



VOLUME I. NUMBER 29

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## COLOR PRINTING

### The Lihos 8-Hour Day.

The color printing industry was recently, and rather suddenly, too, made the center of general interest. On May 5 the New York Times announced that the National Association of Employing Lithographers, in convention assembled at the Hotel Astor, had decided to grant their 30,000 employees an 8-hour day, unasked; that, too, they had beaten the union attempts to get the same four years ago. In addition, the association also adopted a free insurance plan.

In the language of Post, the darling of all employers' associations, "there is a reason" for this step of the employing lithographers. Oviatt, their secretary, makes plain that policy rather than generosity caused it. The Times' article states that "the step is expected to prevent for a long time any labor trouble in the lithograph trade." And it also adds that in all probability the same policy will be pursued "in many other trades which have found it difficult to deal with labor organizations."

All this lets the cat out of the bag. The employed lithographers are to be given a dose of "benevolent feudalism," in the hope of paralyzing their growing class feeling and interest. Bismarck tried the same idea on the German working class, in the hope of killing Socialism, and failed. The railroads of this country tried the same idea on their employes and failed; as the present clamor for more wages too plainly demonstrates. Will the employing lithographers succeed where Bismarck and the railroad corporations failed. Or, to put the question another way, are the employed lithographers so blind that they are unable to see even with the aid of a microscope? Hardly!

It was intimated above that the cat was only partly out of the bag; let us now give the feline complete exposure. Why, when the unions are beaten, should the employers give an eight-hour day and free insurance? Why? Again, "there is a reason."

Readers of Solidarity will recall the article on "The Color Industry," which appeared in the issue of January 22. Therein was described the passage of a prohibitive tariff, which debars foreign color printers, especially those of Germany, from this country. The possible effects of the tariff on the color industry here were also set forth. It was shown that it would cause the immigration of German capital and labor to these shores. This has already begun, but it is far from completion. At present the tariff has given a boom to the litho industry here. As a result, there is a demand for labor, which has caused a shifting of forces from association to "independent" shops, where higher wages are

and the eight hour day and organized to some extent. Again a labor element is coming to this country from Austria and Germany. It consists of the seasoned veterans of the Anti-German litho labor movement, and opposed to craft unionism and capitalism alike. With two such tendencies at work against it, the employers' association put to the necessity of making a bluff to save its face, i. e., turn the tide that is

so threatening it. The result is an eight hour day and free insurance plans.

Of course, the unemployed lithographers are not "taken in" by the "politic" employers. They can see through a pane of glass without the aid of an optical operation. They reason that "if the bosses don't throw us sons of head of labor organizations that is worth while." And so inclined to underrate the gener-

osity of their employers. They refuse to give up organization; and are pushing it forward, convinced that now is the time to act. If they wait until the "boom" dies out, as it is likely to do with the excessive production that is now going on, they will miss making hay while the sun shines. It is now or never!

New York. A Color Printer.

### I. W. W. Doings.

The I. W. W. has chartered 69 locals since its convention of 1908. The number of charters issued in different industries is as follows: quarry workers 1; bakery workers, 1; metal and machinery workers, 3; mixed locals, 15; building workers, 8; lumber workers, 2; public service workers, 2; hotel workers, 2; packing house workers, 2; garment workers, 1; glass workers, 1; coal miners, 7; harbor workers, 1; steel workers, 5; car builders, 3; transportation workers, 1; wood workers, 1; textile workers, 3.

In addition, many of the locals previously in existence, report increased membership, especially is this the case with the textile workers.

At the close of the 1908 convention, the I. W. W. had but one organ, "The Industrial Union Bulletin," which soon after expired. Now it has two English organs, "The Industrial Worker" and "Solidarity," one Spanish, "The Industrial Union," one Japanese, "The Proletarian," and one Polish, "Solidarosc", or five all told. In addition, it has the active, sympathetic support of a number of monthly magazines and weekly papers that previously opposed it.

The I. W. W. is a live and growing working class body. Join it! Now is the time!

## STRAY BULLETS

The burgess of McKees Rocks, as well as the Pressed Steel Car Company, wants to suppress the I. W. W., and close the Union's Hall to its 2,000 members. Old King Canute, of England, once sat on his throne by the seashore and commanded the incoming tide of the ocean to recede. The King moved back.

It is rumored that the American Sheet and Tinsplate Company and the Business Men's Exchange of New Castle will join in the celebration of the Fourth of July. Patriotism (?) is the last refuge of corporations and their lackeys?

Divided, "the workmen have no country," united, "the world is theirs." Let us get together.

The Bethlehem Steel Strikers put their case before President Taft, asking him to refuse government contracts to be fulfilled under such oppressive labor conditions. "Our" chief executive stroked the broad expanse of his waistcoat and politely informed the striker's committee that government contracts are let to whosoever can deliver the goods, and that he had no concern with the squabble between Charles Schwab and his slaves. "Put not your trust in princes," say all workers, but in the strong right arm of your industrial union. "The only way in heaven or on earth why ye may gain salvation."

Look at the number on your wrapper. If it corresponds with the number of your paper your subscription has expired. Subscribers should renew two weeks in advance of expiration in order not to miss any numbers of the paper.

## THE CANTON STRIKE.

Usual Craft Union Methods in Vogue in the Strike and Lockout of Stark Mill.

Editor Solidarity:

In submitting my report to Local 33 of Cleveland of my work in Canton I was ordered to write it up for publication in Solidarity.

On April 20 Local 33 received a letter from General Headquarters enclosing a letter written by some one in Canton, O., stating that there was a chance of organizing the men in the Stark rolling mill. St. John asked that Local 33 attend to the matter, so I was selected to proceed to Canton as soon as possible and see what could be done. I left for there April 22.

On my arrival I went to the Stark mill, hoping to find some pickets, since a strike was in progress, but not a soul did I see. After some difficulty I got in touch with some of the strikers, who took me to the Barnett Hotel to meet officials of the A. A. who had the strike in charge and had already formed a local with part of the mill men. The balance are not organized.

I proposed that a meeting be arranged for all employes in the Berger plant and Stark mill, since they are one and the same, being under control of the Berger Manufacturing Company, and submit a plan of action for acceptance or rejection; organize them for a fight anyway, and not attempt to take them into other organization until the strike is settled, and, if successful, those tactics that bring success be the deciding factor as to which organization they should join.

This plan was rejected by the A. A. officials, and I was told that they could win without the aid of the men in the Berger plant, as the Stark mill was now tied up.

One of them stated that the A. A. men could not work with the I. W. W. for the reason that it (the I. W. W.) did not ask for a scale of prices, which resulted in my entering into a stiff argument on "agreements with employers" and "union scalps," making them admit that both were wrong.

I decided that I could do nothing but plan the aid of industrial unionism amongst those whom I came in contact with. It looked as though the Amalgamated officials realized what it meant to have me talk revolutionary unionism to their members, for, when I went to their meeting Sunday, April 22, practically on invitation, I was compelled to leave the hall after the meeting was called to order. I went from there to the Berger plant and waited for the workers to come out, when I supplied them with leaflets on industrialism.

The same day the employers held a meeting, at which they decided to start the mill on Tuesday, April 25, and with the number of men willing to go back and those brought in from the outside they will be able to operate the mill and break the strike. Not only that, but break the organization, and by the slow process of starvation compel the men to realize the necessity of organizing industrially.

You may wonder why the men who came out on strike are now willing to go back to work. It is largely because no meeting of all the strikers has been held since they came out. I was told that by the last few skilled craftsmen who remain. The I. W. W., born of the needs of the times, is now the expression of the unskilled worker. Industrial organization will be complete when the unskilled are organized to the point where the skilled can see the benefit in joining. When this position is reached you have the structure of the Industrial Republic.

"Cincinnati Fatty" is to be fined by his union, according to the press dispatches. The steam shovelers are peeved at Taft because he attended a ball game on which they had played a boycott and if they take this means of showing their indignation (and awe?) They ought to take Bill's card away from him and not allow him to shovel steam any more. Injunction

W. GLOVE, Member of Local 35, Cleveland, O.

## IN THE FIELD OF STRIFE

The fact that the cigarmakers in the A. of L. are forbidden to join the I. W. W. under a penalty of \$100 is one of the reasons why so many cigarmakers are studying our principles. Every knock is a boost. What holds the cigarmakers together is their insurance benefit fund. The members of the organization who want something before they go "helly up" have no love for the job trust in which they are forced to remain. The cigarmakers union is proof positive that the A. F. of L. cannot adopt industrialism.

The value of the general strike as a working class weapon may be somewhat speculative, but it is plainly to be noticed that those who denounce it the most are they who could not take part if one were called. As Post of Battle Creek might say: "There's a reason."

Only when labor power ceases to be a commodity will there really be such a thing as "dignity of labor." So long as your muscle, your mind or your skill are bartered for on the labor market it is foolish to talk of "dignity." You might as well argue about the dignity of pig iron, ships, shoes or sealing wax. Any one who can see dignity in a pair of patched pants or a battered dinner bucket should be put in a padded cell. Think of the dignity of begging the boss for a job and the greater dignity of turning over four-fifths of what you produce to the class who have successfully sidestepped "the dignity of labor." Labor will truly be dignified when the worker receives the full product of his toil and not before.

The by-product of any industry has now become an important factor in production. The first steps on the utilization of waste material were not considered seriously, but so greatly has this feature been extended that we now find the by-products of more value than the original article. So it is with the laborer. We may compare the skilled craftsman to the original article and the unskilled worker to the by-product. At one stage in production skill was a prime requisite, the chief factor. A worker commencing with the raw material worked out the finished product. Machinery then produced slight parts of the product by the aid of slightly skilled workers, but the skilled craftsmen assembled and completed the article. Gradually at first, and then by leaps and bounds the unskilled workers grew in numbers and in importance. The original article dwindled into insignificance. The sub-division of labor and the further improvement of machinery have caused the unskilled workers to become of more importance than the skilled craftsmen. The revolution in industry has left the A. F. of L. high and dry upon the sandsoat of conservatism, still vainly struggling to conserve the interest of the few skilled craftsmen who remain.

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Bill" is a member of the A. F. of L. just the same as are Sammy Gompers and John Mitchell. Why, even Billy Bryan belongs to the Typographical Union, but if he were to try to stick a line of type the proofreader would go "nuts." Shut your eyes, Mr. Wage Slave, and try to imagine the king of Italy on the president of France in the Syndicalist movement. Then try to think of any of the above named gents as members of the I. W. W. Nothing stirring, is there? Taft is too fat. There is no room for a workman in the same organization with him. While in Denver Taft advised the workers not to join the wicked I. W. W., for it was a union that bred class hatred, and if it gained members it would soon become stronger than the government itself. Bill avows the situation. All right, but his advice to the workers should have been passed out with a pitchfork and not with a steam shovel.

The Santa Fe railroad celebrated May Day by discharging 40 machinists for belonging to a union at La Junta, Colo. About 50 men, comprising one-half of the force, joined the union, but ten of them turned in their cards when asked to choose between the union and their job. The Santa Fe is an ardent union hater, and the only way to bring that road to time is to form an organization which will take all railway workers from the section hand to the engineer.

One hundred thousand unorganized workmen have gone on strike during the past ten months, and have been partially successful. And all this time the workers "disorganized" in the craft unions have been steadily losing ground. Craft workmen have had it large and industrial unionism looms large upon the horizon.

WALKER C. SMITH.

### Resolutions of Support.

Resolutions adopted by the Fifth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, held in Brand's Hall, Chicago, Ill., May 13th 1910.

Whereas, having been reported to this convention that the textile workers in New Bedford, in the State of Massachusetts, are in revolt against unjust and tyrannical conditions, cuts in wages, etc., and Whereas, Local No. 157 of the I. W. W. is heavily involved in this revolt, be it therefore:

Resolved, that this body in convention assembled, pledge our undivided support to these fellow workers, and be it further:

Resolved, that we request all local unions, friends and sympathizers of the I. W. W. to do their utmost to help morally and financially, those engaged in this struggle.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.  
Wm. Yates, Chairman.

### Wanted: Trade Union Journal.

Solidarity is anxious to exchange with every labor union journal in this United States. Publishers of same seeing this notice are invited to put us on the exchange list and receive Solidarity in return. Subscribers can help us greatly in enlarging our list of labor exchanges by sending us the names and addresses or, better, sample copies of any labor papers they know of. These should be sent to the present, direct to A. M. Stearns, Secretary, New Castle, Pa.

Send for sub cards to Solidarity and push its circulation.

The return to work of the molders, coremakers and cranesmen broke a strike at the foundry of the American Locomotive Works in Schenectady, N. Y., on May 7.



## Revolutionary Union Movement in Other Countries.

(Translated from the "Bulletin International," April 17.)

### The General Strike in Marseille.

The past week a general strike was proclaimed by the organized workers of Marseille in support of the striking seamen.

Once again the clumsiness of the French government is the cause of this general conflict breaking out. The under secretary of the state (for the navy) Cheron, thought that with the aid of the navy he would likely break the resistance of the seamen, and that the former without the least difficulty would turn out in full force.

But on April 12 three labor organizations joined the strike, followed by others. Soon there was a complete tie-up; street cars ceased running; the great stores closed. The marines of several pack boats refused to work, and when the government requisitioned the state marines required to serve upon certain vessels (the *Moise* and *Charles Rowe*). This act of the marines has caused much excitement throughout the entire nation, as it is the first time such a case of disobedience has been seen in the navy of France.

### The Belgium Union Movement in 1908.

The acute crisis of 1908 caused a considerable loss of membership in the Belgian union movement. The official report of the Syndical Commission of the Belgian Labor party states that at the end of 1908 there was a total of 106,521 members adhering to the federated unions of the country, against 138,763 at the close of the preceding year. In spite of this loss, the finances of the Belgian unions, far from diminishing proportionately, have, on the contrary, increased, thanks partly to increases from dues in the various affiliated unions, and also to a greater centralization of union funds.

### A Crisis in the Revolutionary Syndicalist Movement of Denmark?

It is occasioned by differences in the matter of politics.

The organ of the revolutionary unionists, "Syndikalisten," edited by Comrade Christensen, has often defended political action pursued naturally under certain conditions. A great part of the workers do not approve of that attitude. In a meeting where the question was discussed, the partisans of parliamentarism obtained a small majority (two votes only). It is well to note here that these "parliamentarians" are at the same time partisans of anti-militarism and of the general strike.

A resolution proposed by the supporters of anti-parliamentarism was rejected, whereupon the latter, dissatisfied over the result of the discussion and the vote, decided no longer to participate in the administrative affairs of the union.

The anti-parliamentary resolution, which was voted down, reads as follows:

"The syndicalist union considers itself an organization of the essentially economic struggle. We understand economic power as the real social force, and, for that reason, we cannot in any manner take part in political elections, which only exercise upon the masses an influence soporific and confining."

### The Argentine Confederation of Labor.

Already, before the proclamation of the state of siege last November, our syndicalist comrades of Argentina had begun the work of labor re-organization. Since then the persecutions that followed have resulted in showing them how much the lack of cohesion among the labor organizations favored the impostors who govern their country, permitting the latter to hold the labor population under control. The lesson has been learned; now the affair is nearly over and soon the union workers of the South American republic will be reunited in an organization similar to the General Confederation of Labor of France, having the same revolutionary tendencies.

In the month of February, after the raising of the state of siege, the militants of the National Labor Federation (the new organization) started anew at the work of organizing propaganda meetings and conferences to overcome the opposition manifested against the concentration of force, and above all to revive the workers' courage which was somewhat abated by the terrible tournament of reaction.

A riot took place on Sunday night, May 8, at the Yukon mine, near Greensburg, Pa., in which one man was killed and eight wounded.

## By Way of Comment

To those who believe that the A. F. of L. can develop into an industrial organization, Denver can be held up as an example to the contrary. In Denver are located many of the headquarters of the so-called internationalists and the city is one of the best organized, from the viewpoint of the A. F. of L. of any city in the country; yet we find here that the condition of the wage slaves are unspeakable and the record of the craft unions one long list of scabbery. Jurisdictional squabbles break out every day and bring on strikes of one craft against another. The Denver Trades and Labor Assembly has delegates from only a few of the unions—the majority having left because of the bitter quarrel. The United Labor Bulletin, official organ of the A. F. of L., has this to say:

"The fights and internal strife have continued long enough. The Building Trades have just passed through and have not yet emerged from the awful turmoil; the Typographical Union has been set back years by the internal strife of several months; the metal trades are having difficulties that are not of benefit; but the Assembly, it seems that the disruptions are all brought there for a higher education. . . . The Denver Trades and Labor Assembly is reeking with corruption."

Efforts to patch up these fights over jurisdiction result in making matters worse. Dual unions are springing up in every trade and are being encouraged by the employers. A jurisdictional strike, which threatens to become a national affair, has been called on a skyscraper in the course of erection in Denver. The trouble is between the Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Sheet and Metal Workers as to which union should put in the metal window casings. Seventy-five men walked out while twenty carpenters remain at work. The carpenters withdrew from the Trades Council about a year ago on account of a somewhat similar dispute. The building is in the hands of the Stewart Construction Company and the Union declare they will carry the fight to 34 other cities where this company is operating. International officers are arriving on the scene and the following crafts have been ordered out until the matter is settled: sheet metal workers, ornamental workers, elevator car workers, steam fitters, plumbers, structural iron workers, cement masons, asbestos workers, hod carriers, hoisting engineers, painters and steam fitter helpers. At the Tampa convention of the A. F. of L. last fall, it was ordered that this class of work be done by sheet metal workers but the carpenters refuse to stop work.

The "horers" from within would have us believe that this is an organization which is "nobly waging the class struggle."

## THE WORLD OF LABOR

In a riot at Westmoreland City, Pa., on May 5th, John Sheeki was shot in the abdomen and probably fatally injured. Deputy Sheriff William Marson, who had the job of his left ear shot off, was held in \$1,000 bail, pending the result of Sheeki's injuries. Three others were injured. As the deputies under Sheriff shields were returning from the mine they were drenched by water thrown by a woman in the Sheeki house. A warrant was sworn out for the arrest of Mrs. Sheeki. When a squad of deputies attempted to serve the warrant the foreigners heated iron bars and attempted to drive the officers away. They were beaten back and began a pistol duel with the officers. Sheeki was taken to the Greensburg hospital.

A 6 per cent. increase in wages has been announced by the Spang-Chaffant Company, of Etna, Pa., affecting over 2,000 workmen. A ten per cent. increase to the laborers was announced several days ago.

The trial of John Edwards and ten other Aetna-Standard mill strikers, at St. Clairsville, Ohio, on charges of rioting in connection with the attempt of the American Sheet and Tinsplate Company to operate that plant last December, ended today in a verdict of acquittal.

### Frailless Hopes.

Politicians are capital out of condition in the steel plants of the trust. The workers who look to them for hope should remember that they are not to be trusted for anything there, as will be elsewhere. Workers, place your hopes in yourselves. Organize industrially. Join the I. W. W.

### Painters and Carpenters Demands.

Morristown, N. J., painters are out on strike for a 40-hour week at 45¢ an hour. The carpenters of the same city also are out for the same demands.

### Strikers Put Out Fires in Five Minutes.

Pittsburg, Kan., May 9.—Eight hundred striking miners attacked the mines of the Sheridan Coal Company at Fuller today, drove the engineers away and extinguished the fires. They then attacked the Chapman, McCormick and Burnett mines and mine No. 3 of the Central Coal and Coke Company, and repeated these acts.

### Railway Machinists Strike.

All the machinists in the Sedalia, Mo., shops of the Missouri Pacific railway struck for an increase of 40 an hour. The other shops on the system were also struck.

### Building Trades Affected.

The building trades at New Haven, Hartford and Meriden, Conn., are affected by strikes of hod carriers, masons, carpenters and plumbers, all of whom want more wages.

### Coilage Strike Grows.

The strike in the plants of the American Manufacturing company (the Coilage Trust), Brooklyn, N. Y., for increased wages is now general. Eight thousand men and women are involved.

### Miners' Revolt.

The miners employed by the Penna. Coal Co. at Pittston, Pa., have revolted against excessive dockage. They claim that the strike commissioners' awards are ignored by the company.

### Went Nine Hour Day.

The sheet metal workers employed at the Jamestown, N. Y., factory of the Metal Construction Co. are on strike for a nine-hour day. The company fills naval construction contracts. Three hundred and twenty-five men are directly involved.

### Notices.

NEW YORK—Open air street meetings under auspices of the I. W. W. every Tuesday evening, at 148th street and Willis avenue, and every Saturday night at 125th street and Seventh avenue.

Solidarity always on sale and sub-taken.

The I. W. W. is the bread and butter union of the workers. What the working class needs is a full stomach. The way to get it is through organization. The I. W. W. points the way.

Join the I. W. W.

### SPECIAL NOTICE!

The address of the Pittsburg district organizer of the I. W. W. is Joseph J. Eator, 100 Chartiers Avenue, McKees Rocks, Pa. Those wishing information regarding the organization, or speakers in English or Foreign languages, will please communicate with the organizer at the above address.

### Now Ready.

A new leaflet by A. M. Styrton, "GETTING RECOGNITION." Just the thing to distribute now all over the country with strikes for recognition of unions breaking out all over the country. Same size as "Union Scabs." Same price, 20¢ per 100; \$1.50 per thousand. Order now. Solidarity Literature Bureau, Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

### READY FOR DELIVERY.

"Two Kinds of Unionism," by Edward Hammond, a four-page leaflet containing the clearest and best exposition of the differences between A. F. of L. craft unionism and I. W. W. industrial unionism. Best thing out for general propaganda. Should be circulated everywhere by the thousands. Price 20 cents; \$1.50 a thousand.

SOLIDARITY LITERATURE BUREAU, Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

### Lowell, Mass., Attention!

The English speaking branch of L. U. No. 436, Branch 1, has headquarters at 92 Tilden street, 6 rear. Business meeting every Thursday night. Every slave interested in Industrial Unionism invited. Solidarity and a full line of Industrial Union literature for sale. Address of Secretary, C. Vandeveld, 95 Worthen St., Lowell, Mass.

EUGENE V. DEBS' latest photograph sent absolutely free to any one sending name and address, enclosing 3¢ postal stamp. Jas. Suler (Artist), Wheeling, W. Va.

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# SOLIDARITY

Official Organ of the Pittsburg District Union of the Industrial Workers of the World.

## ONLY I. W. W. PAPER

East of the Rocky Mountains.

We are Getting Up Toward the

## TEN THOUSAND MARK

KEEP IT GOING!

## Liberal Commission to Agents

SOLIDARITY,

P. O. BOX 622

NEW CASTLE, PA.

## THE I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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

## INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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

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

"TWO KINDS OF UNIONISM," by Edward Hammond. A Four-Page Leaflet, 20¢ per 100; \$1.50 per 1,000

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

"GETTING RECOGNITION," by A. M. Styrton. A Four-page Leaflet, 20¢ per 100; \$1.50 per 1,000

ADDRESS

## SOLIDARITY LITERATURE BUREAU

Box 622

NEW CASTLE, PA.

## "THE ARMY OF PRODUCTION"

(From "Eleven Blind Leaders," by B. H. Williams.)

The Preamble of the I. W. W. says "it is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism." It does not like Debs, paraphrase Taft with his "God knows, and says that "no one on earth knows how it is to be done;" nor does it, like Berger, and other "leading socialists," propose to "buy out the capitalists" or "confiscate their property by taxation," or compete with them by means of "co-operative," or depend upon illusive "labor legislation" as "steps toward socialism."

In clear and unmistakable language, the I. W. W. Preamble points out the logical and necessary process by which the workers are to pave the way to, and finally arrive at, the goal of the Industrial Commonwealth:

**"The army of production must be organized."**

What is the army of production?

Does it consist of the workers in a given territory, such as the State of Illinois, the county of Cook, the municipality of Chicago?

The army of production consists of the entire working class, grouped according to the forms and conditions of capitalist industry.

It embraces, for example, the miners, not as an independent entity, but as an integral part of the whole body of the working class. Mining cannot be carried on by itself. Mining requires machinery and timber. So the miners are dependent upon and related industrially to steel, metal and machinery, and lumber workers.

Miners must be fed; they cannot live upon muck, or ore, or coal. They are dependent for food upon the producers of food stuffs in agriculture and manufacturing.

Miners must be clothed; and are thus compelled to look to the textile workers and those of kindred industries. Miners must be sheltered; and the lumber and building workers supply that necessity.

The products of the mines have to be transported; and so the transportation workers on land and sea play their part in the process.

That process of wealth production today is a SOCIAL PROCESS—international and world-wide in its scope.

The army of production must be organized, then, not as independent divisions of miners, of lumber workers, of builders, and of others; but as a whole, with all parts related and inter-related one with another.

It must be organized for the "everyday struggle with the capitalists," that is, for contests of power over wages, hours of labor, and shop conditions. Active resistance and aggression develop power; and so the every-day struggle in the shops is essential to the process of uniting and drilling the working class.

The army of production must be organized to "overthrow capitalism," not by "buying out the capitalists" or "taxing" them to death, or robbing or shooting them out of existence, but by replacing the capitalist system of class owned and controlled industry by the organic structure of Industrial Democracy—that is, by the socially owned and socially controlled system of industry.

That transportation cannot be achieved by politicians, whether "socialists" or any other kind, who may be placed in control of the governmental machinery of the capitalist political state. That transformation from capitalism to the Co-Operative Commonwealth can be brought about only by "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old," that is, by building up the organized form of the Industrial Commonwealth within the frame work of capitalist society.

There is no other way, and those who imagine that the capitalist class will peacefully or otherwise surrender the industries to an unorganized working class are hugging a dangerous delusion.

On the other hand, that the capitalist class will refuse to surrender them to an industrially organized working class is inconceivable, whether or not at the same time the working class is in possession of the political machinery of the capitalist state.

On the above principle hinges the vital difference between the so-called "practical socialism" of the "political opportunists" and the genuinely REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS of the Industrial worker. The revolutionary industrial unionist, may be "impractical" in the eyes of professors and other "intellectuals" among socialists, who are safely removed from the arena

of the class struggle in the shops. He may be impractical in their eyes because he refuses to chase will-o'-the-wisps through the mazes of "political opportunism" that can only result in landing him in the swamp of reaction.

Nevertheless, the revolutionary industrial unionist sees clearly that his tactics are historically sound, and practically efficient in the long run, no matter how difficult may be the pioneer work.

And he has no illusions as to the difficulties in the way of building up the industrial union movement. He knows that oftentimes his activity means for him the blacklist; it means the long weary tramp for a job; it means misery, self-denial, the prison, the policeman's club, the soldier's bullet—for many of his kind.

But again, let me repeat—there is no other way. And no matter how painful the process may be, it is but the continuation of what has gone before—the age-long struggle that can end only with the triumph of the working class, "organized to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown."

### Is Industrial Unionism Anarchy?

In answer to this article published in "Solidarity," No. 21, P. 2, I will say that men as well as industry evolve, and the modern man rejects all kinds of dictation even that of industrial evolution.

He who uses the word utopian in regard to anarchists has not studied the question deeply enough or thinks himself superior and is inclined to dictate.

Evolution looks humanity toward freedom and independence, and not to a dictation of the Working Class.

Anarchy is the soul of the modern movement.

A utopia is one who thinks to change society without changing the origin of the evil which has been, if and will be authorized.

JULES SCARCERIAUX.

### Marjorie and Joan.

Mrs. Marjorie Gould, when she married Mr. A. J. Drexel the other day, got \$2,000 worth of wedding presents, but Darby and Joan know that Edwin and Angelina will be quite as happy with just their parents' blessing and their friends' good wishes.

In these \$2,000 worth of presents, Marjorie's people took from Joan's people 25c per plate, eight millions (8,000,000) dimes; at \$2.00 per pair, 1,000,000 pairs of shoes; at \$20.00 per suit, 100,000 suits of clothes from Joan's folks; at \$1.00 apiece, 2,000,000 shirt waists from Joan's daughters; at \$5.00 a week, the weekly wages of 400,000 shop girls; at \$1.50 a day, the day's wages of 1,333,333 men; at 30c a day, the wages of 10,000,000 child-slaves, and emptied their buckets at 10c per bucket, of 20,000,000 lunches; at 5c a loaf, 40,000,000 loaves of bread; at \$800 a month, the wages of 10,000 locomotive engineers; at \$4.00 per day, the day's wages of 666,666 machinists; at \$50 a month (John Mitchell's estimate of the limit of their wage-ambitions) the monthly earnings of 640,000 coal miners; at \$10.00 a week, pensions for 200,000 widows and orphans at Curry and elsewhere.

Children of Joan, don't you think you have been a little too generous on this divide up? Don't you think it about time to get into the I. W. W. and keep these presents for yourselves?

Covington Hall.

### SPECIAL NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

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

There was a man who made a living by robbing wild bees of their honey, and selling it to the store keepers. One day he found a lot of honey and took it home and stored it away in the loft. Some bees found a way into the loft and when the man went to get the honey he found that the bees had already taken it. Now the question before the house is: "Did the bees rob the man of his honey?" If you answer correctly you are eligible to the I. W. W.

C. L. Griffing.

New Orleans, La.

### PAMPHLETS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE

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

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

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

## Freedom.

By Joseph B. Biscay.

I was buttoned hole by a lean and shabby working man. His clothes bore the stamp WAGE SLAVE and there seemed to be a strong attachment existing between the front of his stomach and the back bone, they were so close together.

"We Americans do not realize how well off we are," he said. "Look what they are doing to the Jews in Russia. I'm thankful that I live in a free country."

"Oh, h—!" I muttered, as I pulled loose.

Free country. The land of liberty. Great snakes! Will the slaves ever learn?

How proud we are of the freedom to beg and grovel before a corpulent boss for a chance to create wealth for him and earn the price of coffee and.

How we do love the freedom of the chain gang with the 20 pound ball as an ornament whenever we are caught out of a job and broke.

How proudly we sing patriotic songs to the tune of the clanking chains. How much we appreciate the lonely life of carrying our bones on our backs wandering about, vainly hunting for a master to exploit us when we haven't the price of a job at the Employment Shark's.

How we do love to live in the glorious bunk houses in which the boss would be a fool to stable his poorest horse. How pleasant it is to ask, in an organized way, for a better chance to live and get as an answer the swing of the policeman's club or the bullet from the gun of the thug hired by the master.

We appreciate the coxy bull pens and rotten jails that are built for our special convenience.

Such pleasure, to be hunted down often with hounds, manacled, starved, beaten and often murdered—such delightful freedom. We like it. We have not the heart to kick against such a fine arrangement.

We listen to the sage's advice and get married, hoping to live up to the standard and have a big family.

The wife may soon get out and help to earn bread for the little ones, when Tom has lost his job, which he never owned, even if he did buy it.

The wife must ask to be exploited—she too is free. To oblige her, poor soul, the good capitalist puts the woman to work and sees to it that she does not have to kick about getting enough work in the long weary day—she sees to that. Did she not want work? Is she not getting more than she can do?

That her thoughts are on the babies at home does not matter—she is free.

Tom in the meantime is dodging the officers along the road, who get a premium for landing him in jail for being out of work. That he is frantically hunting for work does not matter at all. He is free and he has a chance of having his freedom confined somewhat, if caught broke.

He may get killed in a wreck or under the wheels. He has a right to do so. His name is not even mentioned in the daily and the struggling little woman knows nothing about it. She struggles on, hoping that Tom will soon send her money to satisfy the landlord and the grocer. But no news from Tom.

Finally she and the children are evicted and the furniture seized. She loses her job when the new machine is installed and the child is put to work in her place at less pay. She can wander the streets, hopelessly looking for some way out of the chasm that the modern system of freedom has plunged her into.

We may read of an insane woman killing her children and committing suicide and the "good" people will hold up their hands in holy horror at such wickedness. But usually we read nothing about her as the good women, goaded by the plaintive cry of the little ones, is forced to take a different step. She meets with insinuating remarks, being still fair looking, and often gets a hint directing her to follow another mode of living.

The idea is so horrible, too repugnant for a woman—a mother. Her tears do not

satisfy the hunger of the little ones and the mouth of the mother begins to take on a fierce determination as she sits and broods. "What does it matter anyway?" she asks herself. "I do not count for much in this great free country. Even if I do burn in hell after I'm dead, I cannot let the little ones suffer hell on earth. It's the only way left." We do not read of this in the great daily that praises our freedom to the sky. We may read of how a fallen woman was brought up in the police court and fined. We may become indignant that such a creature should have children and resist when the officers deprive her of them to put them in some home to be farmed off to strangers.

She is bad. You know it because we have a free country. She has become so bad that she does not care that her exploiters the "good" people who own the room she occupies and charge her \$1 and \$3 a day rent, look down upon her and their "virtuous" females draw their skirts clear lest they be contaminated by her touch—their victim. "She is bad, very bad," you might say. "Her parents did not take the trouble to instill the proper morals."

Look out, that those dependent upon you are not forced to the same level despite the moralizing. The machine is grinding along the same lines and may grasp your daughter and leave her as low as a waman can get under the present social system.

Many girls pass through the same experience and sink to a lower plane than the animals, becoming a sacrifice to the present system that holds them in bondage and traffics in their virtue.

A free country where men are maimed and killed for dollars and cents; where to protest against the oppressive evils is a crime that even the suffering slaves will condemn; where women are forced to work in shops and used often by the overseers to gratify their passions; where the bodies of the little children are deformed, maimed, and the very bones ground into profit; and where young girls, our daughters and sweethearts, and sometimes widows are driven below the deadline to sell their bodies for bread.

Those who are satisfied with this kind of "freedom" are consistent in sticking to it, but they have no right to force the rest of the working class to accept such freedom. They have no right to force those who are dependent upon them to suffer, whether a wife who may be forced to toil in the shop or a son who must get in the factory when he should be in school or on the playground, or a daughter who may be forced into a life of living hell; all through the ignorance of the father or husband who does not care to investigate and organize for something better.

He claims to be free. He supports all this. It's a damnable kind of freedom and we only stand for it through ignorance. Get wise and organize and reach out for some real FREEDOM.

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