

SOLIDARITY

OFFICIAL ORGAN PITTSBURGH DISTRICT UNION OF THE I. W. W.

P. O. Drawer 622 New Castle, Pa.

Owned and Published Weekly by
C. H. MCCARTY and B. H. WILLIAMS
 C. H. MCCARTY, L. U. 298
 B. H. WILLIAMS, L. U. 297.
 Place of Publication—rear No. 6, Croton Ave.

B. H. Williams Managing Editor
 C. H. McCarty Business Manager
 Frank Morris, Assistant Business Mgr.

SUBSCRIPTION:
 Yearly, \$1.00
 Six Months, .50
 Canada and Foreign, 1.50
 Single Orders, per copy, .01
 Advertising Rates on Application.

Cash Must Accompany All Orders.

All communications intended for publication in *Solidarity* should be addressed to the Managing Editor; all others, pertaining to financial matters, to the Business Manager.

Entered as second-class matter December 18, 1909, at the post office at New Castle, Pa., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
 General Headquarters—518 Cambridge Building, Chicago, Illinois.

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WATCH FOR YOUR NUMBER.

Each subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the wrapper enclosing *SOLIDARITY*. For instance: 58. This means that your sub. expired last week, and you should renew. This is NUMBER 59.

THE CONQUERING SIGN!

President Tom L. Lewis' report to the annual convention of the United Mine Workers of America now in session at Columbus, contains some interesting reading. We expect to refer to different parts of it from time to time in these columns. This week we give one statement from the report, that illustrates quite clearly and conclusively the mental attitude of this leader of 300,000 coal miners. Lewis says:

"If we ever expect to get relief from the present condition that surrounds the occupation of our members, if we ever hope to reduce to a minimum the terrible disasters in the mining industry, we will be compelled to adopt and enforce the following measures:

1. Have laws enacted that will entirely separate the mining industry either from the domination, control or ownership of the railroad or transportation interests.
2. Insist that the railroad and manufacturing interests of the country must pay a higher price for fuel in order that the mine owners can sell coal to the domestic consumers at a more reasonable price.
3. Have laws enacted that will prevent the employment of inexperienced men in any mine where fire damp is generated or where coal dust is a dangerous element.
4. Have laws enacted requiring inexperienced men to work with practical miners for a period of not less than one year before they will be permitted to work alone.
5. Work to elevate the mining industry to a higher standard by adopting a method to reduce the amount of waste in the development of our coal lands; recognize the value of coal by paying a higher price for this commodity and demand that greater safety appliances be provided to protect the life of the miners.

"These objects can be accomplished if the miners, mine owners, manufacturers, railroad interests and the American people will co-operate to this end."

With all its apparent simplicity and its author's childlike faith in the bosses, Lewis' proposition is nevertheless couched in plausible language. "Separate coal mining from the domination of any other industry, and thus enable the mine owners to raise the price of their commodity. In turn will enable the miners to deter conditions and afford more

protection against the dangers of their employment." Sounds good, don't it?

But let us see. Not many months ago the railway magnates of this country, together with officials of the railroad brotherhoods, petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission to allow an increase in freight rates, on the plea that the companies were not earning enough at the present rates to meet their requirements. The Brotherhoods joined in this move on the ground that it promised more wages for the railway workers. The case is still pending with the government. Now Lewis advances a proposition that, according to his own logic, would still further embarrass the railroad owners, and compel them to demand still higher freight rates.

But suppose this proposition were carried out, and the unbolty combination between railroads and mines broken up, resulting in a higher price for coal to the farmer. What, in that event, is to stop the railroad companies from getting back at the mining companies by increased rates for hauling coal? And where would the poor "domestic consumer" come in on a deal like that? And the miners, who were expecting better living conditions, and safety appliances in the mines? Lewis may reply that "the law" fixes the maximum of railroad rates, but has nothing to say about the price of coal. Granting that for argument's sake, is that not the more reason why the railroad companies will not "get together with miners and mine owners" to increase their own difficulties by raising the price of coal to themselves? Would they not, on the contrary, fight such a move for separation with all the power at their command?

Manifestly, President Lewis is indulging in some high-sounding nonsense. But all that is consistent with his theory of "identity of interests" and "peaceful relations" between employers and workers. According to that theory, miners must expect to improve their conditions at the expense of the mine bosses, but must wait until the latter have gotten the equivalent of increased wages and what not out of a "third party" which Lewis would likely dub "the public," which, however, consists of employers and wage workers in exactly the same economic relationship as in the case of miners and mine owners. According to Lewis' theory, the miners must first seek to protect their bosses before looking out for their own interests. According to that theory, increased wages are only possible as a result of increased prices, and the worker is not robbed at the point of production at all. Exit Marx, surplus value, the class struggle, and the whole works!

We need not here point out the absurdity of Lewis' theory. That has been done already many times in these columns. Suffice it to say that this theory furnishes the key to the conduct of the craft union leader everywhere. It leads to craft autonomy and craft contracts that must be upheld at all costs. It leads to shady deals between the labor leaders and the bosses, as for example Lewis' attempted compromise of the Illinois miners' strike last summer, which failed only through the vigilance of the miners. It leads to another favorite theory of Lewis' that "strikes should be avoided," if at all possible. Why not? If the interests of employer and worker are identical, why should they fight? Why not rather get together, look each other in the eye, and peaceably adjust the slight misunderstandings between brothers? Lewis thinks so, and his actions square with his words.

Only the theory falls to pieces in action. As in the Illinois miners' case, so in all cases of "peaceable adjustment," the labor leaders are prone to consider most carefully the economic masters' interests. The operator comes first; "after you, my dear Alphonso." Only "Alphonso" does not respond with polite amenities; he takes what is offered, and more. The Illinois miners rejected Lewis' proposed compromise, and got what they demanded from the operators. In that case, they "triumphed" over the leader and his false theory of mutual interests. And a whole lot more tripping will have to be done.

The United Mine Workers, under the leadership of Lewis, Mitchell and others of that kind, is a bosses' union. It will remain such until the miners cast off their "contracts to scab on one another by districts," their theory of "mutual interests" and the leadership that goes with it. Then they can get at the mine bosses, and with the method of direct action with united forces, quickly transform their

working and living conditions, and act as a powerful lever to assist workers in other industries to do likewise.

In this sign shall you conquer: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

A STRIKE FOR MORE HOURS

The New York Call of January 19 reports a rather remarkable strike as having taken place in Elizabeth, New Jersey, for an extension of the workday. Machinists and toolmakers working in the Singer plant at that place, struck because the department head refused to restore their hours from 47 to 57 a week.

This bare statement, may cause some to remark about the stupidity and slavish attitude of the patriotic American worker. The idea of workmen liking to slave so well that they want their hours increased by ten per week, while hundreds of thousands are tramping the streets for want of a master! But let us first hear the reason given by these long day strikers. They say that wages have been correspondingly reduced with the shortening of their workday, and they must have more bread for their children.

What's this? An argument against the eight hour day as proposed by the I. W. W.? Surely we are on the wrong track, and they must be agitating instead for more hours, in order that the workers may earn more bread in a day's time? Why not get busy and agitate for a 14 hour work day, so as to restore the good old times of our patriotic ancestors?

But a statement of the reasons for this remarkable strike, will not furnish any comfort to the opponents of the eight hour day. Here we have a small group of unorganized workers in one shop, facing the problem of reduced wages with no reduction of the cost of living. In such circumstances, it is most natural that they should seek to keep up their standard of living, even at the expense of their life time through overwork. Acting as individuals or as a small group in the midst of universally adverse conditions, a longer workday was the only way of escape for these men. But the employer strange to say, did not wish a longer workday. Having "changed his system" from 57 to 47 hours a week, he "saw that it was good" and refused to go back to the old system.

So the boss becomes an upholder of the shorter workday? Surely something must be wrong in the universe! But again bear in mind that these workmen were unorganized and in numbers only a drop in the ocean of slaves, which enabled the boss to drive the men to the limit under the new eight hour system, and thereby get more profit out of their flesh and blood than under the old ten hour system.

Now we have the thing on its feet! The employer will gain by an eight hour day with the workers unorganized or only partially organized. The employer thereby absolutely dominates the men in the shop, and can spur them to the greatest exertion, holding over their heads the constant fear of lower wages or loss of employment. The men know that outside the shop door age many hungry faces looking in and hoping to replace them at the bench. The boss knows that too, and plays upon it to get more work from the men on the job. The boss has an ORGANIZED SYSTEM; the workers act as individuals.

EVERYTHING DEPENDS UPON ORGANIZATION! Not organization of a single shop, a small group, or a craft. But UNIVERSAL WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATION, embracing in its plan all shops, all crafts, all industries—IN ONE ORGANIC WHOLE.

A UNIVERSAL eight hour day will be possible through such an organization, and in no other way. And it will not and cannot result in reducing wages. It will not enable the boss to "change his system" so as to get more work out of his slaves by intensifying the work day. This last result will not follow, because the workers through organization will CONTROL THEIR SHOP CONDITIONS. The organized workers and not the boss, will decide whether or not machinery shall be speeded up or slowed down; whether or not they shall allow the boss to drive them, or tell him to go to a warmer climate when he tries to do so.

And because the intense workday, will not follow a universal reduction of hours

I. W. W. PRESS FUND

\$500 WANTED

THE ABOVE AMOUNT should be easy to raise by the active members at the locals of the Industrial Workers of the World. To obtain that sum right away for the I. W. W. PRESS FUND, means a great deal for the immediate and more distant development of our organization.

Great things are in store for the labor movement of this country within the next few years. Even the capitalist, Thomas A. Edison, prophesies that Labor will rule the United States within a decade. If that be true, or the time be more distant, the fact remains that Labor can only rule the nation and the world in the manner laid down in the I. W. W. Preamble.

The INDUSTRIAL UNION, or Economic Organization, must get ready to assume control of industry and society. To this end, EDUCATION as well as organization of the workers is indispensable, and the two are inseparable, one from the other. Let us keep the two abreast of each other.

A vast and growing sentiment among the working class now stands midway between the old reactionary capitalist-bound ideas, and the new revolutionary aspirations of the labor movement. The workers are awakening, but are not yet awake. Various reform elements are now exploiting this awakening sentiment for their own hobbies or private ends. Only the I. W. W. seeks to clarify, develop and unify the workers' sentiment into a powerful machine for Labor's immediate betterment and ultimate freedom.

Sound I. W. W. LITERATURE is sorely needed, to offset reactionary tendencies of the labor movement, and to emphasize and fortify progressive tendencies. I. W. W. men must write that literature! I. W. W. men must circulate it.

AND I. W. W. MEN MUST PRINT IT. There is no doubt of this last statement, after the experience of the past five years. In this, as in everything else, the genius and devotion of the members count for far greater results than can be obtained in any other way.

Therefore, we must have the necessary equipment for an up-to-date printing plant. The amount above specified will enable us to get that equipment, and to go to work with a will on literature. At present, we are only able to take care of the paper.

We must have a job press, paper cutter, and more type for leaflet and job work. Delay in getting these, may cause serious embarrassment in the near future. The sum of \$500 can easily be raised by the members if each will send what he can spare.

SEND YOUR DOLLAR IN TODAY, and induce some other fellow worker to do likewise. It will prove the best investment you can make, for the future welfare of our organization. Don't delay! Act at once!

Make all donations or loans payable to EARL F. MOORE, Treasurer I. W. W. PRESS-FUND, Box 698, New Castle, Pa.

by organization, neither will a decrease of wages. The shorter workday will mean more demand for men, less unemployed, and consequently, higher wages.

Our employers will not welcome a universal eight hour day on this basis. They will fight it to the last ditch. But the working class will find the job an easy one, if they will begin now to organize for that purpose, and keep on perfecting and developing their organization until they have accomplished it.

JOIN THE I. W. W. AND GET READY FOR THE UNIVERSAL EIGHT HOUR WORKDAY IN 1912.

THE BILL SMITHS OF LABOR

A fellow worker writes, regarding Debs' call for a revolt against the courts:

"Another thing, which embitters some of our members, is the apparent willingness of everybody to rush to the defense of a Warren, who suffers no hardship anyway, and at the same time to ignore a poor devil of a worker, say Bill Smith, who starves for six months and is given the water cure in a Fresno jail. Sense of proportion seems sadly lacking at this stage of the labor movement. This is one of the things that begets bitterness and exclusiveness, which of course is harmful to the I. W. W."

The point is well taken. It is too true that the Bill Smiths, who suffer most for labor and make the most important sacrifices and moves in its behalf, receive the least attention.

This should not be. We should lay bare their sufferings, together with the meaning of them. At the Warren protest meetings, the chair and the speakers should be requested to include Fresno in the recital of judicial wrongs done to the workers. Printed matter, giving the facts in concise form and appealing for financial aid in the fight, should also be distributed. Make Warren's fight Bill Smith's fight, and Bill Smith's fight Warren's fight—in brief, unite all the workers in a recognition of their common grievances, with a common determination to protest against and remedy them when and wherever possible.

THE COMMENTATOR.

SLAUGHTERING WAGES IN MILWAUKEE

The unique spectacle of Social Democratic aldermen voting against a number of measures introduced by themselves and an old party alderman voting for the measures was presented at the January 3 meeting of the Milwaukee city council, says the New York Call.

Consideration of the budget by the Board of Estimates revealed the fact that there is a deficit of some \$400,000—a

leazy from the previous administration—in the city's finance that must be made good by the Social Democrats. There is also about the same amount due for park lands purchased 20 years ago and that should have been paid long ago, instead of being held over.

So, it being necessary to save nearly \$1,000,000, the Social Democrats were slaughtering a number of measures amounting for increase of wages in various departments.

ENDORSES TWO PROPOSITIONS

Paterson, N. J., Jan. 19.

Solidarity:
 At the last meeting of Local 152, I. W. W., the Local endorsed both propositions as sent out by General Headquarters. (1) In regards to the inviting of fraternal delegates to the sixth annual convention, and (2) the sending of a delegate to the next meeting of the International Secretariat of Trades Unions, to be held in Buda-Pesth, Hungary, in August, 1911.

Local 152 is also willing to contribute its share to defray the expenses of said delegate, and would suggest that if 100 locals would contribute each \$4 or \$5 the local can be counted upon to donate that amount.

Yours for Industrial Solidarity,
 ADOLPH LESSIG,
 Cor. Secretary.

CHANGES IN CONSTITUTION

Minneapolis, Minn., Jan. 21.

Solidarity:
 We have been instructed to notify you that at a regular business meeting of Local 64 and 137, Minneapolis, the locals endorsed the article by C. H. Axelson, published in *Solidarity*, regarding proposed changes of the I. W. W. Preamble and Constitution relating to industrial departments, and that the same be considered at the next convention.

GEORGE A. WISE, Chairman,
 WALTER B. NEF, Rec. Sec'y.

PAMPHLET FOR FINNISH WORKERS

The Finnish I. W. W. members of Duluth, Minn., have printed a pamphlet explaining the principles of industrial unionism to the men on the job. A clear, concise, comprehensive, to-the-point, heart-to-heart talk about the ONE BIG UNION. It also contains an expose of the so-called Finnish Socialist papers, which refuse publication of articles bearing upon the burning question of industrial unionism, to men who helped to build up this very same press.

Locals in whose territory Finnish workers live should order at once 100 for \$5. Send money and orders to
 MATTI KAINULU,
 907 W. Michigan
 Duluth

ANOTHER FRENCH VICTORY

Durand's Death Sentence Called off By President Because He Feared Power of C. G. T.—Pearled Strike Winning.

(Special Correspondence.)

Paris, Jan. 3, 1911.

Another victory for the C. G. T. This time it is the case of Durand, secretary of the Coal Heavers' Union of Havre, who was sentenced to death for alleged moral complicity in the killing of the scab Douge several weeks ago. The circumstances of this case were particularly raw. Douge was killed by a half dozen strikers in a drunken row. The authorities and business elements of Havre, sore over the recent coal heavers' strike, and also sharing in common with the capitalist class all over France the red wave of hatred and fear of the C. G. T., bred by the recent railroad strike, decided to make an example of some of the bold syndicalists. A plot was cooked up, and Durand and several others were arrested. A bunch of scabs testified that at a business meeting held six weeks previous, Durand had put to a vote the killing of Douge. Only one man voted no—he was deaf. The trial was held in the neighboring town of Rothen, and Durand, not being a millionaire, only brought a few of some two hundred witnesses that were willing to testify in his behalf. In spite of the utter absurdity of the contention that Douge's death had been voted in a business meeting, at which 600 men had attended, and of which not a word came to the authorities, and also the refutation of this testimony by Durand's witnesses, the jury brought in a verdict of guilty for Durand without extenuating circumstances. His companions were given long sentences in the penitentiary and he was sentenced to death.

Immediately the verdict was known all the great papers of Paris put up a great holler that at last the tactics were found that would put an end to the militants of the C. G. T. But, alas, they reckoned without their host. The C. G. T. immediately got busy, and hundreds of protests were held all over France. Yes, all over Europe. It was the beginning of another Ferrer affair. The capitalists got cold feet. They had not reckoned that the quiet slaughtering of a coal heaver would cause such a fuss. The attitude of the press changed. Henceforth the pre-meditated legal slaughter of Durand was characterized as a mistake.

It savagely attacked the C. G. T. for attempting to make another Dreyfus affair of this simple judicial error. Investigations were started and a petition for Durand's pardon, circulated by Paul Murnier, Deputy, (not Socialist), and signed by one-third of the Chamber of Deputies, was placed on President Fallieres' desk. The Union of the Syndicates of the Seine (local C. G. T. organization) put a paper weight on this petition in the shape of a threat to give Paris the biggest working class demonstration it has seen for many a day—to send 400,000 working men to the President's palace on New Year's Day (day of the visits of ambassadors to President) to bid him "Happy New Year." Though Fallieres had some 50,000 troops in Paris, this little visit didn't appal him, and on Dec. 31 in the evening he commuted Durand's penalty to seven years in the penitentiary; a cowardly attempt to kill the rising sentiment in favor of Durand, to make people believe that the government had been lenient. For doing this, he was "howled out" from all directions. The capitalist papers called him a coward for yielding in the face of the C. G. T. demonstration—"when the anarchists had their revolvers at his throat." The rebels poured the hot shot into him also, and are now demanding complete liberty for Durand. They are going to make this demand palatable to the government by backing it up with the general strike if necessary. The C. G. T. of Italy has also promised to sit in at the game and take a whack at their masters at the same time, just to show their spirit of class solidarity. With the Durand affair thus assuming most important proportions and the C. G. T. and the capitalists both preparing for the great lock-out in the building trades in Paris next spring, there is very likely to be something doing in French labor circles.

And the famous "pearled strike!" The wise Briand a week or so ago decided from the goodness of his heart to put back a few of the 3,000 discharged railroaders. The idea was to re-hire a few of the men a time, and thus hoodwink the workers into believing that the government was

going to hire them all again, and to get them to stop the pressure of the sabotage. This plan has proven a miserable failure.

The rebels are "onto" Briand, and, although little bunches of men are being put back to work daily, the sabotage goes on in an ever increased volume. The railroaders will be satisfied with nothing short of the complete reinstatement of all their discharged fellow workers.

The companies have already suffered millions of dollars, damages, and would doubtless give in were they not afraid of the terrible precedent it would make. Conditions on the roads are indescribable. The blockade is so complete that in several big ports the authorities have refused to accept any more freight. There are mountains of perishable goods piled up everywhere and the consignees are unable to get their shipments. Factories and mines are closing down as they can either get no raw material or can't find room to store their finished product. And the railroads, though working double crews, are unable to in the least clear the tangle, which grows worse from day to day.

The companies have put many detectives to work as freight handlers in an attempt to catch the saboteurs, but in vain. They are uncatchable. "La Guerre Sociale" contains a warning to the saboteurs to look out for these "mouchards," who can easily be evaded by each "bon bougre" doing his own little piece of sabotage by himself.

Here is an amusing and instructive illustration of the extent of the sabotage, and the class consciousness of the saboteur: Merle Almeraya, one of the editors of "La Guerre Sociale," is in La Sante prison as a result of the railroad strike. A couple of days ago he received a package from a neighboring town. An ordinary package would have spent anywhere from a week to two months on the road, but this one was rushed through in double quick time. Its early arrival is explained by the following legend written by some unknown railroader: "Saboteurs are asked to please consider: the name of the consignee." "La Guerre Sociale" threatens to prosecute all merchants who use this method of getting their shipments plotted through the stings and devious channels of the grand pearled strike tangle.

Yours for the I. W. W. W. Z. FOSTER.

CAUSTIC COMMENTS

By Fipps in "The Tailor"

How noble and christain-like to save the souls of the laborers. And so cheap.

It has been rumored that Dr. Cook on his arrival in New York is to be a candidate for vice president of the Civic Federation in opposition to the "Grand Old Man."

How can a Socialist harmonize with the A. F. of L. and its civic federation? Max Hayes says in the Commoner that there were eighty-six Socialists at the recent A. F. of L. convention. But not one vote was recorded against Samuel Gompers, vice President of the Civic Federation.

"I believe" said Thomas Edison, "that the time is not far distant when they will be able to put a man in cold storage for six months or so, and then warm him up and discharge him from the hospital alive and kicking." He had reference to Dr. Alexis Carrel "ward-surgeon" of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Science.

O! Ye Imbeciles, who have claimed that most commodities could be placed on a shelf, but that commodity labor would become a skeleton if so placed. Now we are to have a multiple cold storage plant for labor's special benefit. The plant to be divided into 110 apartments where all the different crafts affiliated with the A. F. of L. can be shelved or bung up by levels, in dull season. When industry arrives, the boss can send his inspectors to pick out the most likely. In time of strike or election, thaw them out, turn them loose, that they may vote or break strikes for their benevolent masters, that they may again denigrate the brotherhood of capital and labor.

The bolshemakers at work on the Panama Canal presented a petition to President Taft requesting that their wages be increased from 65 cents an hour to 75 cents. They stated to him "that every bolshemakers' heart beat with patriotic pride in the knowledge that they were assisting in this great American enterprise, and that their asking for increase in wages, would have the effect of attracting the better class of American skilled mechan-

ics." Taft said that he was too busy to attend to this little matter, as he had several banquets to attend, but that he would look over it on his trip back to the states. For you know "a man must eat." The men struck. The officers of the union ordered them back to work. All except twenty left for the states, claiming that they were sold out by President Franklin and Vice President Hinman. The other craft unions stayed at work. Such is the beatitude of craft unions, with their sacred contracts.

O, ye union men who have been elected to the different Legislatures, watch and learn from the "Labor Mayor" of San Francisco. Learn how to make friends and votes. Be tolerant, be mild, be easy and don't go around agitating against capital, tho' sinful one. Every one must have some ideal, some leader, some one to look to, succor, and advise. Do not think that thou hast a monopoly on all wisdom, all virtue, all philosophy. There are others. Open before me lies the Daily Commercial News, Nov. 30, 1910. Open shop, Industrial Freedom Supplement and my wandering gaze alights on "Mayor McCarthy Takes a Hand." In what? Does he take a hand in righting the workers' wrongs? No! Does he take a hand in some public improvements? No! Does he take a hand in relieving the distressed? Now we have it, relieving the distressed and soothing the wounded vanity of whom? Pierre N. Berringer, Secretary Citizens' Alliance! Berringer says: "The papers have been full of praise of Mayor McCarthy in the last week, because of his stand in favor of elimination of the restriction of output in his decision in the case of the upholsterers and mattressmakers, and I am pleased to be able to add my feeble congratulations to those of others, who have voiced their sentiments." "He knew that a case had been made by the employers, and he had the manhood and decency to give a decision, no matter what may be said of him hereafter by anyone, was brave and to the point." "The mayor has cast off the shackles of precedent and, in this instance, has emerged as a free American citizen, declaring himself, despite any attempted coercion by written or unwritten laws of labor union, shop rules or the intolerant malignity of those opposed to him on this subject within the union." So! So! Our union A. F. of L. Mayor!

Relieve the distress of Brother Capital. From the Aragonist, another Citizens' Alliance paper, speaking of Mayor McCarthy, says: "He has fraternized with the merchants and bankers at various public functions; he has even been denied by the Aragonist, and by good government clubs to show how they appreciate him and to what extent they rely upon his growing conservatism to help minimize the labor extremists before they gobble the whole thing." The capitalists must have their labor lieutenant, or labor will gobble up the whole thing. See!

UNTERMAYER'S SPEECH

It is some months now since any matter has appeared in Solidarity on Government. In referring to the subject once again, no apology is offered for doing so. The subject is so important that Solidarity can afford to give more space to it, the objection to scolded theoretical articles notwithstanding.

We are told that "the state is gradually extending its control over every economic activity, and is gradually becoming the greatest economic factor in existence."

A great many people believe this doctrine. Samuel Untermeyer, a well known corporation lawyer, and one of the keenest of modern observers, is not among them. He delivered a speech at the recent meeting of the National Civic Federation, in which he relegated the state to a very inferior position as an economic factor.

Discussing the Government's attempts to dissolve the trusts, Mr. Untermeyer said they are here to stay. "The properties and business are there, they belong to the stockholders and there is no way of confiscating them, even if there were a disposition to do so, which there is not."

Mr. Untermeyer's speech is said to have created a "profound impression." Well it may. It is an open declaration proclaiming the rule of the financiers who own the trusts. The state is obsolete and its place taken by our economic overlords. Nothing short of confiscation can dislodge them. There is no disposition to confiscate them; not even on the part of Victor Berger's legal revolution. And so their rule is confirmed by acquiescence; it is a double-riveted fact.

The I. W. W. is the only disintegrator. Read its press 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 trades 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 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.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Published Weekly by the Local Unions of the Industrial Workers of the World in Spokane, Washington.

A Red Hot, Fearless Working Class Paper Represents the Spirit of the West

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"ELEVEN BLIND LEADERS," by B. H. Williams. 32-Page Pamphlet. Price 5 Cents

"WHY THE A. F. OF L. CANNOT BECOME AN INDUSTRIAL UNION," By Vincent St. John. A Four-Page Leaflet, 20c per 100; \$1.50 per 1,000

"UNION SCABS AND OTHERS," by Oscar Ameringer Four-page Leaflet, 20c per 100; \$1.50 per 1,000

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ADDRESS

SOLIDARITY LITERATURE BUREAU

Box 622 NEW CASTLE, PA.

The Industrialist

Official organ of the Industrialist League, the British Section of the Industrial Workers of the World American Subscription Rates: Year, 50 cents; Six Months, 25c. Published Monthly.

Address all communications to, Leslie Boyne, 1 Union St., Union Square, Islington, London N., Eng.

THE AGITATOR

A Worker's Semi-Monthly

Advocate of the Modern School, Industrial Unionism and Individual Freedom

Yearly, \$1; Quarterly 25c; Sample Free

JAY FOX, Editor Lake Bay, Washington

CHANGE OF LOCATION.

The office of Solidarity is now located in the Gillfillian building, at the rear of No. 8 Union Avenue, having been moved from 10 1-2 South Hill street.

LOCALS TAKE NOTICE.

Local 173 of San Francisco wishes to discuss ways and means with other locals through the columns of Solidarity regarding the raising of funds for the sending of a delegate to the International Secretariat.

Hoping we can hear from some other locals in regards to this matter, I am Yours for Industrial Freedom, BERNARD KALBER.

Now is the time to push the circulation of this paper, and spread the industrial union propaganda. Keep in action.

"La Vie Ouvriere"

Semi-Monthly Syndicalist Review Appearing 5th & 20th each month.

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Address all correspondence to Pierre Monatte, Editor, 42 Rue Dauphine, Paris, France.

DULUTH I. W. W.

Local Union No. 68 of the Industrial Workers of the World maintains a healthy Revolutionary quarters and reading room at 907 Michigan Street, Duluth, Minn., for the fr use of working men.

Members of right... and to go... job work... L. W. W... administration... Jan. 10... 152, J. W... propositions... (1) external... and to the next... Secretary of... Buda-Pesth... contribute... of said... that if 100... or 85 the... This local... onate that... rity... SSIG... Secretary... TION... Jan. 21... notify you... king of Lo... the lock... A. Axelson... report... sample and... and trial... considered at... chairman... ce. Sec'y... WORKERS... members of... uprial union... clear, con... heart... G UNION... the social... which refuse... upon the... unionism... this very... ish work... 50 for \$3... UNLU...

THE SHORTER WORK DAY

A Chance For Constructive Propaganda and Concerted Class Action.

We are all agreed upon the importance of an eight hour agitation and the necessity of direct working class union action. But we seem to be afraid to make a move which would enable the workers to act concertedly as a class.

The I. W. W., the A. F. of L. and many unorganized workers have struck in many different places, but very little if anything except the experience has been gained.

In our agitation we lose sight of the essential working class union action in the interest of skirmishes which have proven themselves to be impracticable and ineffective. How long are we going to encourage these small strikes? We cannot, and should not expect to win small strikes. Why? Because we have an organized and well prepared enemy to deal with. In fighting one company or corporation, we are fighting the whole capitalist class.

Are we afraid to set a date for working class action on this eight hour proposition? Concerted action, on the part of the working class, which we have heard emphasized so much lately, is impossible without a date.

We must know why, how, when and where to act. The DATE itself will create a desire in the minds of the workers to know how, and organization and preparation will inevitably follow. Our immediate object should be to get the workers organized for action. In order to get the workers lined up in the I. W. W., we must have an aim which appeals to the average worker. That aim is the eight hour working day, with date for action.

We ought to stop our anti-A. F. of L. anti-employment shark, anti-S. P. and anti-union agitation, and begin a constructive propaganda in the interests of wage workers. There is no doubt that the industrial union sentiment is growing, but the I. W. W. is not growing fast enough. Let us start an intense agitation for the eight hour day, and point out to the workers what the shorter workday would mean to them.

The K. of L. gained its power by 8 hour agitation. The I. W. W. is better fitted than the K. of L. for any other organization ever was to cope with such an important issue. Yes, let us stop howling about what a million and half misled and disorganized workers cannot do, and let us begin to educate 30,000,000 other wage workers concerning what they CAN do through our organization.

Would you like to see the I. W. W. degenerate into an "arm and hammer" knockers' club? If so, go to it; if not, let us profit by our experiences, and change tactics.

I am anti, or against anything capitalistic, but I am not in favor of a special attack upon any capitalistic side show. If we desire to get the workers organized in the I. W. W. we must suggest an aim which reaches the attention and approval of every wage worker, when properly explained. Yours for the 8 hour action day—the 2nd of May, 1919.

E. S. NELSON.

GARMENT WORKERS' STRIKE

(Continued From Page One)

claimed 180,000 followers, among the different nationalities. For the first time in the strike a cry was raised for increased wages and regulation of hours."

Socialist Press Again Divided.

All other capitalist papers had similar reports. The two socialist papers, "Dziennik Ludowy," Polish, and "Sprawiedliwost," Bohemian, reported in full the cause of the separation of thousands from the grip of the labor fakers. The "Daily Socialist" again took the side of the fakers, so much so that the three daily Polish capitalist and catholic papers quoted verbatim the Daily Socialist, and commented on the reports as truly representing respectable "socialism," while the Dziennik Ludowy was denounced as representing a brand of socialism that have no place in this glorious land of liberty.

A day after the first conference the firm of Hart, Schaffner & Marx and other firms received copies of the proposed demands from a disinterested party. Through the same party, answer was given that all demands would be acceptable except the abolition of piecework in all shops. The demands were modified to meet this objection which, according to the clothing workers, had some foundation in fact.

The report that the biggest firm, with 11,000 workers involved, was ready to negotiate on terms suggested by the workers, and not by labor leaders, spread like wildfire. All that was needed was to get the committees of each nationality together to prove that they, and not any disinterested official of either the Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago Trades Union League, or the United German Workers,

represented the workers on strike.

Labor Skates Pack Conference.

But the leaders got wind of all that had transpired. On Friday, Jan. 18, a bunch of over 30 new delegates, all either cutters or from the halls occupied by the Jewish workers swarmed into the meeting place of the conference. Under the pretext that their exclusion from the conference board would be construed by the Jewish workers as a manifestation of "antisemitism," they gained admission to the conference. For five hours these elements obstructed all plans of proceeding with the election of committees, and by parliamentary tricks to which the others were not accustomed, they managed to have all action postponed pending the approval of the demands of the conference and these thousands of workers by the Chicago Federation of Labor. And the same time while these elements were hollering themselves hoarse in their efforts to force a delay the officers of the United German Workers and the Chicago Federation of Labor were in conference in a hotel with Hart, Schaffner & Marx, framing up a deal whereby a complete victory was to be turned into the most disgraceful betrayal ever recorded in the annals of the labor movement.

Sunday morning, all capitalist papers had "extra" out with the announcement that the strike was settled under an arbitration agreement signed with the officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor and the United German Workers.

Indignation meetings with thousands in attendance were held in the principal halls. In Hodecarriers' Hall, the main meeting, the labor leaders had to call for the police to escort them out of the meeting. But I. Haskins, general auditor of the United German Workers, before leaving the meeting announced that the Jews who had accepted the "agreement" signed by the U. G. W., (shallow promises to arbitrate all grievances after the return of all workers) should and will return to work, and the other mob would be compelled to follow" (exact words).

For 14 weeks all efforts of the capitalist press and other instruments of the exploiters had been unable to break the wonderful solidarity of the workers. But the fakers had to deliver the goods, even if they had to divide the workers into two hostile camps.

All the while, thousands of workers, when they had heard about the propositions of better wages, shorter hours and improvement in working conditions made by the conference, again left the shops after they had returned to work driven by want and privation in the belief that the strike was lost. They had gained no courage, and it is admitted that the halls during any strike had never been better filled than when the "conference committee" had formulated the demands of the workers for better shop conditions. This more than any other thing had forced Hart, Schaffner & Marx to look for a termination of the struggle.

The Stragic End.

Monday morning witnessed the tragic end. All Jewish workers with the exception of about 500 had returned to work. The strikers in the morning found on all halls, the notice: "No meetings; closed by order of strike committee." The relief stores were closed, except the Jewish district. When committees of enraged workers went to see the officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor, they were told that if the workers would not return to work their places would be filled by union members from other cities. This was also announced in the organ of Hart Schaffner & Marx, the Record-Herald of Jan. 17.

All appeals for a chance to discuss the situation to ascertain the feeling of the outraged rank and file fell on deaf ears, derision and sneers met delegations of Poles, Bohemians, Lithuanians and Lithuanians. In this emergency the "conference committee" had to meet and take action. The strike was broken, and in spite of resolutions adopted in a previous week in almost all meetings, that if the strike is declared off it be done so in all shops, the fakers demanded that the workers in the other concerns affected by the strike should continue to stay out.

In a full meeting of the "conference board" the delegates adopted the following resolution:

Owing to the fact that the Chicago Federation of Labor and the United German Workers of America, by their arbitrary and contemptible action, have broken the backbone of the strike, and as it is evident that from the money contributed by all classes of workers to the support of the strikers, no more is to be used for the purpose for which it had been collected, and the strikers' council must be addressed "reduced" (one or in care of him).

SOLIDARITY

who would refuse to turn back to work would be filled by others whom the U. G. W. would reject; therefore

The Joint Conference of Bohemian, Polish, Slavic, Lithuanian, Italian, and part of the Jewish Workers recommends that all these workers who should decide to return to work in the shops of Hart, Schaffner & Marx should first deposit their names and addresses with a secretary elected by each of the nationalities, and agree to attend any meeting that may be called by this conference board, with the object of perfecting and continuing the organization of clothing workers on industrial lines.

Other halls were rented, and the resolutions read. But the stampede back to work in other shops could not be averted. Workers tore up their union cards, cursed and damned the fakers, but no power on earth could save these traitors.

Still the committee of the "strikers' Conference" went to see all other employees. They were received by the president of the "strikers' association." He agreed to call a meeting of all members, and personally assured the committee selected by the strikers that he would grant all the demands of the conference committee. Next day the committee was to receive the answer from all other manufacturers.

But this again was against the plans of the great Chicago Federation of Labor and the United German Workers. A settlement with other firms than Hart, Schaffner & Marx was to be averted. On Jan. 18, the committee of fakers, busy as never before, in Walsh Hall, before a crowd of 258 out of a total of over 4,000 still on strike, Mr. Samuel Landers, general organizer, announced to the crowd that the relief stores would be opened again, with plenty of meat and other good things, if the Poles would only be good against the "conference board." The great socialist leader, who defended W. D. Hayward of the W. F. of M. for nothing, would serve as arbitrator for the clothing workers, free of charge. That Hart Schaffner & Marx would open an old shop with 4,000 additional employees, that is, those who would not get work in the other firms, because of the two principal competitors of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, was: Kuppenheimer with 6,000 employees, and Hirsch-Wickshire with 3,500 employees, would be placed under boycott, and Hart, Schaffner & Marx would help the U. G. W. to send out organizers who would boost the goods of that firm and drive-all the goods of Kuppenheimer, and Hirsch-Wickshire out of the market."

Since then the Chicago Tribune, Record-Herald and Examiner have reported that the boycott against the two firms has been declared, and that the committee of the American Federation of Labor would go on the road to boost the goods of Hart, Schaffner & Marx.

When the committee of Bohemians and of Italians called on the Chicago Federation of Labor they were told that relief would only be given if all committees were organized, and organizers would be recalled, and all members of the "conference committee," organized under the direction of Hayward and Trautmann, be reeducated. Lies about Trautmann which had already been refuted, were printed in all capitalist papers. Meanwhile the workers in the other shops were flocking back to work by the thousands. There had been no new developments since; but more about this in another column.

W. E. TRAUTMANN.

"SACRED" CRAFT AUTONOMY

(Continued From Page One)

per wagon drivers, to turn said drivers over to our International. Inasmuch as no conference had ever been held between the drivers and the fakers, the convention instructed President Gompers to call a conference of the parties interested, and endeavor to bring about a settlement between us. We might say here that no settlement can be made other than the turning over to our organization of the drivers now in the organizations named herein.

Your delegates decided to leave the question of jurisdiction between ourselves and the Brewery Workers remain as it is, and it so remains, inasmuch as we now have jurisdiction over teamsters employed in breweries in the future; also that any brewery teamsters who desire to affiliate with our organization can do so and must not be discriminated against by the Brewery Workers for affiliating with us. This is the decision rendered in Minneapolis, and this decision still stands. We did not believe that we could improve on the situation at this time, and inasmuch as we had several other matters of importance coming before the convention, such as changing our title, etc., we did not, and neither did the Brewery Workers, bring in the question of jurisdiction in any shape or manner.

Signed: Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Huger, William Neer, Anton Herman, Lawrence A. Greer, delegates.

CHANGE IN SAN DIEGO:

Local 13, I. W. W., of San Diego, Cal., has removed its headquarters and reading room from 834 Fourth St. We will be located in new hall in new day, and will let you know the address. Meanwhile all communications for Local No. 13 (or to any membership) of the local must be addressed "reduced" (one or in care of him).

WHO OWNS THE SHERIFF?

A Recent Confession Answers the Question in Westmoreland County.

A special telegram from Greensburg, Westmoreland county, Pa., to the Pittsburg Gazette Times Jan. 30 states that Sheriff J. E. Shields made a sweeping denunciation of the employment of deputies to defend the miners and the property of the coal companies during the coal strike, when he went on the witness stand this afternoon. The attorneys for Controller John D. Hitchman asked a few questions in reference to matters that occurred at the last session of the hearing on Wednesday.

"Sheriff, have you got those check book stubs?" asked Attorney Hitchman.

"No, sir," replied Shields.

"You will not produce them?" "I will not produce them," replied the sheriff, "for I do not know where they are."

Shields testified that he entered into private contracts with the coal companies for putting on a force of deputies large enough to protect their property, which he said was done at West Newton to Blairsville. He said all coal companies operating in Westmoreland county had deputies except H. C. Crick Coke Co. and the Atlantic Crushed Coal Co. He testified that he did not furnish deputies for any of the mines of the Pittsburg Coal Co. He said he had 400 men in the field at one time and during the strike he had about 3,000 different men strike as deputies.

County Bore No Expenses.

When asked who stood the expense of getting these deputies to their fields of labor and who equipped them, the sheriff said:

"The county was not put to one penny of expense. I paid all traveling expense and equipment. Deputies went on duty at my direction, and I told them to do their duty, keep peace and protect the property and I would stand behind them. The contracts I had with the companies saved the county a heavy indebtedness."

A sharp spot was touched upon when Mr. Robbins opened up the subject of other strikes in Westmoreland county. Sheriff Shields told about other strikes he had furnished deputies for in the county during his term. When asked to compare this strike with others he had passed through in point of wages, he said:

"At Janettone and New Kensington we had a pay and \$5.50 a day to get men to serve. The new strike is the most violent the county has ever had. Fourteen men were killed; there were many riots, and labor parades were held daily, all of which were to the detriment of the county."

Companies Own Him \$13,000.

Robbins then opened up the question of whether or not the sheriff had placed any of the companies in the position, as alleged, where they were forced to go to him for deputies to protect their property and that he charged them exorbitantly for the services. The sheriff replied:

"I furnished deputies to each coal company as the companies suggested. When they wanted more men I put them on, and when they wanted the force reduced I did so."

The sheriff testified that at the first of the year there were only about 40 men doing deputy duty.

The sensational development of the case on Friday occurred near the close of that session when Sheriff Shields, at request of Mr. Robbins, produced his accounts to show just what the coal companies owe him. It shows a total of \$13,001.98, distributed as follows: Latrobe-Connellville, \$5,600; Westmoreland, \$1,800; Penn Gas, \$2,700; Manor Gas, \$1,550; Youghiogheny & Ohio, \$500; Loyalhans, \$529; Shenango, \$1,182; Export Coal Company, \$809.

Sheriff Shields said that he had paid the deputies for their services and that the companies have not paid him. Robbins then raised the question with the controller as to who should be paid these sums, and if the coal companies would come to the county ready to settle what they would settle for.

Other accounts produced by the sheriff showed what he had spent for arms and ammunition. This made a total of \$3,925 for revolvers, masses, ammunition and supplies. The sheriff said he had purchased \$1,600 worth of these supplies. Here was another point that Mr. Robbins raised as to who should settle these bills.

KEEPING UP THE FIGHT

(Continued From Page One)

for a monster mass meeting, either in Cooper Union or Grand Central Palace. It will be held under the auspices of the I. W. W., the Italian Socialist Federation, and other progressive labor organizations. The list of speakers includes all nationalities. In addition, a 20,000 issue of "Il Proletario," the Italian weekly, containing articles by Joseph J. Ettor, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and others, will be distributed in order to advance the mass meeting and the I. W. W.

Boss Don't Want Shop Taken From Him.

The literature on the I. W. W. show workers' class is accumulating. The latest contribution is a letter sent to shoe

"Emancipation"
 Official Organ of the
 Franco-Belgian Federation of I. W. W.
 3 months 15c 6 months 30c,
 1 year \$1.00
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dealers by the bosses. It is as follows:
 "Raymond Healy, President.
 "T. F. Martin, Vice President.
 "S. B. Tooker, Sec. Treasurer.
KRIEGER SHOE COMPANY,
 "Manufacturers of Women's, Misses' and
 Children's Turned Shoes, 245 and
 287 Jay St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 "Dear Sir—We enclose a copy of the
 preamble of the Industrial Workers of the
 World, an organization which is opposed to
 both employer and trades unions alike,
 having for their object to get control of
 manufacturing and to dictate their own
 terms. Their agitators have recently or-
 ganized most of the launders of New York,
 and their demands are so unreasonable that
 it would be suicidal for any manufacturer
 to attempt to treat with them, as they
 could with the cutters, Goddard operators
 and other like unions. In some shops they
 have walked out two and three times in
 one week after their demands had been
 granted each time. In other shops they
 demanded an increase greater than the
 total profit on the shoes produced.
 "Realizing that if we did not crush this
 organization it would mean a large advance
 in the price of shoes, together with inferior
 workmanship, we have decided to protect our
 trade at any cost. We are the only manu-
 facturer to date that has been entirely suc-
 cessful and we are pleased to inform our
 trade that the prices and quality will re-
 main the same. Our competitors have
 the situation in hand that there will be no
 trouble in the future.
 "Attention is now being directed to the
 less fortunate than ourselves. We would
 seek your assistance and indulgence in
 their behalf, so that this organization will
 be driven out of business.
 "Very truly yours,
"KRIEGER SHOE COMPANY."
 This company is hunting shoes, going to
 Lestershire, N. Y., 200 miles away, for
 them, without any such is the truth of
 its claims about being "entirely suc-
 cessful."
 The following is also a literary contribu-
 tion. But of another and different kind:
 "To the Striking Boot and Shoe Workers
 of Brooklyn, N. Y.:"
 "Whereas, The boot and shoe workers
 of Brooklyn, N. Y., are waging a strike
 against conditions which cannot be borne;
 and,
 "Whereas, In this strike the boot and
 shoe workers of the I. W. W. have to en-
 counter not only the usual difficulties of star-
 tation, violence, etc., but the additional
 weapon of a scab labor union, supported
 and conducted by the employers; and,
 "Whereas, In the conduct of this strike
 the boot and shoe workers are our repre-
 sentatives on the firing line of the class
 struggle; therefore, be it
 "Resolved, That we, the members of
 the National Miners' Union, No. 254, of
 the Western Federation of Miners, do
 hereby direct the financial secretary of this
 union to take the sum of \$50 from the
 treasury and send it, with a copy of this
 resolution to the proper officers of the
 striking boot and shoe workers.
 "E. H. CONNOLLY,
 "Sec. Local 254, W. F. of M."
 "Go thou and do likewise."
BROOKLYNIAN.

LECTURE COURSE IN NEW YORK
 New York, Jan. 29.
 The lecture committee of Local 179 of
 the I. W. W. in New York has asked me
 to write and have I now announce their
 lecture course in Solidarity. The course
 begins with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn on
 Tuesday, January 31, at 444 Willis Ave.
 under the subject "The New Unionism."
 The local will also have a concert and
 ball on Sunday, March 5, 3 p. m., at 705-
 710 Courtland Ave., between 154th and
 155th Streets, for the benefit of the strik-
 ing shoe workers of Brooklyn. Further
 announcements of the entertainment will
 be made later.
 Yours fraternally,
KATHERINE FLYNN.