

SOLIDARITY

EASTERN ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD: J. J. Ector, Chas. Seurlock, C. H. Axelton, Francis Miller, George S. P.

WATCH FOR YOUR NUMBER: Each subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the wrapper

CLEVELAND IS THE NEXT: The Cleveland "Press" of April 3, announces with big headlines, the "Employers are Planning to Make Cleveland an Open Shop Town"

Although we are compelled per force to pass up these "patriotic and benevolent" motives of the employers, regarding such statements as a cloud to conceal the brutal and deadly fangs of material interest

It would be both senseless and reactionary to deplore this move of the bosses, or to rush to the defense of the craft unions as such

It is the day, overthrowing a arrogance and laying before a fall

dom" for themselves alone. But they forget, or do not know, that the real labor movement is aiming at the same thing for the working class alone

"Open-shopping" Cleveland means, then, to wipe out the separate divisions in the ranks of the working class, and to assist in the process of welding the workers into one homogeneous mass of "common, unskilled, machine labor"

The irrefutable sweep of social evolution has overtaken and is about to brush aside forever the craft form and methods of labor organization

CONVENTION ON MAY FIRST

I have been instructed to inform you that Local Union No. 84, St. Louis, endorses the resolutions passed by L. U. 85, Chicago, on March 27, favoring the holding of the I. W. W. convention on May 1, etc.

St. Louis, Mo., April 6. M. ROBERTSON, Sec'y 84. Vancouver, B. C., April 3.

That Local Unions 45 and 322 endorse the resolution of L. U. 85, I. W. W., Chicago, Ill., regarding the Sixth annual convention of the I. W. W. May 1, 1911.

Spokane, Wash., April 4.

The joint locals of Spokane, in regular joint business meeting assembled, Monday, April 3, 1911, drew up and approved the following notification: "We, the members of the Spokane joint locals in regular business meeting assembled, DEMAND that the Sixth annual convention of the I. W. W. shall be held on May first, as has been provided for, and that there shall be no postponement to any other date, and also we wish to voice our unalterable opposition to any such sum as \$500 being expended on railway fares and wages for members of the General Executive Board."

MASTERS OF YOUR DESTINY!

Come, workmen, and raise the Industrial Standard high Why should a few enjoy the wealth for which you toil and die? And with your horny hands uphold the flag you have unfurled! You are masters of your destiny, you Workers of the World. Come on! Come on! Come on! You men of brains and brawn, And stand by one another, Come on, Come on! Come on! Unite! Unite! and in the fight let many be as one. Combine your strength and claim your own. Come on! Come on! Come on! Too long you've humbly bowed the neck beneath the yoke of greed, your sinews' substance wasted, while your children cried in need. Self-styled Industrial Captains, reap the harvest you have sown. Arise! Arise! You Workmen, arise! and claim your own. Supporters of a ruling class and kings on tattering thrones They brand as Anarchists a few who bravely in the van Of Industrial Progression strive to free their fellow man. Come, resist your own tyrants, round the Standard of your cause! Destroy the selfish system, reap all unjust laws, Nor hold your hand until King Gold has from his throne been hurled, For you're masters of your destiny, you Workers of the World.

SHALL WE GROW, OR SHALL WE WITHER?

The "Anti-Political" in the I. W. W.

The below communication comes to Solidarity from Omaha, Nebraska. In publishing same, we withhold the author's name, as he does not state that it is intended for publication:

"It seems as though the article in the last issue of Solidarity (No. 7) by Foster, will start many workers to thinking on the subject. However, your editorial this week (No. 8) was so good."

"It is the same old cry, 'the leaders' or 'misleaders' as the case may be. Do we devote our time and energy simply in showing up our comrades, like Fitzpatrick, etc., or are they but incidents, while it is a principle we attack—that is, the craft form of organization? Likewise, do we attack the Daily Socialists and the little 'Nels' in this country, as misleaders? According to you, that seems to be our mission. The fact is, they are only tools, and the principle remains untouched by you editorially. That principle is, that the interests of labor are anti-political—anti-statist."

"We have had our DeLeon, but that was child's play compared with the politicians in the S. P. in the struggle that is to come."

"Today, the worker has arrived at a stage where he demands that his whole stage of his organization stay out of the Civic Federation. Why? Because his interests are anti-Civic Federationist. So we will assume that your attitude toward the political state of capital, for similar reasons."

"You say you would not knowingly compromise your position, and yet you have tacitly endorsed the political action theory by circulating an arm in arm with a magazine that is financially attached to a political party's magazine that says the S. P. is a representative working class organization, advising the workers to join that party which has faked and misled and betrayed him at every opportunity; a party in absolute control of the political action theory in modern society; a magazine whose only object in the labor movement is to get a following large enough and then, like Guesde in France, if it cannot make a voting machine out of it (the I. W. W.), disrupt it, la Neil."

"You may look for many S. P. papers in the near future doing the same thing. God put the working class organization that gets into their clutches."

Yours for the Revolution,

If the above letter were an isolated case, we should pay no attention to it. But we venture the assertion that it will call forth a considerable chorus of answers from different sections of the working class. For that reason, while deploring the necessity of doing so, we propose to deal with it at considerable length. First of all, permit the editor of Solidarity to state briefly his personal position. He holds no brief for the Socialist or any other political party. He has never been a member of that party or had a desire at any time to join it. He is a student and onlooker prior to that party's activity in the labor movement dates from the formation of the I. W. W., and so far as his intellectual ability goes, has been devoted solely to thinking and working for the upbuilding of the industrial movement. He believes firmly, moreover, that the course of time that "industrial movement"—that is, the economic organization of the working class—will unify all the now divergent ideas and elements in the labor movement, which at present are divided through doctrinal, scholastic, craft union, and political party and socialistic expressions to the labor movement through the ONE CLASS ORGANIZATION of the toilers. For that reason his grand and purpose are centered primarily on getting a foothold for the industrial union—the economic organization—that will eventually develop all those possibilities.

Our Omaha correspondent evidently believes the same thing. But there is apparently this difference: That while the editor of Solidarity is firmly decided not to ignore or shut his eyes to the facts and conditions now before the working class movement, our friend on the contrary appears to want to do the opposite and attempt a blind leap into the unbridled chasm, only to fall into the ditch.

The central fact or principle we cannot ignore except at our peril, is the fact of social evolution, which is not a dogmatic and simple process, but often a slow, painful and tortuous course of human development with the wrongs of social experiments esterred in the way.

The labor movement in this country (and in all countries for that matter) is ruled by the diverse ideas and the different social institutions above enumerated. The I. W. W., the Socialist Party, church, state, school, craft union and political party must be considered first of all in the aggregate, and not as our correspondents seem to do, as a factor, and entering his imagination upon that alone. How shall the I. W. W. overcome the DIVIDING influences of all these institutions and instruments of capitalist society? All are subversive of that society. All are working, though some of them unconsciously, perhaps, under the

direction and genius of the ruling class, to the end of keeping labor divided in thought and action. They must then be considered as a whole, and the influence of all of them on the labor movement must be done away with simultaneously.

How? The answer is, of course, the solution: By organizing industrially, to build the structure of the new society (made possible by social evolution) within the shell of the old. In other words, by bringing the working class together on the only possible COMMON ground—the ground of economic interests. So the "Preamble" further states that "the army of production must be organized not only for the everyday struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown."

That EVERYDAY struggle not only includes shop conflicts over wages, hours of toil and conditions, but also the struggle with the above mentioned institutions used against labor, by the ruling class. The assumption here, (and it cannot be disputed), is that by centering the workers' attention upon the ground of their material interests, they will tend to draw away their minds from the dividing influences above enumerated. That, then, is the central principle of industrial unity, and in accord with the central principle of social evolution.

Otherwise, the economic interpretation of history is an illusion, and there is no meaning to the phrase, "working class unity." It is, in fact, a mere tag put together on the basis of creed, dogma or sect; but only on the basis of material or economic interests.

The foregoing statement of general principles, bringing to mind another fact that we cannot ignore—the fact of working class psychology. The traditions of past generations weigh like an Alp upon the brood of the living. We are the product of the environmental influences of our ancestors, and those influences are sometimes most difficult to break away from, despite the changed environment of modern wage slavery.

As a consequence, we find the working class in mental evolution far behind the industrial and social conditions in which it moves and has it being as a wage slave class. The working class as such is still prey to the besetting traditions of "religion," "nationalism," "politics," etc., which some of us (our correspondent among others) think we have emancipated ourselves from. We, then, aim to bridge that chasm; to wipe out those traditions. How shall we do it? Again, only by taking advantage of evolutionary social forces to our own economic organization on the rock of working class interests, which alone will remove those traditions and their consequences.

To the end of building the economic organization, we I. W. W. men must avoid the first fatal mistake of our Omaha friend. That is, the FEAR that the Socialist Party or the politicians will capture the I. W. W. mere by the use of a voting machine. We must boldly take our stand on the ground that the revolutionary industrial movement is fully capable of dealing successfully from stage to stage with all the forces of reaction clean up to the last stronghold of capitalism. Otherwise we are lost. Because to FEAR any one or all the elements that are supporting capitalism, and thereby attacking us, is to recede before our revolutionary task, separate ourselves from the working class (now controlled by these elements) and to shut ourselves out of the very center of the battle. In that event no one will consider it worth while trying to "capture" us. Least of all will the workers be attracted to our organization.

That is the logical outcome of the "anti-political," "anti-religious," and "anti-everything" attitude that some of our members are assuming as the basis of their I. W. W. propaganda. It is a retrograde program in worse form if possible of the "political" sectarianism that the Fourth convention set its broad foot upon. Here is how it works: A meets B. The former "don't believe in political action," and carries that negative belief as a chip on his shoulder. B still believes in voting and is willing to argue the question with A. They lock horns and butt each other with mutual iminations and re-imitations, until the onlookers whose interest at least tells them that this is not the essential I. W. W. question, become disgusted and leave the union, just as did the "raw recruits" during the days of S. P. and S. L. P. wrangling in the I. W. W. In this case, the "anti-political" is left alone in the organization, because he is the more fanatical and therefore, cocksure of his "position." But the mass of the workers are not so cocksure, and will side, as long as such an absurdly retrograde is the main stock in trade of I. W. W. men.

Coming down to the specific case of our Omaha correspondent, we find striking illustration of the above contentions. His intense prejudice against the Socialist Party as an organization betraying itself not only in language, but also in his jumping at conclusions without stopping to consider facts. For instance, speaking of our editorial in answer to Schweitzer in No. 6, he says: "According to you, it seems to be our mission to attack 'misleaders,' etc. No such conclusion is warranted either by the editorial in question or by a perusal of the general contents of Solidarity. We started No. One not one of our saps has been devoted to attacking misleaders of labor."

The other nine-tenths or more have been used to illustrate the principle of industrial action. They must then be considered as a whole, and the influence of all of them on the labor movement must be done away with simultaneously.

Because principles have no meaning unless embodied in men. The individual, the group, the party, the union, the class, illustrate their guiding principles by their actions. In no other way can we determine the nature of a principle and its effects upon other principles which we seek to make clearer. To attack the principles of craft unionism, then, we must reveal them in action. One of these craft union principles most harmful to the labor movement at this stage of capitalist development is the principle of "leadership." How can we better save the I. W. W. from such possible leadership, than by educating the working class to an understanding of the miners' concrete illustration of craft union traitorous leaders? Our friend furnishes us a capital illustration in his reference to the Civic Federation. How did the miners come to decide that their interests were anti-Civic Federationist? except by watching the antics of their former president, John Mitchell, and other labor leaders in the C. F. But, even at that the action of the U. M. W. A. convention at Columbus, shows that the miners have yet something to learn along that line. They have yet to learn that forcing Mitchell to resign from the Civic Federation in order to retain his membership in the Miners' Union, does not make him any less a tool of their enemy. More lessons in "leadership" are required to complete the miners' education. It is of course not our sole mission, but is a part of it, and a very necessary part, too. Hence our attack upon misleaders.

The same thing holds true of so-called "working class politicians." And by the way, we call attention of our readers to our Omaha fellow worker's strange and simple "contradiction" of "politicians." After inquiring if it is "our mission to attack misleaders" he launches into a violent and sweeping attack on the S. P. politicians generally, in its attack on the Socialist politicians, has simply caught them "with the goods," illustrating with their actions the principle of compromise and double dealing as well as outright treachery against the workers that is inevitable with a successful playing of the "parliamentary game," and still more with an intense desire to that they may get to the top. And those attacks are positive, have cut to the quick, and there has been no comeback. To our certain knowledge, numbers of Socialist workers have had their eyes opened by them. And we are sure that it will go still farther, to a complete understanding of the real illusion (as we believe it to be) of parliamentarism. Thus, while the positive attitude, of the "working class elements of the working class" in which they live and breathe. We must have shocked some of them, and driven away some of the popular leaders of them. But we have convinced a large, compelling many of the younger set. Worth to think. And that, too, in spite of a conspiracy of silence regarding the success of the other side of the 10 to 15 press. On the other hand, men who are as do our correspondent have furnished the politicians with arguments against them. We must protect Solidarity's readers, a position we dare not place ourselves in.

Now we come to the most amusing of our friend's letter—his reference to the clubbing offer of Solidarity with "magazine," the International Socialist Review. According to our fellow worker's logic, we tacitly endorse the "other program" by our efforts to place Solidarity in the hands of some of the Review's readers! What a mental child, prejudice makes of some of us! It's that old FEAR again. We must protect Solidarity's readers from the Review; it might lead them astray. But most of the S. P. papers are wise enough in their own generation to see it the other way; they have, so far, protected their readers from a knowledge of the existence of Solidarity. And the reason is above given. The Review offers us a chance to put in the willingly take that chance; we should like to reach the hearts of those 40,000 readers, most of whom are workers nearly as intelligent as the editor of Solidarity and our Omaha correspondent. In this case, the "anti-political" is as ready as if we believed the Review to be. We must reach the working class with our propaganda, at least if we hope workers may be reached through this clubbing offer with the Review. Have no fear, Solidarity will hand out the dope to them.

We invite our correspondent to think this matter over CAREFULLY. When he has done so, we are satisfied that he will drop his narrow and shortsighted point of view, and will be sending in combination with all the Review readers, a copy of his article in Omaha. We want to talk to them and all other workers we can get in contact with, straight from the shoulder. We have no fear of the outcome. The principle of industrial unity is a channel over all difficulties and obstacles in its development. Guided by sane methodic tactics, its triumph will be assured. Agitate for the 8-hour day!

INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

from the "Bulletin International.")

Revolutionary Syndicalist Press.

towards the end of April a paper, "ATAILLE, the organ of the French... organization, will appear. In... it has been distributed all... country, the provincial board... stration explains the urgent neces-... of our daily paper. "We see... day a organizing and educative... misrepresented, hampered and even... by the action of the bourgeois... This danger is all the greater dur-... strikes when the press regularly takes... part of the employers. The political... looks upon the events from its par-... mentary point of view. Not a single... per defends the interests of the stri-... the working classes. We must have... own paper. When the workers will... are their organ, syndicalism will be in-... dependent from the capitalist and political... press."

What concerns the necessary funds the... circular states that great sympathy from... the side of the trade-unions has been... shown and sufficient sums have been... granted to begin the publication in a few... weeks. The organizers think that 100,000... francs will be sufficient to organize... and issue the paper, and to guarantee its... existence at least for a year; to raise the... money three ways: by subscription; by... of 25 francs each; subscriptions; voluntary... contributions.

A Threatening International Miners Strike

The International Miners' Committee... will meet on the 14th and 15th of April... in Aix-la-Chapelle (Rhine province, Ger-... many) to consider the situation of the... German Miners' Federation in regard to... the mining companies and the possible... conflict. The Committee will also fix... the program of the International congress... which will be held in London on White... Sunday, June 5, and following days. The... Belgians and Frenchmen have decided to... put on the program of the congress the... question of what must be indicated. Shares... to realize the claims of the miners' union... and the General Strike.

Employers' Boycott of Ports.

The Weekly Bulletin of the International... Federation of Transport Workers (13... March) states that the International... Shipping Federation has ordered its mem-... bers to find out which ports have a bad... reputation concerning delay in loading and... unloading vessels. Based on this inquiry... the shipowners have drawn up a list... of ports which they will evade to... the interest there has been a strong trade-... unionist view is considered a factor of... of situation. So, from shipowners'... point of view, Genoa is the worst port in... the world because the workers are orga-... nized strongly and exercise an enor-... mous influence on the situation of the port... Dankeque considered even for small... vessels, often strike even for small... causes, being the vessels to wait. The... there are also sidem supported by... American. Finally, the members of... are mostly local shopkeepers. The... action again shows how neces-... sary for the portworkers of all na-... tions to unite and to be able to face their arrogant... masters.

Italian Railways.

Italian railway workers have won... government that if on March 23rd... are not received the situation of the... unions which have been made in-... mised they will be obliged to ob-... struct all lines. We do not yet know if... action has actually begun, but those... if once started, are sure to develop... in a short time.

National Union Agitation in Australia.

The "Socialist" of Melbourne, speaks of... the active propaganda of Industrial Union-... ism carried on by the comrades there. It... continues: "Our speakers, when visiting... unions, should emphasize the fact that... Industrial Unionism aims at making the... workers' organizations owners and con-... trollers of all industry, and therefore aims... at the Social Revolution." A vigorous at-... tack should also be made upon the Govern-... ment's Ways Board and Arbitration... method of settling disputes.

The power of common action can be... secured by glancing back to the Broken Hill... municipal strike, which took place shortly... after the big lock-out. The Mayor sacked... four employees of the council. The men... hold that the reasons for this are not... municipal. The four men were socialists. The... municipal employees met on Saturday... night, and announced that unless the men... were re-instated by Monday morning... the union would strike. On Monday... the employees in that particular section... were firm and refused to work. Word was... sent to the abattoir and the electric... power plant, both of which are controlled... by the municipality, and the men there... joined their fellow workers on strike.

Thus, when the Mayor arrived at the... Townhall on Monday morning, the state... of affairs which he had to face was this:... The municipal carter had not gone to... work; the employees on the road works... were idle; the source from which the... most supply of the town, as like as... these, were paralyzed; the Rates... closed. The clerks in that of-... fice as well as those of the Office... on opened up for the day. The... were not opened; the daily... were not to be seen—even the

lady librarian had stopped at home!

The four men were re-instated before... 10 o'clock on the first morning of the... strike. Thus one of the most effective... strikes was conducted—effective because... of the recognition on the part of the work-... ers that their interests were common, and... the concentration of the force of the... workers upon a win for a section.

Enclosed a leaflet from the I. W. W.... entitled, "The Structure of the Industrial... System."

INDUSTRIAL VICTIMS IN N. Y.

Cyrus W. Phillips, chairman of the... Committee on Causes of Industrial Acci-... dents, New York Liability Commission, in... a speech last Thursday gave the following... statistics regarding accidents in New York... State:

"The recent fire, by reason of the fact... that the appalling loss of life, occurred... at one time and at the same place, aroused... public attention to the danger and hazards... of modern industrial life. Yet this loss of... life is but a small part of the mortality... and bodily injuries due to industrial acci-... dents which go comparatively unnoticed. More... than twice as many workers are killed... each year in the factories of this State... outside of the City of New York, reaches... nearly twice the number of those who... lost their lives in the fire.

For the year ending September 30, last... 25,390 accidents were reported to the... Department of Labor as occurring in factor-... ies, mines and quarries. Of these 353... were fatal, 2,410 resulted in permanent... and serious and probably permanent... During the same year the reports to the... Public Service Commission of the... First Department showed 9,484 accidents to... employees of common carriers, gas and... electric companies, while the reports of... the Public Service Commission of the... Second District for the same period showed... 2,900 accidents to employees of common... carriers, 257 of which were fatal. On Sep-... tember 30 last the building trades com-... menced reporting their accidents under... law passed last winter, and these reports... for the three months showed about 2,500... accidents nearly one-half of these occurred... in excavating work, and more than one... half occurred in public works, such as the... Aqueduct and Barge Canal."

FROM A WEALTHY MANUFACTURER

To His Son Who is Superintendent of a Small Plant.

Dear Son—
Your letter received and the contents... of same perused with much interest. I am... very glad to note that you are taking my... advice in regards to getting some noted re-... vivalist to speak to your employees so that... their thoughts may be guided back into safe... and sane channels.
I also note what you say in regard to the... men still feeling restless. That is to be... expected. It is really strange that your... employees, after listening to the unanswer-... able arguments handed out by those I. W. W. men, do not rise up and take control... of the plant at once. They have the power... but we must not let ourselves be lulled in-... to too great a feeling of security. Deep... down in the breast of every worker there... lies the spirit of discontent and this spirit... only needs to be fanned into flame and it... will rise up and bring down about our ears... the whole network of the system that we... have so carefully built up. Some day or... other these workers will be found to see... their own strength and we can only state... this day as long as possible.
I note that you have discharged those I. W. W. men. Be sure that you have got... them out for one of them can do more... of our ledger than fifty revivalists can do... to restore the balance.
Now don't expect too much from the... visit of your revivalist. The only good... that he can do us will be at best of short... duration. The slaves will be content for... a short time and then the period of reaction... will set in and we will have to have all... our wits about us at that time. The most... beneficial result that I hope for, is the... possibility that some of these men who are... imbued with this I. W. W. propaganda... will become disgusted with the goody-goody... aspect of the visit, and will take on new... fields of endeavor. This is one of their... great weaknesses. They soon become dis-... gusted with unproductive feeds and leave... where by remaining they could soon turn... a conservative community into a hotbed... of radical ideas and actions.
I suppose that by the time this letter... reaches you, you will have your revival... meetings well under way. I will await... with much interest your report of their... successes.
Keep an eye on the movement of your... men in their leisure hours. Find out if they... are reading books that will tend to make... their thinking, and be sure and notify me at... once if any new developments turn up.

Your father,
J. D. WORKEMAARD.

Send in the subs.

A WAY TO ORGANIZE

A good way to organize on the job would... surely be to go in bunches. A bunch of... 10, 15 or 20 I. W. W. men would un-... doubtedly have a considerable amount of... influence on the job among one or two... hundred unorganized workmen. If in-... dustry starts up we ought to watch our... opportunity to get in as a body, and then... bend our efforts to get all the men on the... job organized.

If an opportunity should present itself... for a strike for better wages, shorter hours... and improved conditions in general, of... course we should take advantage of it, but... our object should not be to go on the job... for the specific purpose of starting trouble... Our object should be to get the men or-... ganized and educated regarding the im-... portance of a permanent class organization... embracing all wage workers. Our object... should be to educate the workers how to... run an organization, and how to prepare... ourselves for a great class conflict with... the master class.

Our object should be to teach the work-... ers concerning the importance of a shorter... workday for all the workers, and to keep... the eight-hour-action-day warm in their... minds.

After we have effected an organization... in one locality, we leave one or two old-... timers in charge of the organization, and... move on in a body of 10, 15 or 20, to... another locality where there is an oppor-... tunity to get work, and there we do the... same trick over again, and so on.

A few bunches of rebels, moving on... from place to place in the different indus-... tries throughout the country would accom-... plish much within a year's time.
This method of agitation and organiza-... tion would be especially practicable and... effective in the West, for here we are on... the move all the time, anyway. Instead... of moving as individuals in all the differ-... ent directions of the compass, and be looked... upon as transient as freaks of nature, we... could move from place to place in a body... and our agitation would surely result in... organization. After we get the workers... organized we should try to make the boss... send his orders for men to the I. W. W. headquarters.

The headquarters in the different cities... ought not to be kept as loafing and sleep-... ing quarters, they ought to be kept open... as reading rooms for non-members, and... should be at least as clean and nice as the... average married working man's home. A... married working man will not feel at home... in an I. W. W. hall otherwise.

Yours for Class Solidarity,
E. S. NELSON.

Portland, Ore., March 1911.

SPECIAL CLUBBING RATE

By arrangement with the circulation... manager of the International Socialist Re-... view a special clubbing rate has been made... with that magazine. Both the Review... and Solidarity may now be had one year... for the sum of \$1.25. The subscription... price of each by itself is \$1 a year. Here... to put red ink entries on the debtor side... of our ledger than fifty revivalists can do... to restore the balance.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS.

After April 1st 1911, the number of the... Cambridge building will be changed to... 160 North Fifth Ave. All books take... notice. Use new street number as it will... avoid delay in delivery of mail.

518 Cambridge Building
160 N. Fifth Ave.

SALT LAKE, UTAH.

Local 69, I. W. W., of Salt Lake City, Utah... maintains headquarters and a free... reading room at 62 1/2 West 2nd St. All... workers welcome to visit.

MIKE CARROLL, Fin. Sec'y.

Kick in this week with a bunch of subs... for Solidarity. That propaganda counts.

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 pro-... duction, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the man-... agement 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 has 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 depart-... ment 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 organiza-... tion is absolutely necessary for our... emancipation we unite under the following... constitution.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER
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A Red Hot, Fearless Working Class Paper
Represents the Spirit of the West
Subscription: Yearly, \$1.00; Six Months, 50 Cents, Canada, \$1.50 Per Year. Address: P. O. BOX 2129, SPOKANE, WASH.

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AMONG THE SUB HUSTLERS

We omitted to mention last week that Local 11 of Philadelphia is aiming to rival the New York members in their activity. The Philadelphia local ordered 100 Solidarity to be added to their regular bundle for four weeks, accompanied the order with the cash. Look sharp, you fellows in New York and Brooklyn!

Thos. Whitehead, secretary of the organization committee of the Seattle locals, who always pays for their big bundle in advance, sends \$2.50 for 3 subs the past week, and the same amount for 100 copies of "The Farm Laborer and the City Worker." He also informs us that the Seattle locals threaten to increase their bundle soon. We like those kind of threats.

Local 173 of San Francisco kicks in with five bucks for prepaid subs.

Jules Scriveraux of Trenton N. J., also ordered \$5.00 of prepaid cards, and sends \$1.00 on the account. He also offers to look up renewals in Trenton.

Solidarity will be pleased to furnish local unions and sub hustlers with prepaid cards, to be paid for as soon as sold. Order a quantity today.

A good many individual subs and renewals are coming in from various sections of the country, so far this month. But we need more and more activity. Get your neighbor or shipmate to subscribe.

TRIANGLE FUNERAL PARADE

(Continued From Page One)

more subscription is produced. Next in order is "The Women's Trade Union League." This organization made a most praiseworthy record in its conduct of the shirt waist makers' strike two years ago. Then it conducted an industrial warfare on lines that defied legality and conservatism, and commanded admiration and respect. Since then a change has come over its spirit and its dream.

The Female City Federation.

The Women's Trade Union League figured disreputably in the ending of the Chicago garment workers' strike. Its local membership and dues are falling. Recent news is that it is the female City Federation; Miss Anne Morgan, daughter of J. P. Morgan, and a member of the Welfare Association of the National City Federation, is one of its leading members. Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont is also a member. In fact, the League is dominated by society women, college graduates, intellectuals, faddists and class pretensions. Recent one of them gave the League \$10,000 to be used in preventing strikes. The old women of the male gender in the National City Federation apply the same logic for ten years, with the result that there are now more and bigger strikes on hand than ever before. "The new women" of the league still have something really new to learn.

The Women's Trade Union League is acting, in the Triangle matter, as a relief and information agency; also a legal aid society. It applies for every indication that the afflicted, asks for lists of places conducted in violation of the law, and promises to institute damage suits in behalf of those injured relatives and those injured. The Women's Trade Union League is evidently oblivious to facts that are public knowledge, viz: that the legal responsibility for the fire cannot be entirely shifted to the proprietors. Responsibility has already been placed upon the shoulders of some cigarette smoking working man. But a fitting comment is that the "vigorous action" of the unions is "the protection" of the unions' God and seek out, with scrupulous care, a real fireproof building? Not these butchers for profit? THEY RENTED A CONDEMNED BUILDING AND PROMISED TO AGAIN DEFY THE LAW TO WHICH THE WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE APPEALS TO REMEDY THESE CONDITIONS. The capitalists know the law is on their side, and they know they have no fear of it. Why, the New York Times, right on the top of the fire, announced that a meeting of the Manufacturers' Association was held in Wall Street to oppose the agitation for the introduction of fire sprinklers and other safety appliances. Surely, capitalism is not fearing any legal onslaught, just yet.

The Sacred Contract.

And now we come, to the last of the forces that make labor oppressive, imposing and impotent—the sacred contract. Secretary-Treasurer Dicke is authority on this statement. He there is 60 shops under contract with the cloak and shirt waist makers' union, in which conditions are worse than in the shop of the Triangle Company. And PROMISED TO AGAIN DEFY THE LAW TO WHICH THE WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE APPEALS TO REMEDY THESE CONDITIONS. The capitalists know the law is on their side, and they know they have no fear of it. Why, the New York Times, right on the top of the fire, announced that a meeting of the Manufacturers' Association was held in Wall Street to oppose the agitation for the introduction of fire sprinklers and other safety appliances. Surely, capitalism is not fearing any legal onslaught, just yet.

OF LABOR

Death Dealing Disasters.

The "world of labor" is, at this writing, in the throes of death-dealing disasters. The New York Call, an A. F. of L. and Socialist party daily newspaper, publishes the following in its issue of Sunday, April 9:

Table with 2 columns: Category and Count. Includes 'TWO WEEKS' DEATH TOLL' with sub-categories like 'Waist makers', 'Miners', 'Miner convicts' and a 'Total' row.

This is a partial list only. It includes the Triangle victims, the Scranton, Pa., victims and the Banner, Ala., victims only. Deaths occur also in other spheres of labor activity. The above, however, suffices to illustrate an appalling tendency against which the modern labor organization is impotent; nay, to the continuance of which it is bound.

In New York City 180 "good union" shirtwaist shops are death traps, according to union officials. They cannot be struck for safer conditions, however; the sacred contract forbids that. In the mines, the same conditions prevail.

The Call is anxious to prevent these disasters. It says, regarding the Triangle affair:

"There is a chance now while public opinion is ripe for it to force necessary changes."

Why throw the job on "public opinion?" Why not attack the "sacred contract?"

The "War" Against the Pennsylvania R. R.

Again is Gompers assembling the mighty A. F. of L. at Pittsburg. A year ago it was to wage "war" on the steel trust. Since then the Amalgamated Association has scabbed it on the Sons of Vulcan at a lower rate; while only recently, the Amalgamated was again compelled to accept another reduction, despite increased prices.

Now the A. F. of L. is going to make war on the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. We hope, for the sake of the working class, that it is earnest and sincere. But then, who can blame us? With the above "war" in mind, we have our doubts about it.

The Pennsylvania is going to reduce wages and is making a savage attack on unionism. In this it is pursuing a policy that the capitalists are carrying out in every branch of private and governmental industry. The Pennsylvania is laying off men, regardless of seniority or other rights. It is sending out old men aged 60 and over, giving preference to young, non-unionists. Even the aristocratic engineers are involved along with the shopmen and firemen. They are reduced, moreover, then to brazenness, after a general strike. The company saves the pension money that is coming to the old men. No wonder the workers on the Pennsylvania are wrought up. They have reason to be. They show correct instincts, too. They demand closer affiliation and more united action on the part of all the divisions involved.

We wish them luck, but we doubt that they will succeed under the A. F. of L. Disaster is marked all over the A. F. of L. in the Pittsburg district—and elsewhere.

The Canadian Coal Strike.

The executive board of the United Mine Workers has voted to give full support to the 6,000 miners in Indiana, who are struck on April 1. There is considerable interest in the action, owing to the fact that Canada has a law designed to prevent strikes. Report from Indianapolis that the International Union supports the strike has created wild enthusiasm.

This strike is interesting as a study in A. F. of L. lines. Last week Solidarity stated, in this department, that "The Canadian Pacific Railway is going to run special coal trains from Spokane and the coast to help its lines and big smelters along the border." In the event of the open shop coal strike in Alberta and British Columbia. Boats are loading in Lake Erie ports to be rushed up the lakes. Special trains will carry these cargoes west.

The United Mine Workers of Ohio, Pennsylvania and Illinois, together with the union railway employes and boatmen, are helping to defeat the United Mine Workers of Canada. Labor unions on an district lines; nor even on national lines; labor must organize according to industries on international lines.

The Westmoreland Strike Hits Hard.

The press contains the following doleful lament, showing, between the lines, that the Westmoreland coal interests have been hard hit.

"The Westmoreland Coal Company does not issue a printed report of earnings, but from stockholders' reports attended the annual meeting it is learned the net profits for 1910 were about \$450,000 as compared with approximately \$600,000 in 1909. The strike, therefore, was responsible for a loss of about \$150,000 profits, but even at that the earnings fall off \$50,000 short of the old dividend requirements. This showing is much better than the stockholders have reason to expect several months ago, and, together with the announcement that the company's full complement of coal is now be-

ing mined, encourages the belief that the reduced dividend rate, recently inaugurated, may be only a temporary arrangement."

Craft Division's Beneficial Results.

About 15,000 building trades workers in Chicago are idle and buildings costing \$30,000,000 are either not started or delayed in being started by the jurisdictional wars between labor unions. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, has been sent out to see if peace can be restored. If he can do nothing, it is believed the war will be kept up all Summer and until late in the Fall.

On the Railroads.

"Retrenchment" is still in force on the railroads, and it will continue to be until the latter have caused enough distress to make the shippers' consent to increased rates.

The New Haven has discharged or laid off 600 men in all branches, more are to follow.

The Pennsy has ordered one-half of the signal men, section hands, stone masons and carpenters on the Allegheny division laid off. The half retained will work only one-half time.

The Cleveland & Pittsburg Railroad Co., has laid off indefinitely about 100 employes of the repair shops at Wellsville, O.

The same story is told on other lines. The railroads show the shippers who's who in America!

The Government has begun suit against the Rock Island to recover \$20,000 for violation of the nine hour telegraph law for operators engaged in movement of trains.

Brotherhood of Railroad Clerks' committee has notified the New Haven Railroad that the lodges of the men have voted to give the road thirty days, ending May 1, to give an answer to the clerks' committee on pending wage and working rules agreement.

Employes of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Co., have been informed by Chas. O. Kruger, president of the corporation that their demand for an increase of pay to 28 an hour has been refused by the board of directors.

Representatives of men working in Canadian Pacific car shops at Calgary have returned from striking, but have not as yet made their report on negotiations which were held with the railway company there, in connection with the request made for increase of wages. Five hundred men will be laid off if a strike is declared.

The controversy between the Illinois Central Railroad and its 1,400 telegraph operators has resulted in a general strike of the entire force of telegraphers averted. The men will receive an addition of \$79.50 to their regular wage fund, an increase of about 10 per cent on each employer. The 300 men laid off since the controversy about the wage scale will not be re-instated, vice President Park explaining the discharge as necessary on account of reducing expenses.

Great changes are pending in the motive department of the railroads, which will affect the engineers and firemen. A New Haven Railroad official is of the opinion that though electrification is still in an experimental stage, it will be considerable progress made in its application to steam roads within the next few years, which will show some rapid changes in the conduct of the railroads of the country.

One hundred and fifteen Great Northern locomotives are being overhauled and changed from coal burners to oil burners. President Louis W. Hill has investigated the proposition from the standpoint of economy, and the order for the change has been given. A storage plant with 7,000,000 gallons capacity is being erected at Everett, Wash., and the oil will come up by ship from California.

"The Door of Opportunity."

The working man who still believes he has become a capitalist, will do well to peruse the business failures for March. Here's Duane's report:

"Business failures during the month of March, number 1,124 as compared with 948 in 1910, 1,274 in 1909, 1,339 in 1908, 823 in 1907, and 1,052 in 1906. The annual total of the March "defeat" of the total liabilities of the March "defeat" is \$21,474,041, comparing with \$13,628,572 in 1910, \$15,518,162 in 1909, \$21,548,106 in 1908, \$8,163,695 in 1907, and \$10,969,023 in 1906. Of the total number of failures in March, 32 were for \$100,000 or more, aggregating \$7,315,059 and compared with \$6,756,976 in 1910, \$5,488,488 in 1909, \$10,917,157 in 1908, \$3,533,750 in 1907, and \$4,197 in 1906. There were 1093 defaults for less than \$100,000, the liabilities being \$11,059,582. The largest amount for this month in fifteen years, with the exception of March, 1908, when the total was \$12,491,948. The average liabilities of these smaller defaults were \$10,128, this being the largest amount in the history of the March "defeat" average was only \$7,729, and in 1909 \$6,573.

One must have \$11,000 to succeed in average business today. Talk about "the door of opportunity" it takes a gold knob to open it. Workingmen have gold knobs to melt at any assayer's. Think You not, Horatio?

demonstration could be observed an ever increasing number of men and women who realize the folly of parading against capitalism. One who has been in the labor movement long meets them in a variety of places and gets to know them. Formerly it was easy to remember names and faces. Now it's a job for a photographer and a directory to keep up with the new converts. On the sidewalks, too, among the spectators, much sympathetic criticism could be heard—of the fatality of parades, of the need of other action, and so on. The after-discussion has been likewise indicative of a desire for new methods.

Capitalism is making the workers think, whether they want to or not. Another Triangle fire, in accord with Croker's prediction, may tell another tale.

AN S. F. VOTER.

HOW THE EMPLOYERS CONTROL LOS ANGELES

(Cleveland Press)

Los Angeles is a town personally conducted by the Merchants & Manufacturers Association, backed by Harrison Grey Otis and his powerful newspaper, The Times.

The town is "open shop." Says Frederick Palmer, in a magazine review of the situation:

"If the Merchants & Manufacturers Association is all business and few banquets. It is without rival in its effective coherence, an example of the fast bound co-operation of the bankers, the employer and the newspaper for selfish interests. It is not popular, and not wise, for a business man in Los Angeles to get in bad with the M. & M. Few business men would choose to run against the hidden forces of the M. & M. and the open attacks of Otis and The Times.

"You stand by us," says the M. & M. in Los Angeles to the banks, and the banks do it. They extend credit to the manufacturers in whose shop there is a strike, and they continue extending it as long as the strike lasts. As a sinew of a labor war it is difficult to overestimate the importance of credit. Bankers, wholesalers, retail dealers, manufacturers, foundries, all stand together under the flag of the open shop."

Union labor does not like it. Announcement has just been made that they have raised a fund of \$500,000 to fight what they declare is a condition of virtual slavery. Here men are not given the right to unite in defense of their rights.

HOW TO GET THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

Senator La Follette is getting ahead of Congressman Berger, also from his state. He has taken steps to counteract the order recently made by Postmaster General Hitchcock forbidding postal employes, particularly railway mail clerks, to organize in local labor unions and affiliating with the American Federation of Labor.

Senator La Follette said: "Railway mail clerks have a right to organize. If the officers of the departments are endeavoring to prevent them from doing so by threats of discharge, such action is without legal authority or moral right. I find conditions in the railway postal service generally the way they are represented. I shall introduce and do everything in my power to pass a bill to prevent the continuation of these un-American practices and to preserve to all Government employes the right of petition which belongs to every citizen, and the right to join organizations for the improvement of their conditions."

Now, that's good doctrine; but we don't believe it will do the railway clerks any good. The way to get the right to organize is to organize. For 50 years American labor organization was an act of conspiracy against the social welfare; the law so prescribed it. But the American working class organized, until in 1840, the anti-combination laws were declared null and void. History will have to repeat itself. The right to organize can only be secured by organizing; senatorial speeches will not do the job for labor.

THE "DAILY SOCIALISTS" CONFESSION

Under the title, "Socialists Learn a Lesson," the Chicago Daily Socialist, of garment strike fame, editorials, as follows in its issue of April 6:

The Socialist party of Chicago has been exceedingly frigid in the unions and made special efforts to get organized labor in line with the party.

All this friendliness toward the unions is considerable, but the unions are becoming distinct and therein lies the danger.

No effort has been spared to show organization. The Bourgeois have largely entered the unions and been scrupulously careful not to give offense in any way.

In fact, there has been a tendency to be derisive in the treatment of the unions in order to win them. Leaders of the unions have been given prominence in the papers and their decisions sometimes endorsed silently or otherwise when they were rather open to questions. Up to the time of the campaign nothing in the world could have been done to add to the frustration and confusion of the unions by the Socialist party

and press. There was, therefore, no excuse for leaders who went over into the capitalist ranks and endorsed Merriam and Harrison Gray Otis. We have learned that entering the unions is all foolishness. It is a waste of time. Treat the unions as other workers do—non-differently.

The Socialist party must never have any distinction between union and other workers in the treatment of.

Encourage organization among workers and treat all organized unions with all due courtesy, but never count the unions as organizations in any way ferent from the treatment accorded the organized portion of the working class.

A union card does not weigh a ounce to a union man in his political choice. Look at Fitzpatrick, Rodrigue, and Merriam, had none.

But the card did not count with Fitzpatrick. He went over to a non-union candidate, an enemy to labor.

Just when the unions could have taken a stand, their own advantage and supported their own party they went, with few exceptions, over to the cardless candidates.

All this shows that the Socialist party must never mistake itself and think that organized labor is different from other labor in political action, unless it be a little more backward.

The Socialist party is the party of the workers—all workers—and will refuse to cater to the unions more than to other workers.

The Socialist party does not discourage leadership, provided that leadership is guided by the rank and file. But whenever a leader goes off and by his action selects the following workers he will be mercilessly exposed and his action sharply criticized.

We have learned that it does not pay in any sense to smooth over rascality or treason committed by labor leaders. They only become more bold.

Let every worker unite for the overthrow of the capitalist system and for the securing of the rights that belong to every human being.

Let us be charitable enough to wait and see if some other temptation to cater to some element for votes—a temptation that seems unavoidable in the parliamentary game—does not characterize the actions of socialist politicians in the next Chicago election.

BACK TO THE LAND

The golden harvest will soon be on for the farmers. They are preparing it for the "back to the land" movement.

"Topeka, Kan., April 6.—Charles Harris, director of the State Free Business Bureau, has received approval from more than 100 Eastern students for the employment in the white fields in the coming summer. Back to the land you! I. W. W. Organize that agricultural world!

UPS AND DOWNS OF EMPLOYMENT

According to news despatches, Lauglin Steel Co., big mill unit of the Lake Superior Iron Co., has been practically completed. Back to the land you! I. W. W. Organize that agricultural world!

The same sources report that the shortage of labor in some sections is due to the unsettled conditions in the coal fields.

The Waltham Watch factory at resumed operations after a shut-down of three months. The factory has a business, while the domestic watch business showed little change. Persons on payroll now number 5,100.

Because of indifferent business conditions the mills of the Bigelow Carpet Co. at Clinton, Mass., have been shut down. The mills employ 1,300 operators.

Seven thousand New England textile operators have been put on a 4 day week schedule.

The new plant of the Lozier Motor Co. at Detroit was formally opened recently commencing operations with a force of 440 men, which will be increased as rapidly as possible until all departments are running full.

So it goes; conditions of employment fluctuate, up here and down there. Trained men in general are worse than earlier in the year.

LOCAL IN CLEVELAND.

Local 35, Cleveland, Ohio, is now holding meetings twice a month—on the second and fourth Wednesday at 8 p. m., standard time, corner Superior Avenue and Columbus Road, No. 1501. Entrance second floor, Superior Viaduct, up one flight second door to your right. All working men are invited to attend.

SECRETARY.

PORTLAND, OREGON I. W. W. The new headquarters of the I. W. W. are at 309 Davis Street. Address all communications to that number.

B. E. NILSSON

Join the I. W. W. and work for better conditions. Prepare for the eight hour working day and for the abolition of the tributing literature and get