

THE WHEATLAND PICKERS

(By Vincent St. John)

(Talk delivered at a protest meeting at 180 West Washington street, Chicago, Sept. 28, 1913, in behalf of the Wheatland hop pickers now confined in the Sacramento jail.)

Fellow Workers:

The occasion that brings us together this evening is not by any means a rare one in the annals of the labor movement, especially in the last few years. Those of you who have followed the trend of events in the labor movement in this country the last ten or fifteen years no doubt have been struck with the ever recurring frequency you have been called upon to meet and to raise your voices in protest against some form of oppression on the part of the employing class of this country. In a great many of these instances where you are called upon to show your solidarity the central figures in the case have been men and women of prominence, prominent by reason of their position in the labor movement, and because of that prominence they have enlisted more hearty support in their defense than those who have been less fortunate in their position in the labor movement.

The case of the fellow workers in whose interest we are here tonight is one where none of them has any prominence and unnamed, nine in number, who, in their struggle for existence, sold themselves for the time being as hop pickers to the owners of the Durst ranch at Wheatland, California. This ranch comprises some three or four hundred acres; the crop raised upon it consists wholly of hops and requires the labor power of some 1,500 to 2,500 workers to harvest, in the time allowed.

Durst Brothers don't raise hops for the fun of seeing the vines twine around the poles and weave their hops because they sell those hops at a profit. The amount of the profit which accrues to them in the cultivation and growing of their hops is measured by how cheaply they can secure the necessary labor power to cultivate the crop, pick and get it on the market. As a consequence, when they have those 2,500 workers collected at that ranch they not only figure to work them for as small a price as possible—paying them by the box, paying them by the bucket, by boxes of hops they can pick from sunrise until it gets too dark to see to work—but they also figure various schemes by which they can tax these workers and take back from them the greater portion, if possible, of the amount that accrues to them for the expenditure of their labor power in those hop fields.

Now it happened that the men and women Durst Brothers' ranch had among their number members of the working class who had been delving into the subject of their own interest, who had been delving into the labor question, and through such investigation had arrived at the point of striving to bring together the individuals employed in the industry in which they were working, to bring them together for a common purpose.

When this season's crop was being harvested the workers, as in past years, complained of the conditions under which they had to work. There were no housing facilities provided for them. They had to provide their own blankets. They had to sleep where they could find a place to spread those blankets. They had to build for themselves lean-to's out of brush or camp on the opposite from the windy side of the haystacks of the Durst Brothers, bringing along with them their tents or make tents by going out and stealing, picking up gunny-sacks and burlaps, putting them together and making some kind of a shelter for themselves. The Durst Bros. who profited by using the labor power of these 2,500 men and women, were not concerned as to whether the latter had roof over their heads where they labored, or not. They were not concerned whether they got good food to eat. Durst Brothers maintain a commissary and every worker in those hop fields was supposed to buy his supplies from this commissary at that ever price Durst Brothers chose to charge. And you may be sure the provisions were sold at the highest possible prices, while being the very cheapest the bosses could find on the market.

In that portion of California water is not as plentiful as in some other parts of the country. They have to bore artesian wells; but the workers were not allowed to get water from those wells, for the simple reason that Durst Brothers had another scheme whereby they took from these workers some part of the paltry wage received as hop pickers. The owners had a cart conveying acid lemonade, a mixture of acetic acid and ditch water, with a little sugar or some sweetening compound. Working in the hop fields under the broiling sun induces a fierce thirst. These workers had to satisfy their thirst. Durst Bros. compelled these hop pickers to buy their lemonade from their cart at five cents per glass. The bosses would not allow them to pack a canteen of water into the fields with them to their work. They said: "You either go through the day here struggling to make a few pennies for yourselves, or you suffer from thirst, or you buy some of our especially prepared mineral water lemonade." They did not provide any facilities to enable the men and women to attend to the calls of nature without stepping over the bounds of modesty and shame.

These are but a few of the grievances that resulted in bringing together the men and women working in those fields. So they held a meeting and while this meeting was in progress, while speakers from their own ranks, members of the working class employed in those hop fields, were voicing the grievances of themselves and the fellow workers, the Durst Brothers sent to the village of Wheatland and had an arm of the law to appear on the scene in the shape of a village constable. They had spotted some individual worker, who by reason of his activity had become marked, as hop pickers marked, as they thought if they arrested this individual and took him off the hop field and had some one of their subordinate justices of the village sentence him to the bastille for 30 or 60 days that would have a salutary effect upon the rest of those slaves in their employ. The constable came out pure, without a warrant, without a writ of any kind and attempted to arrest one member of the working class, the one upon whom Durst Bros., in their ignorance, based all the agitation was depending. But the other workers would not allow the constable to arrest their fellow worker, they came to the constable. They said: "You have

(Continued on Page 4)

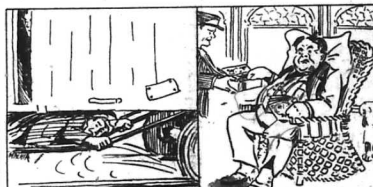
EMANCIPATION

I WONDER WHY



JOHN BROWN BUILDS THE ROAD WHILE GOTTROX PLAYS GOLF

AND THEN



JOHN TRAVELS LIKE THIS AND GOTTROX TRAVELS LIKE THIS

I WONDER WHY

The International Movement

(From the International Bulletin of the Syndicalist Movement, Paris, Sept. 21.)

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE ITALIAN UNIONS. The "Unione Giudicate Italiane" (the direct action organization) has held its first congress for November 21, 22 and 23 in Milan. Following is the program of subjects to be dealt with by the convention: 1. Moral Report by Tullio Masotto; 2. Financial Report by Gastone Agri; 3. Agricultural Movement by G. B. Belli; 4. Public Services and the Trade Union Movement by G. Corridoni; 5. General Strike, General Theory by Armando Borghi; 6. Anti-militarist Movement by G. Fiorini; 7. National Industrial Unions by E. Curran; 8. Syndicalist Press; 9. Miscellaneous. Organizations may send in their credentials to the congress until Oct. 30. Every organization has the right to one representative if it has 100 members, to two if it has 500 members, to three if it has 600 members, to four if 1,000 members, to five if 1,500 members, to six or part thereof gives it the right to an additional delegate.

INTERNATIONAL SYNDICALIST CONGRESS.

The monthly paper, "L'ouvrier," of Paris, gives the program of an international syndicalist congress. In the first article, Alceste de Amorim clearly states the opinion of the Italian syndicalist, which may be called that of the syndicalist of other countries. He is criticized in an article signed "L'ouvrier," which appears to have been written by several fellow workers, but we have heard the arguments before from the editor, Monatte.

Space prevents us from answering in full. We wish to point out that the writers do not realize the difficulty of revolutionary propaganda in the German syndicalist organizations of France and elsewhere, and that a German syndicalist central body with such constitutions excludes all such propaganda.

The article in "L'ouvrier" has something to say concerning our "Bulletin." Speaking about the "Bulletin," it says: "Cornelissen has perhaps also contributed to the spread of this rumor by reproducing in his 'Bulletin International' declarations appearing to come from French unions affirming that the C. G. T. is falling under the sway of revisionists. He evidently believes this, and finds its cause in the desire to conciliate the reformist elements at any cost. But Cornelissen has a special opinion on syndicalism, which in direct contradiction of our militants, especially on home work, on the 'opposition' of the producer, and on the international movement he has an opinion that might be judged narrow, but corresponding to the labor movement of the present time in the different countries." But Cornelissen, based on the personal opinion of Cornelissen, which might have been made an offer to the C. G. T. The 1,100 Dutch unionists who took the initiative in asking the organization of the countries their opinions on the utility of holding an international syndicalist congress, received besides the answers from the

other countries those of 12 unions or federations of unions of France. The Dutch federation asked us to receive in answer to their suggestions. These letters were rather critical, not of "French syndicalism" but of certain leaders, and although we omitted all strong expressions, we had to mention the general complaint—though Monatte and some of the readers of "L'ouvrier" did not like it. As to our conception of the international movement, it is certainly curious that we consider the conceptions of Monatte too narrow, neither corresponding to the needs of the times nor very revolutionary. But we are particularly concerned about the syndicalist congress. Can the comrades of La Vie Ouvrière receive in the revolutionaries of the different countries are driven by their hard experience to the desire of meeting the revolutionary syndicalists of other countries? To insist that in all countries revolutionary propaganda must be made as in France, that is to say inside the large organizations, appears to us rather "narrow" and not corresponding to the needs of the

SWISS UNIONS AND THE GENERAL STRIKE.

Some weeks ago we published the text of a long resolution against the general strike, proposed by Secretary Hugler, of the Executive of the confederation of the Swiss cantons, a resolution which had to be ratified by the congress of the unions. The general strike was held last week in Zurich. A minority of 33 delegates was against any resolution prescribing an attitude for their unions in the future. But 41 votes adopted the resolution condemning the general strike. The chief points of the resolution are: "The congress condemns the general strike in favor of labor's demands, but if political motives are present, if governmental measures are threatening the vital interests of the working class, the general strike for the maintenance of political rights, the congress is in favor of its declaration, provided this possibility is excluded."

Of course, the general strike cannot be banished from Switzerland by this resolution. It will have a little effect as the well-known Austrian general strike is general, not only in the German social democracy, but also in the German social democracy, but it is claimed for a long time by the social democracy of Germany, but it is not in the program of the C. G. T. of No. 22, Whole No. 178 as requested to send same in so that we may complete our files.

NOTICE.

Local Secretaries having on hand copies of Solidarity of June 14th, Vol. No. 22, Whole No. 178 as requested to send same in so that we may complete our files.

"Industrial Unionism and The U. S. W. by Vincent St. John. A fine piece of propaganda literature for general distribution. 16 pages. Price 2c.

MEXICAN INTERVENTION

While Socialist Favors It, I. W. W. Takes Stand Against Intervention.

Bisbee, Ariz., Sept. 29. A socialist leader here in this town said that he wished the U. S. A. would go into Mexico and pacify that country, in the name of liberty we, Local 61, I. W. W., appeal to you to work against any such move on the part of the government. If need be let us keep this government busy at home; whenever sends its soldiers and citizens as scabs and strikebreakers to foreign countries. Mexicans are on strike against the same conditions as we have to contend with on this side the border line. Then instead of organized labor clamoring for intervention, they ought to assist the Mexicans with all the power at their command. At least let the U. S. W. stop battling for life and liberty, for the virtue of their money, for the very right to human consideration. The masters in Mexico can do their pleasure with the Mexican people as they catch their fancy. If the father protests he will get what is coming to him. Conditions like these have forced the peons to fight. It does not mean that the peon will give up his land and machinery and his life for the sake of his own existence. The Guggenheimers have been taking out \$750,000,000 a year for 12 years and all they want to keep up the existing conditions there as well as here. Do not blame them! A word of advice to the capitalists in this country, you say that they better be contented with what they got here and not be too greedy because the Mexicans are likely to lose it all. Do not let us be fooled by their talk about the danger to Americans down there have taken out. On the following day, April 1, to the Mexican peon let them stand by their own land. They are being robbed and oppressed. He will shrug his shoulders and tell you that Diaz and the Gringos took his land from him and now he is going to take it back through any attempt. That is simple enough. He is like the hungry donkey. This donkey goes to the mill and he is asked to go around about that way to the mill, the biggest and loudest of the mill. Nothing like that for the peon in Mexico. He goes the shortest and most direct way to his goal. It is therefore resolved that we, the Local 65, I. W. W., appoint a committee to keep our papers supplied with facts about the Mexican revolution and that we call upon all organized labor for more thorough understanding of the Mexican situation and for more political power to benefit a few of the workers who are steadfast in their determination to get possession of the land.

The matter of fighting for land and liberty and have already not full control of six states in the southern part of Mexico. They do not want the capitol. They say, "We take the land, let the masters have the capitol!" This man that we mentioned in the beginning is a man who ought to know better than to advocate turning this country into an agency of strike breakers and scabs. They are dealing out enough misery to the ruling class and to the country as soldiers and then which the wires meshed in the web. If we tolerate them to squabbling workers in other countries, they will require business kicking when the powers use them against us.

So Mr. Socialist, would you advise to study up a little before he halts. He is only disgracing the socialist movement in this country. Texas rancher knows better than that.

M. S. KRES, MUREL E. FLOOD, Press Committee.

Tom Mann will speak in Eagle Hall, Tacoma, Wash., 13th and E streets, Monday, October 20, 8 p. m.

WATCH FOR YOUR NUMBER

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That means you are arrested last week, and you should renew at once. THIS IS NUMBER 196

BOY CONDUCTED

New Jersey Judge Finds Strike Agitator Guilty of Advocating Sabotage

Paterson, N. J., Sept. 29. Frederick Sumner Boyd, member-at-large of the I. W. W., was this morning tried before Judge Abram Klenert in the Court of Quarter Sessions and convicted of inciting to the destruction of personal property. He was tried on two indictments, one based on his utterances before a crowd of striking silk workers in Paterson on the morning of March 31, 1913; and the other based on an exhortation made under similar circumstances on the following morning. Sentence will be imposed by Judge Klenert on Friday. To expedite matters counsel for the defendant waived the right of trial by jury.

The case was opened by Assistant Prosecutor Munson Force, who filed copies of the indictments against the agitator. On March 31, 1913, a New York Journalist, a speech in which he flayed America, its institutions, and its government in support of the speech of that day says that Boyd, "pointing to the American flag that covers the table at the center of the stage, said: 'It stars are the police badges; it stripes the prison walls. The workers should have a red flag!'" The speaker continued to exhort the workers that if they couldn't win it by the vote, they could win it by force.

He outlined the method of "winning" by saying that he could put rhodamine in the dye boxes, sandpaper the spindles, and loosen bolts of the machinery. This process of retaliation to lose it all, caused manufacturers of wool and cotton goods in Lawrence to suspend work. The speaker also said that he had caused manufacturers of wool and cotton goods in Lawrence to suspend work. The speaker also said that he had caused manufacturers of wool and cotton goods in Lawrence to suspend work.

The first witness called by the state was Sidney J. Turner, who throughout the strike took stenographic notes in the interest of the prosecutor's office. Mr. Turner, at the request of Assistant Prosecutor Force, read the notes he had taken while Boyd was addressing the crowd. He said the notes were in shorthand in the book in which he had originally written them. Mr. Turner also answered a few questions in the cross-examination by Lawyer Gustave Hunter, of Matthew D. Purse had asked repeated the substance of the speech. Lawyer Marell then had Mr. Turner recalled to the stand to answer brief questions the defense admitted that Boyd had made the remarks attributed to him during the grand jury had found grounds for indictment.

Prosecutor Michael Dunn then called August Hunniker, chemist of the Widmann Silk Dyeing company for the past twenty years, and by this witness showed what results of the process outlined by Boyd would have.

The vinegar placed on a rag after rubbed over the thread would cause this part of the loom through which the wires meshed in the web. The rust, in the opinion of the chemist, would form over night. It would require business kicking when the powers use them against us.

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(Signed) B. H. WILLIAMS.

"Decline of Syndicalism"

While Babeon and other investigators who furnish information directly and on intimate terms to big financiers and capitalists, are warning the latter that, do what they will, "labor will ultimately rule industry and society," other writers are seeking to console the masters with sage prognostications...

"It was France that gave birth to syndicalism some fifteen or eighteen years ago. And it is in France, according to all indications, that syndicalism has now run its course and is about ready to be 'buried' into its parents' graves."

"They are going to fight for these reforms not in the shops," as the article urges, "not by resorting to tactics of sabotage, direct action, nor by stealing, plundering, and destroying property, but by instructing the socialist and the radical deputies in the chamber to lay these demands before the government and seek to have them enacted into law."

"It is the world's most unexpected thing that the editor of the Tribune does not expect any more of the French syndicalists." The Tribune editor is talking to capitalists, and evidently seeking to allay their fears of the working class menace that has disturbed their dreams the past few years.

But the premises are false. The editor of the Tribune is badly 'balled up' in his information regarding both the American and French movements. What is actually taking place in both countries is simply a readjustment of syndicalism to a more solid and scientific basis. The French unions are evidently approaching more nearly towards INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, similar to that of the I. W. W., as the economic development of France trends towards that of America.

The struggle in the shop, the organization, and weapons that...

go with that struggle, will not be abandoned because the capitalist ostrich thrusts his head into the sand. Regardless of what the Tribune editor and others may say to the contrary, that struggle is born of economic and social conditions—of high prices and low wages; of long hours and unemployment; of speed and efficiency with the age limit and the extra pay for the toll.

Not only is the conviction growing among the slaves, that by their own direct shop efforts will gain a better standard of living immediately, but also the mass that they can and must reach out after complete industrial and social control.

The Power of Labor

The situation on the New Haven R. R. is an interesting commentary on modern social conditions. The engineers and firemen are taking a strike vote. Whereupon Gov. Foss is moved to write:

"It is of grave concern to the people of Massachusetts. A strike upon the New Haven system means the stopping of the wheels of industry, loss of employment to hundreds of thousands of laborers, interference with the regular supply of food and fuel, and a consequent high death rate among invalids and infants."

"The real issue is not between the railroad and its employes, but between the employes and the people of this Commonwealth; and the question is whether the lives of the people shall be placed in jeopardy by the maintenance of the status quo, or whether in order to enforce this rule, our people must submit to the evils incident to a railroad strike."

"If this strike is declared it will become my duty to take such measures as are within my power to prevent such a strike upon this Commonwealth. To that end, if the strike is called, I shall ask the Council to join me in summoning a special session of the Legislature for the purpose of enacting laws, which, after providing effective remedies for all grievances of employes, shall absolutely prohibit strikes of railroad operatives employed within the Commonwealth. For such action the laws of other countries supply useful precedents, and public sentiment in this Commonwealth will surely demand the enactment of similar legislation."

This letter is illustrative of the power of labor. On its shoulders society rests. When it ceases to bear the burden, society collapses, industry stops, starvation ensues and deaths increase.

Labor will answer these questions in its own way. In its own good time. The reply of the railroad men to Gov. Foss indicates that they do not intend to give a strike; that if he were seriously interested in the maintenance of peace he would work in the interests of the men primarily involved, and not the corporations.

This is good; it indicates that the time is fast coming when the labor problem will be settled by the laborers themselves.

J. E.

I. W. W. as Capitalist Morals

In order to clear up some of the ages of ten and twelve years. The next day, however, it was found out that he had sent them out to the Durst hog ranch, where the trouble was, and the women and children have to live up like stiffs in a bread line waiting for a morsel of food.

"You have heard it said that the I. W. W. is a corrupt, immoral organization, a disgrace to society. I, as a member of the I. W. W. could be so corrupt or such a disgrace to society as to above act on the part of its probations officer."

To justify this infamous act on the part of the officer, the daily paper came out next day saying that one of the little girls had been sitting in the laps of the men at the meetings. The speaker says this statement is a lie, but I say it is true, no harm that. I firmly believe there are no lawful laws in our property laws that should be married to the mother, and any other children you may be the father of cannot be considered."

The following incident will serve to show some of the corruption in our present society. "While in Sacramento not long ago I overheard the speaker on the box make a statement to the effect that there was an old woman with a couple of small girls selling papers in the plaza in order to get their living."

FRED L. TIFFANY.

LESSONS THAT REMAIN UNLEARNED

Speaking of the latest dynamiting disclosures, Walter Drew, counsel of the National Erectors' Assn., says: "It all shows that the iron workers haven't learned their lesson."

The employers of Great Britain have thrown a boomerang. Their plan to raise a \$250,000,000 fund which to destroy unionism has been met with a counter-plan. The latter includes the separation of benefit from trades union funds.

Here is an interesting despatch: "Yonkers, N. Y., Oct. 2.—Garland Leno, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel & Tin Workers, composed of puddlers and lark bar mill workers, is to discharge."

The way of the labor organization that transgresses the laws of the land is hard, and it is doomed to destruction. This is the lesson that labor must learn.

We welcome Herr Philipp Scheidmann, one of the socialist leaders of the German Reichstag, to a temperance lecture. Herr Scheidmann will serve as a horrible example of what to avoid; he therefore has a mission to fill. Hardly a day in the country, he is bitter in his opposition to the I. W. W.

EBERT DECLINES NOMINATION Solidarity: Please announce that I decline the nomination for necessity and have a practical printer and publisher, as well as writer, is required for long run of the I. W. W. PREAMBLE

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until one class is crushed. It is the historic mission of the working class to overthrow the capitalist class and to establish a new social order. The trade unions are the only organizations that have the power to do this.

COSTLY PAT-RIOTISM

Mr. Peindler introduced the following bill, which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Claims. A BILL Providing for the reimbursement of certain persons and organizations for damage to and destruction of property in the city of Seattle, Wash., in 1912.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby appropriated out of the Treasury the sum of five hundred thousand dollars, to be used in reimbursing the following named persons, the several amounts set opposite their names, respectively, for the loss and destruction of and damage to their property in a riot led and actively participated in by the members of the United States Navy in the City of Seattle, State of Washington, on the night of the 14th of July, nineteen hundred and thirteen, and the time the rooms occupied by the named persons and organizations, hereinafter named, were sacked and destroyed by the rioters. The names of the persons and organizations were: Fred L. Tiffany, Seattle, Wash., \$148.00; to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Local Union of the Socialist Party of Seattle, Washington, \$142.50; to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Local Union of the Socialist Party of Seattle, Washington, \$200.00; to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Local Union of the Socialist Party of King County, Washington, \$470.00; to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Local Union of the Socialist Party of Seattle, Washington, \$178.00; to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Local Union of the Socialist Party of Seattle, Washington, \$430.00.

Washington, \$596.00; to the Secretary-Treasurer of Local Unions numbered 388, 252 and 432, Industrial Workers of the World, Seattle, Washington, \$1043.00; and the Secretary of the Treasurer is hereby directed to issue several checks for the amounts to the said parties, respectively, and to make the same, and take their receipts therefor.

WAGES AND PRICES

Saturday Evening Post, Oct. 4. Increased cost of living during the last dozen years has been a worldwide phenomenon. In fact, it is in Tokyo as in New York; and it seems to be a worldwide fact that wages, though advancing almost everywhere, have not kept pace with the rise in commodity prices. This is certainly true of England, for the Board of Trade has lately published a very comprehensive report on the subject.

Our vast importations of raw foreign labor may have some effect in retarding a rise in wages; but a recent cology in the Senate between a New Englander and a Southerner brought out the fact that cotton-mill wages in the South are still decidedly lower than in the North—a condition the Southerner defended on the extraordinary ground that Southern wages, however low, are paid in kind to native Americans; whereas Northern mill wages went largely to "foreign cattle."

Of course the native American is not to be blamed for this. He can extract from the circumstance that he is paid less than "foreign out" in any event he cannot complain. The question is whether the native American is to be paid more for his services.

No other economic question is more important than the one noted by this relationship between wages and prices. The economic questions get more consideration.

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The situation of our government is such that it is necessary to have a practical printer and publisher, as well as writer, is required for long run of the I. W. W. PREAMBLE

Liberty And The Great Libertarians By Charles F. Spradling THE first anthology on equal rights and freedom published in this country is a most valuable source of information on the subject of civil liberties and the rights of the individual.

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An Open Letter to Political Socialists

By Henry Traurig and Nat Schwartz

Editorial Note.—The below article, though ostensibly representing the personal views of a couple of socialist circles, has been going on in socialist circles for a considerable time, and especially since the birth and spread of the I. W. W. It was refused publication by the New York Worker, whose editor gave as a very logical reason, that he "didn't think it worth the trouble at this time of bringing along a discussion on this matter." The editor of Solidarity, on the other hand, considers the article of sufficient interest to others, as well as political socialists, to give it space in this paper.—Editor Solidarity.

All socialists are agreed on the main propositions of the socialism which they want; but there is one question which still forms the bone of contention among them. How will socialism be brought about? This is the question with which the leaders of socialism are everywhere concerned, for they realize that an aim no matter how correct is impossible of attainment without a proper method. Surely the importance of this gigantic problem must not be underestimated. While others may not be as yet very definite, they are at least worthy of consideration as a subject to modification by convincing reasoning. With this in mind we are addressing the party membership. Let us then interest ourselves in this question as coolly and intelligently as that whether we agree or not, we may at least know where and why we disagree.

Limitations of Political Action

Political action as a method of bringing about socialism has not been accepted as a matter of course. Of late years, however, it has been earnestly questioned by the serious minded minority. The following arguments are advanced by that minority in support of their contention, viz.: that a socialist political party is not a proper weapon for the emancipation of the working class and that an economic organization is a more effective means.

The contention of the advocates of political action is based upon the political strength of the workers and upon their ability to outvote their enemies at the polls. There is no reason to doubt that the workers are a majority class, but whether they can elect a socialist class at the polls is debatable. That the ballot may be backed up by the physical force of the worker with his physical power is one thing; but to pass a law which will benefit the worker is another thing. The following is a fair example of how political action is being defeated in the state of Colorado which passed an eight hour law which the state supreme court has rendered unconstitutional, carried by a majority of 47,000, instructed by a majority of 40,000. The law which was favored by all political parties, all the members of the legislature were elected on an eight hour platform, nevertheless an eight hour law has not been passed. It is well to remember that when the Italian revolution was overthrown, it was the purpose of upholding the law, which at that time did not allow him more than eight hours work, Roosevelt, who was then governor, sent the National Guard back to their jobs. It is admitted against by our federal government, that if we "bust" the trusts have failed. Either the trust could not be broken up, or if it were dissolved into various parts, it would be recombined. Many of our laws were after all not a dissolution. The fact of the matter is that we are unable to cope with modern capitalism. For our industrial magnates are more powerful than the state. The laws are made for the protection of property interests, others are generally defeated by shrewd lawyers with the aid of the supreme court.

The "Political Shield"

In justice to certain very radical elements of socialists, it must be stated that the purpose of political action is not to get the approval, for they do not concern themselves with reform measures. This is the position of the members of the political party enjoy. And in accordance with these ideas the economic organization usually does carry on a systematic course of education, and in the shop, mill or mine as well as lectures on the economic situation. Many of our laws are made for the protection of property interests, others are generally defeated by shrewd lawyers with the aid of the supreme court.

Besides, experience proves that the socialist resorts to any means, legal or illegal, to protect itself against an enemy, even to the extent of taking the law into its own hands. This is the case with the Colorado Labor War, Goldfield, Cour d'Alene, Pullman, McKee Rocks, West Virginia, Croton Dam, Little Fall, Lawrence, Paterson, the Dick Military Bill and the Pullman Bill—all instances in which labor laws were declared unconstitutional. The I. W. W. has been clubbed by the militia, habeas corpus, free speech, free press, free assemblies were denied, the publication of fundamental rights, imprisonment and confiscation of the workers' press and the destruction of their homes.

In the face of all these atrocious and barbarous methods, would it not be inappropriate to suppose that socialist ballots would not be counted; that ballots will not be counted and that ballots and ballot boxes will not be destroyed and tampered with? Furthermore, shall we imagine that there will not be a restriction upon the franchise to the extent of the franchise laws in various states? However, we are in various instances to deprive

the workers of the franchise, which after all is a privilege granted by the state. It is not the question of right? Finally, if a socialist political party is really an instrument for the revolutionary overthrow of the government from legally declaring it an enemy, the political party must be legal. But, since legalities are decided by the capitalist government, the power of ignoring the right for the ballot stands, the revolutionary party can therefore, exist only so long as it is the pleasure of the capitalist class to allow it to exist. Such conduct certainly possible and is moreover in line with the principle of militarism which compels an army to destroy, if they cannot capture the enemies' weapons. But how will the political advocates meet such procedure? Insurrection is their only imaginable course. "We shall mount the barricade and fight like tigers." But that is "ethically unsatisfactory" and "morally unfeasible." The anti-political socialist maintains, that whether the workers are a majority at the ballot box or not, is immaterial, for the fact remains that the governmental power of the capitalist class must be proved "legally," "morally," "ethically" and "physically." The socialist ballot is a minority. Reforms may at times be enacted by the capitalist class, but they are contrary to the interest of those who control the ballot, never. The ballot as a weapon has been proven as fruitless as an "Eskimo dog barking at the moon." The capitalist class may be induced to play at government simply for the pleasure of having a "stage" and "impotency." The theory of a legal revolution by means of the ballot is the political socialist will reply that these arguments merely prove that the capitalist class would capture the government and use it for themselves. They would not even logically argue providing they can prove that the government can be captured and in fact disproved. The possibility of reforms through political action is not a matter of course. The political socialist will reply that these arguments merely prove that the capitalist class would capture the government and use it for themselves. They would not even logically argue providing they can prove that the government can be captured and in fact disproved. The possibility of reforms through political action is not a matter of course.

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Superior Weapons of the Industrial Organization

But it is not true that the economic organization implies the physical force only. It has an arsenal of effective and superior weapons upon which it can rely in the event of a strike. The only kind of an effective physical force organization imaginable is a military organization, which is a very structure of an economic organization. The best evidence in support of this contention is the fact that the non-political economic organization in the United States has never been charged by the government with violence because it has not a military character, although the government has persecuted it. The same is true of the European situation. The economic organization whether political or non-political, have not been proceeded against by the government on the ground of physical force. This connection it may be of interest to discover. In Massachusetts, 600 syndicates against 406, pledged the C. T. of France to the Government. The Government, however, has not proceeded against the syndicates, although they have carried out their wishes. It is strange that the socialists should detect alleged violations of the law which the shrewd capitalist lawyers and judges have not been able to discover. The fact remains that the members of the non-political economic organization have not constitutional rights in accordance with Article I under Amendments to the U. S. Constitution, and the members of the political party enjoy. And in accordance with these ideas the economic organization usually does carry on a systematic course of education, and in the shop, mill or mine as well as lectures on the economic situation. Many of our laws are made for the protection of property interests, others are generally defeated by shrewd lawyers with the aid of the supreme court.

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ary numbers, but all important labor power and effective weapons. Organized industrially in sufficient numbers, what need is there for begging the kind assistance of political parties and other agencies in their own ranks? Are not all public agencies in duty bound to protect and respect the political rights of the public, consisting of "citizens"? "Economic creatures" is meant, not "human beings." The I. W. W. of course, the interests of these workers are not safeguarded by modern society is transforming the citizen of the public into a mere producer of commodities. The interests of these workers are not safeguarded by modern society is transforming the citizen of the public into a mere producer of commodities.

many years of their existence. It is also well to remember that the industrial strike of 1903 in which 300,000 workers took part, forced the government to grant universal suffrage to the workers. In the case of Prussia, where the socialists are considered the adversary of the general strike to compel the government to grant universal suffrage. How important is this fact? The I. W. W. has 110 deputies (27 per cent of the total) in the National Assembly.

Direct Action

- A. The strike—a withdrawal of labor power.
- B. The General Strike.
- C. National General Strike.
- D. Boycott—calling upon the workers and others to withdraw patronage from the employers' commodity.
- E. Passive Resistance Strike—obeying laws and regulations to the letter, but not in spirit.
- F. Hungarian railroads were thereby completely paralyzed.
- G. Hungarian mail clerks obeyed laws to the letter by weighing and examining every piece of mail matter, thus congesting the postal system.
- H. A successful strike against the owners' profits but not primarily against the consumer or public.
- I. In Harvey Hill, the laborers whose wages were reduced 50 cents per day, cut off the ends of their former wages were restored.
- J. Electrical workers of Chicago went on strike for 20 active days for \$6 wages per day, while in New York 40 boxes are made for \$4.50 per.
- K. Misdirecting perishable or other matter.
- L. As applied successfully on railroads in France to compel the restoration of blacklisted workers. During this strike a package bearing the inscription, "Saboteurs please note! This is the working class. Meric, editor of 'Le Guerre Sociale', was delivered without delay.
- M. Temporary rendering the means of production useless so as to prevent the sale of commodities.
- N. Placing kerseys or emery into bearings.
- O. Changing patterns, successfully resorted to by the Philadelphia garment workers.
- P. "Open Mouth" which is called in France "la bouche ouverte". The workers angrily and frankly volunteer truthful information regarding quality, quantity and styles, in order to injure the employers' profits.
- Q. Practiced by workers in the textile industry and drug companies in France.

Revolutionary Function of Industrial Union

The ultimate function of industrial unionism is to take and hold the industries for the workers and to manage them democratically. Industrial unionism is not a political party; it is based upon economic power, therefore the workers' political power is implied. It is not a political party, but extends also to political reforms. The recent success of the I. W. W. in Belgium, the interest of universal and equal suffrage, in which about 400,000 workers' part, is an instance in that state, in spite of the fact that the law was declared unconstitutional. The power of the economic organization is not confined to economic reforms only, but extends also to political reforms. The recent success of the I. W. W. in Belgium, the interest of universal and equal suffrage, in which about 400,000 workers' part, is an instance in that state, in spite of the fact that the law was declared unconstitutional.

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I. W. W. ORGANIZERS

All credentials issued by the General Executive Board to voluntary or national organizers bearing the date prior to July 1st are hereby revoked on order of the General Executive Board. The below names have been issued credentials by the General Executive Board and are the only authorized voluntary or national organizers with credentials at this time.
Geo. Speed, General Organizer.
J. M. Foss, G. E. B. Member.
H. Little, G. E. B. Member.
Edward Keistler, G. E. B. Member.
J. W. Kelly, G. E. B. Member.
C. H. Edwards, G. E. B. Member.
National Organizers
J. J. Etor, Matilda Rabinowitz
C. L. Filippo, C. F. Howard
M. P. Albatti
Organizers
Wm. D. Haywood, E. G. Flynn
J. A. Law, E. F. Dure
Jack Whyte, J. P. Cannon
August Thurnstorf, George Leppert
W. A. Walsh, Joseph Schmidt
Jas. P. Thompson, Board of M. A. Durso, John Panner
E. D. Danner, A. A. Rice
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