLUSION

When now and then advocates of a better system of society refer to the new unionism they do it, in most cases, without knowing fully the distinction between the old kind of unionism and the unionism that advocates—One Big Industrial Union for the Entire Working Class the World Over. But, even if the critics of this plan of action disagree with this booklet as to the means to attain the desired end, they can no longer plead that there never has been any literature presented in which the program of the industrial unionists has been enunciated.

Organize industrially! Organize right! This is the call to the downtrodden, heard all over the world. In increasing numbers the proletariat of every country is enlightening itself on the subject, and everywhere workers are preparing for organizations in which they will find the embodiment of their collective power and the instrument for direct economic action, just as occasion and conditions may command. All countries of the world are governed only in the interests of the small class controlling industrial combinations. Whenever the workers aimed heavy blows at these interests directly, that is, when they refused to serve, temporarily, in the production process of these industries the exploiting class all over the world burst out in frantic denunciations of the forces that had so little regard for capitalist property.

The industrial unionists propose to organize the workers for more militant action within present-day society, so that with

every advance gained, the workers will gain an appetite for more and for all, and will find the means to get it.

And in all these days of unrest and struggle the industrialists are preparing the administrative agencies for the industrial commonwealth. Industrial representatives elected by the workers, organized in their industrial unions, will constitute the industrial management of the future, the workers' control in municipal, national and international affairs.

STUDY THE CHART

Observe how commercialism—the main factor in the development of the capitalist system of production—encircles the whole globe, with the means and tributaries at its service:

Transportation facilities as the messengers for the exchange of products between countries and continents know no boundary lines—land, water and air have been conquered and rendered servants of the monstrous forces behind the prevailing industrial system of production and exchange.

Industrial development has no regard for boundary lines between political territories.

National dividing lines disappear before the invincible force of the industrial conquerer.

Continents so long separated by landmarks and obstacles of natural origin are linked and joined together by the gigantic welding power of the international transportation and communication of modern times.

But the functions of that agent of the present social system are still today confined to the service of profit-production for a few.

What still remains in the minds of mankind, as a force for separate nationalities, is merely imaginary.

A heavy load of traditional falsehoods, holding living human beings in a bondage of ignominious, deep-rooted and ingeniously fostered intellectual enslavement—and hence also in industrial serfdom must disappear; national separation must be swept aside by the advancing forces of international co-operation before the highest and most marvelous stages of industrial development, social progress and perfection in the utilization of all elements subservient to the creative powers of mankind can be achieved and a higher order of civilization be established.

ANOTHER INTERNATIONAL LINK

Observe also how a second force binds the world's component parts into one inseparable whole. Science and scientific research and discoveries are the international agencies by which the riddles and miracles of the universe in all their variations and magnitude are being solved and explained. Institutions of learning, schools and universities are linked together by the uniformity of fundamental laws governing science and the dissemination of knowledge and discoveries.

Likewise are evils and afflictions, springing from the same common sources, suffered alike by human beings throughout the world. Remedies and means of prevention must, consequently, assume the character of international agencies, deriving their support from the necessity of eliminating and curing these evils, and of removing the cause for their existence.

Hospitals as curing stations; cleaning, sanitary and protective agencies as institutions for prevention; the supply stations of water, light and other means of public need are therefore joined together with the institutions of learning, and with the agencies for recreation and amusement, into one great chain of international interdependence, and are formed and maintained in the pursuit of functions, preventative as well as beneficial, as the promoters and protectors of social interests and universal weal.

FOUR CARDINAL FUNCTIONS

Observe, then, how in the complex process of production of the necessities of life four cardinal functions comprise the interlocking chain of industrial activity, through which the resources of the earth must run before their ultimate use.

A.—From the soil, the woods and waters all material required for producing purposes is secured by the labor of the millions serving in the social process in raising and procuring the raw products for food, raiment and shelter.

B.—From the bowels and the treasures of the earth labor puts out the material for fuel and the essential things which, after being transformed, comprise the implements and machinery of production and distribution.

C.—With the matter thus furnished production proper for the providing of all necessary things of life and comfort is carried

on in the various, but interdependent places of production, mills and factories.

D.—With all these things combined the constructive hand of labor builds the houses of shelter for the protection of human life and material wealth against the adversities of nature's forces, and harnesses them to render service for social good.

LABOR THE SOLE PRODUCER

To all of the making and development of these social institutions the workers, and they alone, contribute their intellectual and their manual labor. They have created the instruments to produce wealth with, improved them as time rolled by and used them always as wealth producers.

These institutions are now organized in their operative functions to yield profits for a few who never did, nor ever willingly shall contribute to their making and maintenance, except in a manner to protect them in the possession of things that they did not, and do not intend to make or to use.

The human forces rendering these instruments, agencies and implements useful to all society, and adding value to matter and the forces of nature, are divorced from their creations by powerful combinations of parasitic nature, by which a few control all industrial life through the means that they have organized and subjected to their rulership. Against these hostile powers the workers must organize their own resources and their own collective power, in organizations embracing all useful members of society and wealth producers.

THE MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS

A labor organization to correctly represent the working class must have two things in view.

First: It must combine the wage-workers in such a way that it can most successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the workers of to-day in their struggle for fewer hours of toil, more wages and better conditions.

Secondly: It must offer a final solution of the labor problem—an emancipation from strikes, injunctions, bull-pens and scabbing of workers against other workers.

Observe, how this organization will give recognition to con-

control of shop affairs, provide perfect industrial unionism and converge the strength of all organized workers to a common center, from which any weak point can be strengthened and protected.

Observe, also, how the growth and development of this organization will build within itself the structure of an industrial democracy, which must finally burst the shell of capitalist society and be the agency by which the workers will operate the industries and appropriate the product to themselves.

One obligation for all.

A union man once and in one industry; a union man always and in all industries. Universal transfers, universal emblem.

All workers of one industry in one union; all unions of workers in one big labor alliance the world over.

Industrial unionism is not confined to one country. The best expression of it is found in America, in the Industrial Workers of the World, although the organization may appear to be still weak, numerically. But the conditions for the advent of the industrial revolutionary union are most promising, because the most advanced and highly developed industrial system of production is bound to find its counterpart in a similar perfected organization of the working class on the industrial field.

As presented in this booklet, these institutions for wealth production, so well organized, so masterfully constructed, suggest the best form of industrial organizations for the workers.

Industries are organized in 29 subdivisions, or industrial unions.

This arrangement is not arbitrarily fixed, or the product of one man's notion. The best tabulations of statistical experts of different countries have been consulted, and the systematic arrangement will stand the test of scientific investigation.

Of course, it has been stated, and is herewith reiterated that this arrangement of industrial organization of workers would also assure the most effective solidarity of all producing forces in their defensive and aggressive struggles for the amelioration of the evils they suffer under, evils inherent in the capitalist system of distribution of the commodities created by labor.

When the workers organize in industrial unions, copied from the institutions in which they are employed, they will be able to stand together as powerful industrial combinations in their skirmishes for better working conditions in any one industry. Not separated by craft divisions or restrained by trade union contracts with the exploiters, they will not only be able to curtail production on a small scale and thus also the profits of the em-

employers of labor, but they will abruptly stop production altogether, if necessary, in any one industry, or in all industries of a locality, or of a nation; or they can, when they are powerful enough, shut the factories against the present employers and commence production for use.

The workers, though, must wipe out, as a first duty to themselves, all craft demarcation lines, the remnants of a by-gone age. Unhampered by that straitjacket they can then develop and organize their industrial power. But that power must be guided in its use and exercise by the collective intelligence which will develop simultaneously with the generation of power. Equipped with the power of an industrial organization, with the knowledge gained in the everyday struggle against the oppressors, they will successfully strive for a higher standard of life conditions, within this system, and they can master things and forces so that they will reach the final goal of all efforts—complete industrial emancipation.

Hundreds of thousands of workers in every civilized country are beginning to understand the principles of industrial unionism. Thousands are organizing for the battle of to-day, for better conditions, and for the final clash in the future when the general lockout of the parasite-class of non-producers will end the contest for industrial possession and class supremacy.

You are one of the millions needed to accomplish the task,—join the industrial union composed of workers in the shop or plant where you work. If none exists, be the first to get busy. Get others, and help them to organize themselves. Learn to tackle the industrial problems. Show others how the workers will be able to run the industrial plants through the agencies of their own creation, locally, nationally, internationally—the world over.

There are organizations almost everywhere; and where there are none, they will be formed. In the industrial union movement alone will the workers forge the instrument, and train themselves for the use of all and every industrial weapon that can be utilized in the struggle for a better world. In the industrial union movement the workers will strictly adhere to the great words of a great thinker:

"The emancipation of the workers must be achieved by the working class itself.

"Workers of the World, Unite!"

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

■ ■ ■ ■ ■

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.

For all information regarding the Industrial Workers of the World referred to in this booklet, write to General Secretary-Treasurer, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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