

tion. The legal membership is based upon dues paid for the last six months of the fiscal year. A local cannot be represented in the convention unless chartered three months before the time of meeting.

A universal label is provided for. It can never pass from the control of the organization and is to be used on a commodity as evidence that the work is done only by Industrial Workers. The finances are to be provided by charter fees, initiation fees and dues. The general membership can be made up only from "actual wage workers," but no member shall be an officer in "a pure and simple trade union." Provisions are elaborately made for the use of the referendum in all matters that may arise with reference to the policies of the organization. Each officer, in taking office takes a pledge in which among other statements usually found he pledges that he understands and believes in the two sentences: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common;" and "Labor is entitled to all it produces."

This is the structure. Though worked out in detail, as the above statements will indicate, it has thus far been relatively unimportant. The authority of the officers is large, *de facto* if not *de jure*. Their effective leadership and their ability as the mouthpiece of the movement establishes this authority more effectively than any printed constitution could do. It is the spirit rather than the form of the organization that is important. Revolutionary industrial unionism is its essence. The socialization of industrial life with the industry as the unit; direct action the means, using any weapon that promises success; anarchistic rather than socialistic toward all the present forms of the state and toward all political action.

**Effect of Movement on Employers and Unionists.** — The trade union leaders as well as the employers have been obliged to heed this latest form of activity. Employers seemed at first completely terrorized. They have not yet fully recovered. Complacent trade unionists have been given a rude shock. Even socialists have felt the influence of the direct actionist policies. A running fight has been kept up between the Industrial Workers and the American Federation since the first. The vigorous and effective attacks upon the trade-union idea made by the industrialists struck home. The Textile Workers had unionized the