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HOW SCABS ARE BRED

By G. H. Perry

Craft unionism is the chief factor in creating scabs and the greatest stumbling block in the path of the laboring who wishes to improve his or her condition. The apprentice system is responsible for more strike breakers than any other known cause.

A man goes to work, we will say, in a shop where general building is carried on. The work in the roofing and sheet metal department, which is thoroughly organized (1) in the A. S. M. W. I. A., which is the tinners and roofers craft union. It's perhaps the first time that he has ever had the opportunity to work in a union shop and he is enthused with the idea that at last he can become a union man, and, as such, be able not only to better his own conditions but to help better the conditions of his fellow workers.

His first rebuff comes when he inquires of his fellow workers as to the steps necessary to become a member of the union. He is told that he is not wanted, and that before he can become a member he must have credentials showing that he has worked three years as an apprentice. Some scab (address) he inquires then as to how to become an apprentice. He is told that the number of apprentices is limited, (one to every three journeymen) and that the shop has the full quota of apprentices at the present time.

All this time the journeymen are working eight hours per day and receiving \$3.25 for that work while he is working nine or ten hours a day and taking whatever the boss sees fit to hand him. He sees that the union does not concern itself as to whether he gets paid for overtime or not. He sees that to all intents and purposes the union does not recognize his existence. All this time the idea is growing within him that the union is not organized for the benefit of the workers as a class, but for the benefit of those fortunate persons who are already members.

During the day's work he chances to pick up one of the tools that the journeymen use while at work and is instantly commanded by a surly journeyman, who occupies the position of shop steward, to lay down that tool, and in the future to remember to obey the rules of the union (of which he is denied membership) in regard to laboring and helping handling tools. These rules are printed on cards and hung in prominent places in the shop.

He is given to understand that he is a social inferior and that he should not expect the same privileges that journeymen enjoy. He must not touch the hammer (except on stated occasions, such as nailing drip), the snips or chisels, soldering tongs or the various tools that a man must possess in order to be able to help to acquire the faintest rudiments of the trade.

The boss has had his eyes open all this time and, in his judgment, the man will make a good workman he approaches him with a proposition to buy a share of stock in the company, which will give him the right to work at the work that the journeymen work at and to use the same tools, and thereby learn the trade.

For be it remembered that this same craft unionism which has so low an opinion of its helpers, and such utter disregard of their welfare, has at the same time such a high opinion of the boss and such deep concern for the interests of stockholders that if any one buys a share of stock in the concern that exploits them, he is permitted to work at anything all hours and for any wages. The man, by this time, thoroughly disgusted with the union, consents, and he begins to think that the employer has given him a square deal after the union.

In a short period of time he begins to degenerate into one of those staggish work- ingmen who think that their interest is wrapped up with that of their employer. It may happen that the employer does not make this proposal and that the union, in the course of time, declares a strike. Then, and with some justice, the man reasons thus: "This union did not recognize me and did everything in its power to keep me from bettering my conditions. Now is my opportunity. I will take the place of one of these men and learn what I can of this trade and be in a better condition to wage the struggle of existence in the future." The reasoning lacks logic but is perfectly natural under the circumstances.

Thus scabs are bred. These are the actual conditions that laborers work under.

Here are some of the rules of Local 806, A. S. M. W. I. A., New Castle, Pa.

Rule 7. Each shop shall be allowed one apprentice, but no two apprentices shall be allowed unless four or more journeymen are employed therein.

Rule 8. Apprentices going to work in a shop shall work two years for said boss, or owner, take another job until their two years are up.

Rule 10. Apprentices shall serve three years before they can become journeymen.

Rule 12. Helpers are allowed to paint, nail, drip, put up circles and do other work not conflicting with the rules of this local.

I am working in a shop organized by the above union and am denied the privilege of either joining the union or learning the trade. They keep me in the rat and every time I try to raise myself they push me down. This is typical, of not only this organization but of all craft unions. Get wise and join a union that will protect every workman whether he be a laborer or mechanic. In other words, join the I. W. W.

By Way of Comment

More Powerful Than the State.

The International Seaman's Union was compelled to wrestle with a mighty serious problem at its recent convention held in New York City. It was no less a thing than the "International Shipping Federation, Limited," a combination of the ship owners of the world. This organization has in combined, industrial power to rule the seamen regardless of the laws of the maritime nations. It requires employees to register, give full personal description, and carry a passport and character book. In brief, it controls the seamen and their conduct by means of a central employment

bureau and the blacklist. This is the method employed against the Western Federation of Miners and the Mine Owners Association. It is also the method in vogue in all those industries in which the Manufacturers' Association dominates. The seamen's organization has lost two-thirds of its membership because of this method. Its answer to the problem is a world-wide agitation in favor of a world-wide organization of seamen. This is as far as it goes. But it doesn't go far enough. The shipping federation is but one phase of the Employers' Association, which is a world-wide organization of the capitalists, intent on crushing the workers in the shop. It is more powerful than the State, which is relegated to the rear in its conflicts with labor, as the seamen's problem and the Swedish general strike make plain. It can only be met by a world-wide organization of all the workers, intent on defending their interests at all costs and freeing them by turning the capitalists out of the shop and operating it in a manner most conducive to social progress.

To Investigate Bellinger.

The governing committee of the capitalist class at Washington, otherwise known as Congress, is being investigated by Bellinger, and at his own solicitation. Wharvest's "good many" measures all over the country very sapient articles, expecting great reformatory results. They fail to appreciate the many-sided character of an investigation under "capitalism's" control in the affairs of opposing interests. It is also a practical as well as a conventional vindication of the investigated. Under the cloak of its findings additional crimes are made safer. We will wager five to one that Bellinger will be whitewashed, and the capitalist class behind him rendered more triumphant and arrogant. Let it be so, for a more arrogant profligacy means a more speedy crushing down of the inferior classes of all kinds and a more speedy revolution.

Prosperity and Panic.

Prosperity is booming. Stocks are rising and wage demands are increasing. So, too, are prices. Where is it all going to end? The very intensity of his hectic fuss presages the death of the diseased man. The very intensity of prosperity presages panic. The railroads have billions of dollars in short time notes to meet in the next two years. With working men clamoring for wages on all sides, with a money market exhausted by the necessity for industrial expansion and current needs, where will the railroads raise this stupendous sum in order to liquidate their indebtedness? Men familiar with financial conditions are said to contemplate the immediate future with deep concern. Stock gamblers and high financiers, exchanging ball markets to boom stocks, are preparing middle class wealth and preparing to scoop in the assets of their weakened brethren when the inevitable slump comes. Under the circumstances the working class cannot afford to stand idle. Educational and organization on I. W. W. lines will be needed for its salvation in the social crisis.

An Unusual Opinion.

The New York Call is editorially of the opinion that the question of craft vs. industrial unionism is a purely academic one. McKee Rocks, however, demonstrates the question to be a vital practical one of tremendous importance to the working class. But, were this not the case, the Call's opinion would, nevertheless, be un sound. It is equal to saying that the question of capitalism vs. socialism is a purely academic one, for craft unionism is capitalism, while industrial unionism is socialism. Craft unionism denies the class struggle; industrial unionism, as represented by the I. W. W., affirms it. Craft

(Continued on Page 4.)

COLOR PRINTING

By a Color Printer

The following is written in response to Solidarity's request for matter relating to the various industries. It deals with the color printing industry. While this industry is not one of the basic industries, and is relatively of little importance, it nevertheless is undergoing a little agitation, whose lessons are of significance to the entire working class. Then, again, it is hoped that these lines will induce the men and women in the more important industries to write something for Solidarity regarding them. Let us start the ball rolling.

Industry Threatened by New "German Invasions."

As many of Solidarity's readers may know, Germany is the greatest producer of color prints in the world. Her lithographs, postal cards, half tones, etc., are known wherever commerce and advertising exist. Even France and England, her nearest European competitors, have been content to stamp their names on her products and print as for their own. German color printing competition was hard to beat, both in the matter of price and quality.

But this country has got around this competition, in so far as its own confines are concerned. It has recently enacted a tariff on color prints that makes importation prohibitive. In so doing it has given German color printing a staggering blow. Coupled with the recent panic, the tariff has paralyzed the industry in the Fatherland. Factories are shut down and thousands of men and women are unemployed. A reaction has set in, however; one which looks upon future troubles for American color print workers. German color print capitalists finding out that America will no longer trade with them are coming here to trade with the Americans. Ten large firms are going to remove their plants to this country. Already hundreds of workmen here are preparing to precede them; in fact, not a few have already arrived.

Domestic color printing is at present not in the best of condition. In times of panic economy compels that the cost of advertising be either reduced or entirely eliminated. And here we live in panic times, the "prosperity" howlers to the contrary notwithstanding. It is said that the largest litho concern in the country so badly provided with orders as to require only ten per cent of its press capacity to fill them. Many printers, proofers, pressmen, feeders, etc., are at present unemployed, or employed on part time only. Imagine, then, what this new "German invasion" will mean to the industry. It will mean increased competition for employment and trade. It will mean, in brief, a decrease in wages and an increase in frustration, for where there are too many firms bankruptcy and concentration ensue. Protection is not the booster of wages that the Republican workman believes it is. Nor is competition the death of combination, as the tariff reform workman so fondly imagines.

What Labor is Doing.

This situation has provoked both discussion and action. American color printers are interested in the probable outcome. None of them take an optimistic view. They are troubled by the foreboding prospects. One of their organizations, the Photo Engravers' Union, is reported to have increased its initiation fee recently from \$80 to \$200. This action is viewed with satisfaction by the Employers' Association, which is a part of the Manufacturers' Association, employing all its methods,

and well organized. To the employer is created initiation fees means exaction and the increase of scabbery. Thousands of the newcomers, unable by circumstances to pay them, will scab rather than starve.

This result, if it occurs, will be deplorable. But we may rest assured that, should it happen, the German color printers will not be to blame. A great part of them are unionists, and would gladly transfer to the union of this country, if freely permitted to do so. Unlike the organizations of this country, the German color printers' union includes all branches of the industry. It is an industrial organization. Proofers, pressmen, feeders, stone grinders, litho artists and engravers, sketch artists and designers, embossers, cutters, type printers, stock girls and broncers—all the men and women employed in the color printing industry are enrolled in its ranks and enjoying its undivided protection and support. In this country we have the Photo Engravers' Union, the Typographical Union, the Litho Pressmen's Union, the Feeders' Union, the Artists' League, the Litho Engravers' League, and the other special craft divided organizations—such of whom the Employers' Association takes pains to bestow its special

attention. And now these organizations, instead of uniting to welcome the German fellow industrialists, show a tendency to erect imitation barriers, presumably in the interest of their own members; but actually their real motives notwithstanding—in the interests of the Employers' Association. This fact is not pleasant to contemplate. But then it would do to close one's eyes to it. Nothing but industrial organization will save the workers in the color printing industry. Daily more of them are beginning to see this. Daily more of them are realizing that success lies in copying the organization of the domestic employers and that of the industrial unionists abroad. So they say they will be numerous enough to come out flat-footedly for the Industrial Workers of the World. Until then they will support the I. W. W. in every way possible, conscious of the fact that it will likewise support them in turn.

New York.

SPECIAL NOTICE!

The address of the Pittsburgh district organizer of the I. W. W. is Joseph J. Eitor, 3538 Massachusetts Avenue, Allegheny, Pa. Those wishing information regarding the organization, or speakers in English or Foreign languages, will please communicate with the organizer at the above address.

FAMPHLETS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

"Why Strikes are Lost." by W. E. Trumbull, in LITHUANIAN Price 10 cents; copy; 25 cent off on orders of 100 or more.

IN ITALIAN—"Report of the I. W. W. to Paris International Congress." Same price as above. Address

VINCENT ST. JOHN, 518 Cambridge Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

Copy must be in hand by Tuesday night to insure its publication that week. This is imperative. We make up on Wednesday and go to press Thursday morning.

When you have read this paper, make a present of it to some fellow wage slave and induce him to subscribe. Remember, it is your paper and your cause. We will do our part. Do yours.

Send all contributions to help the boys in Spokane to Fred Hulsewood, Box 809, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.

FROM ABROAD

Gompers in Paris

The international union movement has been recently and is now passing through some interesting phases in its development. The question of international relations between the different national labor organizations is growing in importance. At a conference of the secretaries of central unions held in Paris last August, the question of the American Federation of Labor and its possible affiliation with the international organization occasioned some sharp discussion. Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L. and vice president of the Civic Federation, was in attendance, but declined to give a satisfactory answer as to whether or not his organization would join the movement.

Some of the delegates criticized Gompers and the A. F. of L. quite severely for their connections with the capitalists, and pointed out that the I. W. W. was the only union in America based on the class struggle. Then Gompers got angry, and retorted that he "was surprised to find the delegates talk about the I. W. W. as if it constituted the American labor movement, when as a matter of fact it consisted of a handful of people who did not have the courage of their convictions."

Replying to the statement of the "Bulletin International," published in Clamart, France, near Paris, took Gompers severely to task for the utterance, and showed that it was "precisely because the I. W. W. had the courage of its convictions" that it had experienced such a desperate struggle with the employing class as well as with the A. F. of L., the socialist politicians and other forces of reaction in this country.

About the same time, or rather shortly before the conference in question, one of the leading and most influential capitalist papers in Paris, took up the cudgels for Gompers, and with a large portrait of the A. F. of L. chief executive on its front page, produced the following gem, a translation of which has never before been published in full in this country. Its significance becomes all the greater in view of the fact that the A. F. of L. at its last year's convention had voted to affiliate with the international organization.

(From "Le Petit Journal," Paris, July 17, 1909.)

Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, is now in Paris. That is a circumstance which, at first thought, may not seem so very important. But in reality it may have considerable influence upon the subsequent development of the social question here in France.

If the mission to all the labor organizations of Europe, with which Mr. Gompers is officially charged by the powerful A. F. of L., has the hoped for success, the big chief of American labor will have to his credit the great achievement of having prevailed upon the demagogues of the C. G. T. [Confederation Generale du Travail], and also of having steered the French unions in the direction of a purely trade union movement, which, to the greater good of both workers and EMPLOYERS, has been the course followed by the unions of the United States, England and, to some extent even, of Germany.

Mr. Gompers, whose portrait I sketched for "Le Petit Journal" last year while on my visit to New York, is one of the most powerful men in the United States. At Washington, D. C., where he occupies the place of the Federation of Labor, as Mr. Taft occupies the White House, they commonly speak of the "two presidents." Both are invested with extensive powers by millions of constituents. And in the management of the nation it is not always the president of the United States that is more influential than the president of the Federation of Labor.

If the A. F. of L. resembled our C. G. T., and Mr. Gompers one of the revolutionists who assume the directing of our caricature of a labor organization, the United States would be constantly in a state of civil war. But that is not the case. On the contrary, with some very rare exceptions, the relations between worker and employer in the United States are better than in any other country in the world.

That is because the Federation of Labor is in no sense revolutionary. Moreover, it is not even socialist. It pursues the distinct aim of removing causes of conflict between the employers and the workers by means of peaceful negotiations.

That is to say, the American Federation and its chief laugh at the European

idea, which insists that between employers and employers there exists a "class struggle." Mr. Gompers has declared many times that he regards that "class struggle" as an evil invention of old world politicians, and he has often publicly reproached the European labor movement for having in this manner greatly complicated a purely economic question with an element of political discord that has nothing to do with it. According to his view, the worker may and should demand the highest possible wages compatible with the industrial situation, but he ought also to work within the bounds of order and observe all the laws which he has agreed to.

So, in the United States, the principle of collective contract is universally observed. That is, the labor organization, or rather its chosen heads confer with the organized employers as to the terms of the labor contract. With confidence in the wisdom and the discipline of labor organizations, the employers do not hesitate even, the period of the contract having expired, to submit their balance sheet to their workers; and we have seen this remarkable thing happen, which would be impossible now in France: that in consideration of the state of the market, workers have consented to wage reductions.

Mr. Gompers, in the eyes of our demagogues of the C. G. T., is a "reactionist," thus to put the public welfare above the immediate interests of a group of workers. For instance, five years ago, in order not to stop the industrial activity throughout a great part of the United States, he put an end to the great strike of railway employes, sacrificing for the moment the workers' demands. The next year, in a similar manner, he stopped the strike of New York employes [Interborough Railway strike of elevated and subway men] because that action appeared to him less prejudicial than the interruption of traffic, by which the city suffered most intensely.

And, most remarkable of all things, these devices, unfavorable to the workers whose chief he is, were obeyed to a letter. [It should be stated as a correction that the Interborough workers refused to obey Gompers' orders to return to work, and as a consequence their charter was revoked and their union smashed by the combined action of the labor leaders and the Civic Federation employes, August 1904. -Translator.]

I only cite these facts to show what the man is and what the character of the American labor movement is. You will understand that revolutionary French unionism—which does not want well paid orderly labor, but well paid disorderly idleness—would appear on the other side of the ocean as one of the odious and ridiculous. It is this which explains the international mission that Mr. Gompers is undertaking at this time.

The French C. G. T., with its anarchistic allures, its political aims, its shameless bluff, its mania for disorder, and its absolute barrenness in economic results [for the capitalists—Tr.], embraces in the name of the great labor organizations not only of America but of other foreign countries.

The English "trade unions" have never had to experience tendencies of that nature. The German "gewerkschaften," which correspond to our labor unions in keeping company continually with socialists, having organized millions of adherents, now wish to confine themselves to trade questions, and they no longer intend to employ their immense social funds as war funds against society.

The American, English and German labor organizations which together number probably more than ten million workers, look with a certain pity upon the disorderly and ill ordered action of the C. G. T., in the control of an insignificant minority of revolutionists. They consider the time is at hand to recall the French labor world to a more just [to the capitalist of course] notion of things.

Therein appears the importance of Mr. Gompers' visit. On account of the fact that he, the most eloquent and powerful labor leader of the world, is in Europe, the international conference of the secretaries of central unions, which was to be held next year in Sweden, has been set a year ahead and will assemble in Paris in August. At this conference, Mr. Gompers will introduce a resolution calling for the creation of an international association of national labor federations. The C. G. T., under pain of discrediting itself among the workers of the whole world, should join that association. And as a result its methods will be subject to control through the decisions of that "labor international" whose immense majority—American, English and German—will not be heard talking about sabotage, anarchy, revolution, or of politics.

The bluff of the little minority of revolutionists who today rule the C. G. T., will presently be called the great revisionist unions [conservative trade unions] will have the upper hand; if they should have had long since by virtue of their numbers; under pressure of foreign federations, the C. G. T. will be relieved of rangers, who have no right to seats as claimants in the labor world; and the French Federation of Labor, controlled by the international anti-revolutionary federation, will, as in America and in England, finally come to occupy itself with legitimate trade questions and to renounce anarchistic methods. If that is the result of Mr. Gompers' voyage, he will have rendered a signal service to France.

ALEXANDRE DARIER.

There is the cat! Out of the bag and in plain sight. Gompers went to Europe to introduce Civic Federation methods into the labor movement of the old world. The French capitalist class is getting wise to the necessity of such methods with which to control the working class. Having tried in vain for years to "call the bluff" of the revolutionary C. G. T., by jailing its officials, breaking up its meetings, clubbing and shooting its strikers, and otherwise employing well known capitalist methods of FORCE, and finding that the C. G. T.'s power and influence are slowly but surely permeating the mass of European workers, the French employing class is seeking as a last resort to circumvent the revolutionary union movement by introducing American capitalist methods through the intermediary personage of Mr. Samuel Gompers; "the most powerful labor leader in the world." Gompers' "power" is shown to consist in his ability to set one body of workers against another body in the same industry by means of contracts to call off or break strikes, in the interests of the bosses, and otherwise serve his masters, the capitalists who sent him to Europe as a representative of the Civic Federation, and with a \$1,000 "token of their esteem."

That Gompers failed of his mission for the time being at the Paris conference, and succeeded in discrediting himself even in the eyes of some of the more conservative delegates, only averts for a time the threatened danger to the C. G. T. Whether or not Gompers and the capitalists will eventually succeed in their purpose, depends upon the rapidity of development of the revolutionary union movements outside of France. If these develop as rapidly as we now have reason to expect, the C. G. T. will be saved from cancellation, and a NEW INTERNATIONAL based in practice as well as in theory upon the class struggle will supplant the present pure and simple, politician ridden concern that masquerades in the name of labor while wearing the livery of the enemy. Push the work along by building up the Industrial Workers of the World.

B. H. WILLIAMS.

THE SAME OLD KIND.

Under the heading of "A New Kind of Organized Labor," the Saturday Evening Post of January 8 devotes a page and a half to the American Employers and Investors' Association, whose objects we have already discussed. The Saturday Evening Post is wrong. It is the same old kind that we have had in the A. F. of L. and other craft unions all along. Nothing of a radical departure in principles on the part of the B. H. T. officials, who are promoting the new association; only a new form of manifestation. There is the same theory of identity of interests between the masters and their slaves and the same willingness to make any kind of terms, no matter how dishonorable, that would benefit their own little job trust, even to the extent of scabbing on other "union men" while on strike.

THOSE CLIPPINGS.

Fellow workers who are anxious to help make Solidarity a success can help greatly by watching the papers, both labor and capitalist, and sending us clippings bearing on labor's interests. In every case mark plainly the name of the paper, place of publication and the date so it can be quoted if necessary. Come boys; you believe in direct action, here's one way of applying it.

Available For Dates.

The editor of Solidarity is available, occasionally, for one or more lecture dates on Industrial Unionism, within a radius of 100 miles of New Castle. Terms: Expenses guaranteed and day's wages, if convenient.

When the workers are industrially organized the world will prove fair and man will begin to live.

THE 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 defeat one another in wage war. 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 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.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution.

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