



VOLUME I. NUMBER 30.

NEW CASTLE, PENNSYLVANIA, SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1910.

SIX MONTHS, 50 CENTS. \$1.00 PER YEAR

FIRST CALL FOR ORGANIZING

A National Industrial Union of All Workers in the Iron and Steel Mills of America.

Of all the enemies that are arrayed against the working class of America there are none that can compare with the power and the economic opposition of the Steel, the Standard Oil and the Meat Trusts. Only eye witnesses can describe and understand the horrible conditions, keenly feel the abject misery suffered by the workers, and see the atrocities perpetrated every day within and without the enormous plants controlled by these corporations.

Here and there the workers have successfully combated these corporations in isolated skirmishes. But they were successful only because their outbursts of discontent were spontaneous, and the systematic work during these rebellions brought out all the workers of a given plant, paralyzed them completely, and thereby forced these corporations to yield temporary and small concessions to the workers.

However, these concessions, gained at an awful sacrifice on the part of the struggling toilers, will be snatched away if the large mass of workers elsewhere do not aid in kindling the spark of discontent into a fire that will arouse the thousands of maltreated and abused wage slaves in other plants, and inspire them with courage and hope that their miserable conditions can be bettered and they themselves be trained by knowledge and organization to fight for the abolition of all the outrages.

For the purpose of frustrating the efforts of those who have taken by the back of carrying the message of industrial support to these downtrodden, the Trusts have given sham concessions in many of the plants, but only in places where a growing feeling of solidarity expressed and manifested itself to the surprise of the oppressors, have any of the promises been fulfilled.

For instance: In the mills of the Interstate Iron and Steel Company the workers have been able to gain an industrial combat, to establish wages that are at the average 30 per cent higher, and hours about 10 less every week, than the wages and hours of work are in other mills of the corporations. This struggle, though, has forced the magnates of industry, with the aid of their spies and detectives, of their political prostitutes and hirelings, and of the clergy, they are bending all their efforts towards destroying the work already accomplished.

The organization which has taken up this enormous task of organizing and educating these down-trodden workers is of limited financial resources. After we have been successful we are at the powerful forces arrayed against the working class organization are likely to drive us out of the fields already conquered for the labor movement. The Trusts will succeed if the entire working class does not join hands in this struggle to resist further aggressions of the resourceful and powerful adversaries.

This can only be accomplished by extended agitation, dissemination of knowledge, and organization on correct lines.

For this work we need literature in needful, speakers well grounded in the principles of a working class movement are required. And to have all of this financial resources must be on hand.

Workers, remember! If the corporations should be able to still more curtail the living conditions of the workers, you and your

fellows will be the next to be drawn down in the whirlpool. Your own life conditions will be in jeopardy if you do not help to raise the others up and elevate them to a higher station in life.

Therefore, we have issued this call, this earnest appeal to all workers. Lead all your efforts. Give all your aid. If you cannot contribute outright, help others to get literature before the wage workers, in the different languages: Order and buy all the instructive leaflets dealing with the conditions in all industries and institutions controlled by the corporations.

Among the authors of such literature are men like Eugene V. Debs, W. D. Haywood and others. Their works are being translated to all the principal languages, to be disposed of at the lowest price, so as to make them accessible to the largest number possible.

Don't stand back in the great work. Co-operate and help, as others have helped you in the past when you suffered under the same conditions, against which hundreds of thousands are bound to rebel in the near future.

An accounting of the use of the monies will be sent from time to time to all the supporters of this propaganda so that every one can convince himself that the contributions will be used for the purpose they have been solicited for.

Order also the "Industrial Union Manifesto," the historic document in its new edition in different languages, also the "Call to Iron, Steel and Metal Workers," for the formation of an Industrial Union on national lines. Hundreds of thousands of them will be distributed among the workers of this country if the workers will take interest enough to provide for the means whereby they will hasten the day of their own industrial emancipation.

Wake up! Do it now! Tomorrow may be too late! Get active in the work!

Hoping that this "Call" will find a ready response among the millions who long for better days in life, we remain

Yours for industrial freedom,
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Send all donations or orders for literature to Room 318, Cambridge Building, Chicago, Ill., and mark all donations for THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION OF IRON, STEEL AND METAL WORKERS.

THE GROWING I. W. W.

Below is the list of new I. W. W. local unions chartered by the General Office at Chicago in the past two months:

- Domestic Service Workers' Industrial Union No. 180, New York City, May 9.
- Metal Workers' Industrial Union No. 11, branch 2, Philadelphia, Pa., May 10.
- Industrial Union No. 69, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 24.
- Industrial Union No. 76, Wenatchee, Wash., May 31.
- Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 4, Jackson, Mich., June 10.
- Branch 2, Spanish, of Industrial Union No. 272, Phoenix, Ariz., June 5.
- Domestic Service Workers' Industrial Union No. 181, Red Lodge, Mont., June 30.
- Industrial Union No. 70, Everett, Wash., June 25.
- Tobacco Workers' Industrial Union

No. 100, Italian branch, Philadelphia, Pa., June 27.

Activity in the way of organization continues unabated in the lumber industry of Western Washington and in the harvest fields of that state. Work among the harvesters is also being taken up in Minneapolis, under direction of Local 64 of Minneapolis. Circulars, stickers and leaflets are being distributed by thousands among the agricultural workers of the middle and north West.

General Organizer Trautmann and others are busy around the Chicago and Gary, Indiana, district, while Organizers Ettor and Schmidt are at McKees Rocks and Pittsburgh. Fellow Worker Sitton reports a number of meetings arranged for him in Michigan, with prospects for a successful tour of agitation in that state.

The "Circuit Plan" for speakers, outlined in last week's Solidarity, should be pushed for all it is worth by local unions and supporters of the I. W. W. Write to Vincent St. John, 518-56 Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill., for speakers' dates and further details of the plan.

Get busy, everywhere. Push the literature and the I. W. W. papers of different languages. Organize a local in your industry. Now is the time; conditions are most favorable.

INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

(From the "Bulletin International du Mouvement Syndicaliste," Clamart, France.)

The Congress of Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Workers of France, held at Marseille, June 16, adopted a constitution for a National Federation, and, upon the suggestion of Bertholet, issued a call for the formation of an International of P. T. T.

Following is the text of the resolution by which the French National organization has taken the initiative in this good move: "This Congress instructs the General Executive Committee of the General Association to immediately get in touch with the postal associations of different countries, for the purpose of organizing, before the 1911 Congress, an international conference, which will work out the constitution for the International Federation. The Executive Committee should point out to foreign associations the objects of the proposed conference:

- "1. To devise practicable improvements in postal, telegraphic and telephone relations between the different countries.
- "2. To constitute, in conjunction with temporary international conferences, a permanent organization, permitting its members to draw closer together the natural ties which similarity of daily toil creates between them and to contribute their share to the general welfare.
- "3. To obtain from different administrations the international exchange of postal agents.
- "4. To establish an international bureau, charged with co-ordinating the work, and to serve as a means of securing unity among the different organizations."

Strikes in Italy.

The Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor of Italy publishes the following statistics upon strikes in 1909:

During the last year strikes in Italy numbered 932, with a total of 149,566 strikers. These took place in 10 different sections. The building industry showed the greatest number (147 strikes). Then followed the textile industry (142 strikes), the metal industry (131 strikes), and in the order named: Stonecutters, wood-workers, tanners, garment workers, typographers, etc.

General Strike in Switzerland.

More than 2,000 building workers, at a mass meeting June 15, in Lausanne, Switzerland, declared a general strike of all building trades unions, to begin June 14. Their common demand is the 6-hour work-day. The strike continues, under excellent conditions, with the hope of a complete victory.

In the World of Labor

Teamsters are still on strike in Portland. Machinists are urged to stay away from Boston, Mass. Strikes on in many places.

Boilermakers are on strike in five shops of Greater New York. One dollar a day more is wanted.

The bakers of New York are continuing their struggle for a shorter day, more wages and better conditions.

Other machinists strikes are on at Seattle, Wash. In fact, all the Pacific coast cities are now the scenes of conflict precipitated by the Metal Trades Association (employers).

Our Spokane I. W. W. locals are getting out some fine illustrated stickers for use in their work of organizing the farm workers and harvest hands. Their plan of campaign is a credit to the organization.

Machinists strikes are also on at Portland, Ore. These strikes present the usual trades union scabbery; the "good union" molders making castings for the scab machinists. Two years ago the "good union" machinists finished the castings made by scab molders.

The Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union officials are occupied by running a loan company that is of rapacious and extortionate character. One hundred per cent per annum are the estimated earnings of the company. The loan sharks will have to look to their laurels.

Thirteen Southern railroads have averted a strike by signing an agreement with the conductors and brakemen's organizations, who voted to go out in case the railroads refused to accede to their demands. The details of the agreement were not made public. This looks suspicious.

W. D. Haywood is doing good agitation work among the striking Illinois miners. He speaks to the slogan, "No agreements to scab," and rightly claims that signed agreements with the operators only mean an agreement to work when strikes are on in other districts.

Twelve hundred section men and section foremen are on strike on the Delaware & Hudson railroad between Wilkesbarre and Carbondale, Pa. They want an advance of 2 1/2 cents an hour. Two hundred men are also out on the same road at Allany, N. Y. It is reported at this point that nearly all the trackmen on the lines of the D. & H. have quit work.

New York City has a new trades union for women. It is organized by the A. F. of L., with Mrs. Eya McDonald Valles, as the nominal, and Miss Anna Morgan, daughter of J. P., as the real head. It is a rival union in opposition to the Women's Trade Union League, which conducted the Shirt Waist Makers' strike and is largely dominated by Socialist women. Enough said.

The New York Bricklayers' Union has issued a notice which states that the heirs of any of its members who may be killed while serving in the National Guard shall be deprived of all benefits which they would otherwise receive from the union. This direct appeal against one of the best engines of labor repression causes "The Army and Navy Journal" to froth at the mouth. It calls the notice "a high handed attack upon the majesty of the law, that cannot be tolerated in this country." That will deprive the working class, if they don't stand by the bricklayers, the

sentiments of the Journal will prevail; if they do, what can the Journal, or the class it represents, do about it?

The great event in the world of labor is the general strike of the garment workers of the East. More wages and better conditions are wanted. Gompers advocated the general strike. Gompers is always advocating general strikes in the shirtwaist, garment making, or some other industry that is not of prime importance in capitalism; while on the other hand, he is proud of helping to kill the Chicago railway strike of '04, and some day, no doubt, will boast of his part in effectually killing the recent revolt at South Bethlehem. Gompers is a labor mountebank.

The National Turner Society, in convention assembled at St. Louis, passed resolutions dealing with the attempted suppression of free speech at Spokane, Wash., and New Castle, Pa. It was the Turner Society that refused to be intimidated by the police of Spokane against renting a hall to the I. W. W. during the recent free speech persecution in that city. The sturdy and respectable Germans stood by the I. W. W. in a way that should put some so-called revolutionary socialists, who are bourgeois in their ethics, to shame. They know when fundamental principles are at stake, and can see through persons back to them. All hail to the Turner Society; they were an important factor in abolishing chattel slavery; now they are proving an important factor in abolishing wage slavery.

The strike at the cordage trust works in Greenpoint, Brooklyn, N. Y., is assuming a new aspect of more than local interest. The Socialist party, in order to help the strikers, arranged a series of open-air meetings right in the shadow of the cordage works. The police hauled and threatened, but the Socialist party men stood their ground and held the meetings. These were broken up and the speakers arrested on a charge of obstructing traffic; of course, what is meant is obstructing the capitalist work of degrading and exploiting labor. The speakers are out on bail, and the local behind them is making legal preparations to find out whether free speech is a fact or a farce. I. W. W. men will watch the fight, ready to give a hand. The Brooklyn Socialists are friendly to SOLIDARITY and the I. W. W. In addition, they are putting up a good fight for a fearfully exploited body of wage workers.

Labor the world over is having a "h-1 of a time of it." In Mexico labor is in revolt against Diaz; in Argentina it is making heroic and successful efforts to recuperate from the recent attempts at its complete suppression; in Spain, the same story is told; in Hawaii, labor is destitute and oppressed; in England, unemployed in large numbers; in Japan, labor is in the throes of a panic, wages have shrunk from 15 to 30 per cent and unemployment abounds; in the United States, labor faces a panic, while hundreds of thousands in all the textile industries are on part time, while hundreds of thousands of miners are on strike in various States; in Canada, big mining strikes are on. Labor is certainly not having a rosy time of it. But when did labor ever experience anything better? But don't despair. In the words of the language of never dying hope, "there is a good time coming." It is coming because Labor is working for and getting nearer to it every day. And capitalists tend toward it. So, on the job, fellow workers. Don't give up. Hustle for the I. W. W.

THE REVIEWER.

SOLIDARITY

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



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

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W. E. Trautman, General Organizer

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
T. J. Cole, J. J. Etor, E. G. Flynn
Francis Miller, George Speed.

TO THE FRIENDS OF SOLIDARITY.

Last week we called attention to the danger this paper was in unless the revenue from subscriptions increased sufficiently to meet current expenses.

The response to that suggestion has not yet had time to reach us. Meanwhile we are taking time by the forelock and making another appeal to our supporters.

THIS TIME WE ARE ASKING FOR MONEY.

Of course we do not like to do this. But we can not afford to stand on ceremony when the very existence of *SOLIDARITY* is threatened.

We are determined that this paper shall live, flourish, and improve from time to time as an exponent of industrial unionism and working class solidarity.

For that reason we are asking you to help tide *SOLIDARITY* over the next few months of summer.

We want 400 live workers to agree to contribute at least 50 cents a month each for three months to a sustaining fund for *SOLIDARITY*.

As far as possible we want these contributions from workers who live east of the Rocky Mountains, as our fellow workers in the West have their hands full with their own paper, the "Industrial Worker."

Will you be one of the 400? If so, don't delay, but send your pledge and contribution at once. We must have quick action.

If you can not get subs you can at least help a little in this way.

Address all contributions to *SOLIDARITY*, Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

C. H. McCARTY,
B. H. WILLIAMS.

A SEDITIOUS LITTLE REBEL.

A Pittsburgh daily paper under date of July 5 contains the following interesting item:

Fifteen hundred children of foreign parentage were presented with a playground, in Ohio street, Preston, yesterday morning, by the Pressed Steel Car Company. With the waving of American flags and shouts of gladness, the children took formal possession of the ground, which occupies a tract of nearly a quarter of an acre, and all day yesterday dispersed themselves and all day yesterday played on the swings and see-saw provided for them. The playground is between the company restaurant and the office buildings. The parents of the youngsters also appeared to help their children enjoy the games and amusements provided.

In our fancy, we can see some sturdy little "Hunkies" after enjoying the swings and see-saws of this playground for many days, suddenly stop in the midst

his frolic and deliver himself in this fashion to his companions:

"Fellow playmates, this ground and these swings were given to us by the great Pressed Steel Car Company, which, in its mills, has murdered our fathers and made widows of our mothers and orphans of us. Which has forced us to dwell in miserable shacks; wear rags, and eat rotten food. Which will soon force us to leave school and this playground to be swallowed up for the rest of our lives in these hell holes of the steel trust.

"We will take the playground and make the most of it. Here we will romp and play, and swing; develop our bodies and harden our muscles, while we can. And just as surely as our fathers are organizing in the I. W. W., to improve their condition, so, if they leave work for us to do, we will go forth as men and women to lay the beast of capitalism. Come on, let us play!"

And again in our fancy, we behold the long arm of the Cossack or the company "bull" reaching out from the neck of this sturdy youngster, and, dragging him off to the "reform school," but he immolate his more timid playmates with the spirit of his motto.

THE WAITING HABIT.

Special attention is called to "The Commentator's" article on "Government" in this issue. Every reader of *Solidarity* should study that article with care. It contains a conception of government which is the very essence of socialist philosophy, but which, strange to say, finds constant denial in the socialist press and on the socialist platform.

For several decades the workers of this country have been misled by socialist politicians into the belief that the only thing necessary for their emancipation was a working class victory at the ballot box. Thousands of workers have acquired the "waiting habit," as a consequence. They are waiting and working for that victory alone.

One worker expressed the idea to the editor of *Solidarity* recently, when he said: "I believe socialism will come before industrial unionism." He meant, of course, that he thought the socialist political party must come to power before the formation of the industrial union. This same fellow worker had just passed through a year of the tin mill strike in New Castle, and now appeared to be in the mood to wait for that "political victory" the rest of his life, if necessary, instead of getting busy with his fellow wage slaves in the shop, and helping to form a fighting union for the every day conflict and for the final victory.

"The Commentator's" article makes clear that a "political victory of the working class," without prior world-wide industrial organization, is out of the question. The article will help to dispel the clouds of sophistry that have hitherto obscured the vision of the working class in this country.

SPECIAL FEATURES NEXT WEEK.

The next issue of *Solidarity* will contain a cartoon by Harry Wilkinson, which is quite appropriate for this summer weather. The picture shows the capitalist sitting on a cake of ice, with the sun of the I. W. W. shining upon him, and, as his profits melt away, gazing at the rising thermometer of revolutionary discontent.

Another special feature will be a tale of unspeakable brutality perpetrated upon workers by the State Constabulary in the miners' strike in the Irwin, Pa. coal fields.

The usual good things from "The Commentator" and other correspondents will be found in the coming issue.

Push the subs and bundle orders.

Another choice piece of "labor legislation" is reported from Montana. A bill has just passed the State Senate providing for a "State accident insurance and total permanent disability fund for coal miners and employes of coal washeries in Montana." The bill provides that this fund shall be maintained partly from the earnings of the miners themselves, 1 per cent being deducted from their gross earnings, and placed at the disposal of the State Auditor for the above purpose. The coal company is also required to pay into this fund one cent per ton on the tonnage of coal mined, shipped or sold locally. Miners are objecting to this law, which they declare is backed by the operators, and was smuggled through the Senate without publicity. The law virtually places the liability for accidents upon the miner, without putting it up to the operator to provide better air and roadways and safer methods of digging coal in large veins.

W. F. OF M. JOINS A. F. OF L.

The Associated Press of two weeks ago announced that President Chas. H. Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners was in Washington, D. C., conferring with Samuel Gompers and the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor over the matter of affiliation.

A recent referendum in the miners' organization on the question of joining the A. F. of L. resulted in favor of the same by 7,000 majority. Only five local unions out of a total of 385 showed a majority against affiliation.

The first and most logical criticism a revolutionist might make on this action would likely be that the Western Federation of Miners had taken a step backward. While that is beyond question, it does not tell the whole story. It does not explain the causes that have led to the decline in spirit of a once militant labor organization.

The W. F. of M., from its birth in 1893 to the release of its officials from the murderous clutches of the Western mine owners by an Idaho court three years ago, has had a stormy career. During that period of fourteen years it fought more battles against greater odds than probably any other labor organization in the history of America. And it won victories, too. It missed the standard of living of its members and practically secured the eight-hour day throughout its jurisdiction, by aggressive and concerted action on the industrial field.

By its form of organization craft divisions were wiped out. Every man in and around the mine, from the engineer down to the least skilled muckel belonged in the same local union and all together discussed their common interests. Craft "aristocracy" found no soil in which it could develop. A high minimum wage, nearly uniform in all departments, brought the skilled and unskilled together on common terms and promoted the spirit of fraternity and solidarity. Contracts with the boss were not thought of; the united spirit and power of the organization sufficed to enforce conditions.

It must not be inferred, however, that the revolutionary spirit was found in all or a majority of the union's members at all times. On the contrary, it was a comparatively small minority of radicals that acted as a leaven among the more conservative mass of miners. In times of trouble the revolutionary spirit of this smaller element dominated the union and led the fight. This progressive and aggressive element consisted mainly of the "hobo" miners, who had shifted from camp to camp, had nothing to lose, and realized the fact. Filled with a profound hatred of his capitalist exploiters, the hobo miner was ready to fight at a moment's notice. His only weakness lay in the fact that he often left the scene of action too soon after a strike started, and, with the "home guard" in charge, the spirit of combat was weakened. But for all that, the hobo-miner was the one who gave strength and aggressiveness to the struggles of the Western Federation of Miners.

And so the W. F. of M. fought on, encountering the most powerful combinations of capital at the back of the Mine Owners' Association. Every resource at the command of the capitalists was made use of to crush the miners' union. The blacklist was out after every fighter in the organization, and many of these had to change their names as often as they changed their jobs. "Bull pens" were built for strikers, where hundreds of miners were herded for months in filthy stockades, with their wives and children outside and at the mercy of ruffianly soldiers. Pinkerton detectives infested every meeting to spy on the active workers and to stir up trouble so as to discredit the union. The civil and military forces of the state were brought into action against the miners in times of strikes. Miners were deported at the point of the bayonet. State and national constitutions were trampled under foot by subservient governors and brutal military chiefs. Officers of the miners' organization were kidnaped, and even the Supreme Court of the United States came to the support of the mine owners by legalizing the act. In short, all the political and economic power of the past was brought into play to crush this fighting union.

During those famous fourteen years, the W. F. of M. not only overcame these repressive forces of the capitalist enemy, but it also resisted the blandishments of the American Federation of Labor in the latter's effort to bring about affiliation. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to unite the two organizations. The W. F. of M. would have none of it. It even took a positive stand against the A. F. of L. and craft unionism in 1909, by taking a leading part in the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World, which was brought into existence the following year. It became a part of the I. W. W., and remained in the organization one year, withdrawing after the second I. W. W. convention.

What then were the causes leading to the decline in fighting spirit of this aggressive western miners' union, and which have culminated in the reactionary step of joining the A. F. of L.?

First of all, we must consider the changed attitude of the Mine Owners' Association. Having tried in vain for fourteen years to crush the Western Federation of Miners and to railroad its officials to the gallows, the capitalists modified their program, and sought to control the organization through its conservative rank and file and its officialdom. The radicals were weeded out by the combined efforts of the union's officials and the mine owners' blacklist. The conservative element was coddled, and gained the upper hand. Conciliation came to the front; the fighting spirit declined. Strikes have been comparatively few and unimportant in the past three years. At the same time, "official diplomacy" has been very much in evidence, drawing the organization away from its fighting traditions and towards the conservative A. F. of L.

What the mine owners failed to do by force, they have accomplished through Civic Federation methods. The process will doubtless continue, until the W. F. of M. becomes as completely the foot ball of the metalliferous mine owners, as the United Mine Workers is of the coal barons.

HOURS AND WAGES AT BETHLEHEM.

The current number of "The Survey" contains a detailed report of the working conditions at the Bethlehem Steel Works as a result of investigations carried on by a committee of sociologists and also by the United States Commissioner of Labor.

As to the hours of toll they found that out of every hundred men 29 were working seven days every week; 43, including these 29, worked some Sundays in the month; 31 worked 12 hours a day; 25 worked 12 hours a day seven days a week; 46 earned less than \$2 a day.

These were the conditions which provoked the strike at the Bethlehem works which started February 4. The men with shorter hours claimed that the encroachments of overtime and Sunday work were leading to a 12-hour and seven-day schedule for the whole force. While a very considerable percentage of the force had a regular working day of 12 hours for the entire seven days a week, many of the skilled workmen had approximately a ten and one-half hour day for five days of the week and a half day off on Saturday. A large number of this latter group were frequently required to work overtime on week days and to do additional work on Sundays, and a committee of three men was appointed to protest against this extension of time and the requiring of work on Sundays. Shortly after, the three men were discharged, and the strike followed on February 4.

According to the January payroll of the company of the 2,184 persons appearing on that payroll, 2,028, or 93 per cent, were regularly required to work seven days a week, and for these Sunday work wasn't considered overtime. Of the men whose normal week consisted of only six days, 1,415, or 14.5 per cent of the entire number on the payroll, were required to do extra work on one or more of Sundays during the month. Thus, a total of 5,041, or 43.5 per cent of those appearing on the January payroll, were required to work at least on some Sundays.

The table dealing with wages, taken from the January payroll, shows that a large percentage of the laborers working 12 hours a day, seven days a week, earned only 12 1/2 cents an hour. Those working for 12 cents and under 15 cents in January numbered 2,640, or 28.7 per cent of the total number on the payroll, while 1,528, or 16.6 per cent, received 14 cents, and under 16 cents an hour. The total number shown as receiving less than 10 cents an hour (not including apprentices) numbered 4,221, or 46 per cent of the total number on the payroll, while 5,885, or 58.6 per cent, received less than 18 cents an hour.

Commissioner of Labor Neill, in speaking of the Bethlehem situation, says: "These are conditions of labor which, may well be termed shocking, but they are not confined to the Bethlehem Steel Works. Blast furnace work is necessarily a continuous process, requiring operation 24 hours a day every day in the week, and for this reason three shifts of eight hours each offer the only plan of relief. Three shifts of workers would not only give reasonable working hours to those employed, but would by rotation of shifts leave workers free the greater part of the day two Sundays out of each three."

"The published reports of the Bureau of Labor also show that in other departments of the steel industry a 12-hour day for six days a week is not uncommon and is not confined to the Bethlehem Steel Works. Not only is this true, but in other departments aside from processes which necessarily require seven-day operation the six-day week of 12 hours a day has been in many instances lengthened into a seven-day week of 12 hours."

"The 'Miners' Magazine' suggests that the action of the W. F. of M. in joining the A. F. of L. puts the western miners "in touch with all parts of the labor movement." That is a mistake. The part of the A. F. of L. to do not touch one another. Between these parts are high blind walls of prohibitive initiation fees, apprenticeship regulations, contracts, and matters of "jurisdiction," which effectually prevent one craft union from joining forces with another against the common enemy. What the W. F. of M. may discover, instead of a closer unity with the rest of the working class, is a possible tendency toward disunity in its own ranks. Look out for craft unions of engineers, of framers, of tinmen, men of ropemen, of machine men, of muckers, etc., among the miners.

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.

Lewell, Mass., Attention!

The English speaking branch of the I. W. W., Branch 1, has headquarters at 92 Tilden street, 6 cent. 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, 92 Worthen St., Lowell, Mass.

The lesson in all this should be plain to the revolutionary industrial unionist: Let us be guided always by the three stars on the I. W. W. emblem—ORGANIZATION, EDUCATION, EMANCIPATION.

Organization, not of a sectional character, embracing miners alone as an independent body; but systematic and world-wide organization of all toilers in one big union—the economic organization of the working class.

Education, that tends to keep the workers' minds out of the clouds, and squarely on the ground of their class interests.

Education and organization that together will enable the working class to build the structure of the new society within the shell of capitalism, and to emancipate itself from wage slavery altogether.

GOVERNMENT

In Theory and in Fact.

To repeat an argument again and again is tiresome. Men and women will refuse to listen to what has been said often before. Yet repetition is necessary and useful. It is a means of education. By means of it facts and conclusions are impressed upon the human mind. We have in the past written much about the necessity of the working class acquiring economic power; that is, the power to control the mills, mines, factories, farms, shops, railroads, ships, banks, etc., in its own interests. We believe such control is possible with the working class, as all these institutions depend upon the brains and muscle, in a word, the labor power of the working class, and are therefore at the mercy of the working class as soon as the workingmen and working women realize this fact and organize accordingly. The government is political power is dependant on economic power. With economic power the working class can make and unmake governments in its own interests. Without economic power working class political action is like a house without a foundation or a dream without substance; it is foredoomed to collapse and is lacking in reality.

Though we have written much about this subject in the past, we feel compelled to take it up again, even at the risk of being tiresome. We do this because we consider that it will force more and more consideration as the working class develops. We have also another reason, to wit, the tendency, in some quarters, to deny the working-class necessity for acquiring economic power. In the quarters referred to political action is held to be the one thing with which the working class should primarily concern itself. In an argument along this line, the New York Call of June 28, for instance, makes the following editorial summary: "The government is the greatest economic factor in the community and in the nation." It therefore urges the capture of the government. This, too, notwithstanding the fact that the railway interests in conflict with the shipping interests have just forced through Congress and compelled the President to sign, by threats of panic, a bill which the New York Times of June 27 praises editorially as the "greatest railway bill ever enacted, as it frees the railways from much legislative interference and leads to the adjustment of rates more in accordance with railroad standpoints and interests." The Call has plainly got the power of government overestimated. It has, in fact, made the mistake of placing the cart before the horse.

The American Theory of Government.

The Call is led to make this mistake by an argument on a theory of government that is not in accord with American history; by a failure to recognize the meaning of passing events right within the Socialist and revolutionary movement itself; and by a lack of knowledge regarding modern capitalist confessions on the respective merits of government and industry. The Call argues that there is a continued extension of the power of the government going on in this country, to the detriment of capitalist theories and principles on that point. It holds that the Jeffersonian theory of that government is best which governs least, was the dominant theory of government until lately, when it was overthrown by the theory of governmental regulation and control. This argument is historically and actually wrong and altogether misleading. The dominant theory of government in this country has always been the Hamiltonian theory of a strong centralized government, by and in the interests of the propertied class. The Hamilton theory is reflected in the peculiar constitutional formation of the federal government, with its ultra-conservative Senate and Supreme Court, which are admittedly nothing more nor less than ruling class "checks" upon democratic legislation, devised by Hamilton and the propertied class whom he represented in the constitutional convention. The Hamilton theory is further reflected in the policy of protection, with its subsidies, bounties, grants, and so on; a policy that is so plainly by, for and of the plutocrats that even the average non-socialist citizen knows its true character. Alexander Hamilton, the father of American political theory, was, according to Prof. Charles S. Beard, of Columbia University, (from one of whose colleges, King's college, Hamilton graduated) aware of the nature of the class struggle fifty years before Karl Marx analyzed and formulated it with the help of Frederick Engels, in the immortal "Communist Manifesto."

The Civil War and American Government.

The Hamiltonian theory carried on a running, but always winning conflict with the Jeffersonian theory until the Civil War, when it secured an undisturbed way. It won this complete victory despite the fact that the slaveholders, who were Jeffersonians almost exclusively, controlled the federal government at the opening of the war, in the teeth of Lincoln's election and inauguration. This victory was only possible because of the greater economic power of capitalism and its greater value to the social growth of the country, which, perforce, compelled the northern States to rally to its defense and aid in the overthrow of the Jeffersonian theory of government once for all. Ever since the Civil War every attempt at the extension of governmental powers in favor of the capitalist class has met with successful use, as in the search for world markets, for instance; while every attempt at the extension of governmental power against the capitalist class has been an absurd failure. The Populists tried it. But, where, oh where, are they? Poor fellows. Even their In Terrible Commere Commission is now used against them. The trust boasters tried it next; with results that are without effect in stopping or dissolving Trusts. Now, the western shippers try governmental "control"—the disastrous end which was theirs need not be detailed here; it's too harrowing. And all this as it should be; that is, these results are a logical development of the Hamiltonian theory of a strong centralized government by and for the propertied class; only now the propertied class means the ultra-capitalist class only.

So much for point one: The Call's theoretical premises are historically and actually wrong. Let us now take up point two, viz.: the Call's failure to recognize the meaning of passing events right within the Socialist and revolutionary movements themselves.

Government in Milwaukee.

First, let us turn to Milwaukee. This city is now in the possession of a Socialist administration. Socialists are in the majority in the city council; they run the city departments; and, to cap everything else, a Socialist occupies the mayor's chair. Is the Socialist government "the greatest economic factor in the community" of Milwaukee? For an answer turn to the magazine section of the Sunday Call of June 25. There you will find a statement declaring that the bankers have decided to boycott Milwaukee bonds. This will mean, if persisted in, that Milwaukee will not be able to secure necessary municipal improvements. (We might add that the bankers have already forced the Milwaukee Socialist administrators to agree to increase the rate of interest on bonds from 4 to 4 1/2 per cent.) Need more be said about the greatness of the Milwaukee city government as an economic factor.

Government in Mexico.

Second, let us turn to Mexico. In the Call of July 1 there is a letter on Mexican conditions, written by a Mexican Socialist to an American Socialist. First letter is a flashlight on the relative importance of economics and politics. We quote the following lines, giving the reason for the turbulent political conditions now existing within the confines of "our" nearest southern neighbor: "The large capitalists are secretly egging on the small capitalists, intellectuals and workmen to their death at the hands of Diaz, and, more insidious still, they are going to sacrifice Diaz himself; for I feel sure that at the right moment they will have the United States step in and annex Mexico. Diaz has calculated that if he turns over the economic power to the capitalists they will permit him to retain the political power. So it has been, but now the capitalists no longer need nor care to share up with the politicians, and although he has been faithful to them, they will not be faithful to him. I can't swear to it, but I think that after all these years the capitalists are going to kick him down—perhaps kill him."

The reader will note that in the above it is plain that the capitalists, having acquired economic power, have no further use for Diaz. In fact, they are even ready to kill him off, if necessary, in order to annex Mexico and bring it under a form of government more in accord with their own interests. This only shows how superficial "Diaz, the great Mexican statesman," really is. He gives away the foundation of Mexico, and expects the superstructure to be all his own. His folly is only surpassed by some of "our" rising American

statements."

Government in Germany.

Third, and lastly, let us turn to Germany. In Germany, governmental extension of power has gone further than in this country. Governmental ownership is in vogue there in one of the most important industries of modern civilization, the railroad industry. Does this fact denote great economic power on the part of the German government; a power that the capitalist class fear and respect, to the great advantage of the working class? If there be any reader who is inclined to answer this question with "yes," let him pause; for it will gain him to know that Germany is increasingly the land of social discontent and of capitalist defiance to the working class movement and the government. The facts in support of this contention may be found in the "Call." About three weeks ago it published on its first page a cable dispatch showing that Germany is now abreast of the leading industrial nations in the number of annual strikes, so great had been its increase in the number of conflicts between capitalist and laborer during the past year. The Call has also republished letters written from Germany to a western labor paper, in which facts are given which show that Germany is far excelence the land of the gigantic lockout. Three hundred and fifty thousand building trades workers were recently told to get out of the shops and stay out until they came to the employers' associations' terms, and this notwithstanding the endeavors of governmental conciliation and arbitration boards.

We will now hasten to close. Sufficient has been said to show that the Call's position is untenable. Milwaukee, Mexico and Germany all show how much greater is the power of the owners of the means of life than the government which is alleged to be their superior, and how much more necessary, consequently, is the conquest of economic power than that of political power. But before we close, just one quotation. It is from a book entitled "Modern Industrialism," written by Frank L. McVeey, professor of economics in the University of Minnesota. This work gives the essential of the history of industry in the United States, Great Britain and Germany. Regarding the results of this development in the United States, the Professor makes the following confession: "A Confession of Governmental Failure.

"In America the situation is tenser and the problems more difficult than in other lands. There the development has been a rapid one; a great freedom of action was possible in the settlement of a pioneer country and the law was by no means a powerful force in maintaining order. Attention was given to material development, and in a short time State and municipal organizations had been outgrown, just as the management of industry had been surpassed by its technical growth. This was a serious defect, emphasized by the failure of the courts to adjust such legal institutions as did exist to the growing economic order and the elasticity of constitutions and governments. The result is what might have been expected, an overwhelming organization of industry standing side by side with a State that is puny when compared with it. Awakening to the situation, the State has attempted to enlarge its powers, but has been restricted by the inelastic American legal institutions. So the problem has become a double one of political development and industrial control." (Page 228.) The emphasis is ours.

The reader is urged to compare this summary of industrial and governmental development in this country, with that advanced by the Call. When viewed in the light of history, both past and present, there can be no doubt that Prof. McVeey is right and the Call wrong, dead wrong, in their respective conclusions. Those "inelastic American legal institutions" that the Professor refers to are all due to Hamiltonian theory and foresight. These have made the State a puny thing when compared to the overwhelming industry which not only stands side by side with, but underlies it. Workers get economic power through industrial organization. This is the basis of capitalist power in government. Fool not yourselves, and let not yourselves be led into believing that with the government in your power you have the essence of power, for then you have only an empty shell. Remember the fate of the slave-holders of Milwaukee; of Diaz; and of the German workers. Get economic power! Not as Gompers urges, that is, in order to perpetuate capitalism, but for your own emancipation from that perverse institution.

On with the Industrial Workers of the World, which points the way to the attainment of this all-important end! Read its preamble on another page, subscribe to its press, buy its pamphlets, join its locals. Get economic power! THE COMMENTATOR.

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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.

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THE REAL WORKERS

By Patrick L. Quinlan.

Capitalist newspapers, teachers, professors and other ignoramuses tell us that there are several kinds of revolutionists and socialists. They go on enumerating the different species as they exist in their minds. They trot them out in the following fashion:

"Yes, there are all kinds of Socialists; there is the State Socialist; the Christian Socialist; the Utopian Socialist; the labor Socialist; the compromising Socialist; the revolutionary Socialist; the parliamentary Socialist; the communistic Socialist; the parlor Socialist and the Marxian Socialist.

Some foolish highbrows would keep on classifying Socialism and Socialists until they had as many varieties and classifications as Linnaeus and other scientists had of plants and animals. The most remarkable thing about it is that they don't seem to be in any way bewildered at the long array of names of the genus Socialist they sling out; in fact they seem to take pride in their profound ignorance of the Socialists and what he stands for. With the poor devil of a Socialist the story is different. He becomes alarmed when he learns he is so rich in relatives. The task of convincing the non-Socialist workman is comparatively easy to him, but when it comes to assimilating and welding all his relations into one common stock, he throws up his hands in despair.

It may be surprising to you, I know it will be to some learned, but unseeing folks, when I say that there are three kinds of Socialists and only one brand of Socialism.

There is the negative Socialist; the positive Socialist and the genuine Socialist.

The negative Socialist hates the capitalist class, but has very little confidence in the ability and resources of the workers to overthrow the class he hates so strongly and despises so deeply. He lacks the fraternal spirit and the idea of the brotherhood of the working class.

The positive Socialist loves the workers. He is full of sympathy for them. He has pity for their misfortunes, and excuses for their faults and mistakes. But he does not hate the capitalist. His criticism of the capitalist is mild and apologetic. He fondly wishes to retain the good will of the capitalist and worker alike, so that he may not lose his respectability. An impossible feat.

The genuine Socialist is a compound of all that is good in both positive and negative. He loves his kind and he hates the exploiter. He is the personification of class hatred. He is never apologetic for any supposed bad features of the working class. If blame is to be attached to any one he never fails to put it where it belongs. He dawns the capitalist system; for every wrong the workers are compelled to endure he will not tell them it is their fault. If he ever criticizes his fellow workers he does it in a friendly and generous fashion. And above all, he has supreme confidence in the ability and power of the workers to emancipate themselves from wage slavery. He believes that the proper time arrives the workers will not be afraid of the gigantic task of liberating society. The thunder of the capitalists has no terror for him. He can always be depended on to uphold the cause of humanity.

He is a fighter, and he never goes outside the members of his own class—the working class—for a leader. And if you want to find specimens of the genuine, the revolutionary, Socialist you will be most likely to meet them in the ranks of the Industrial Workers of the World, where all workers ought to be.

His Socialism is easily summed up: The republic of workers, the industrial democracy, a commonwealth of producers. It is true the members of the I. W. W. are not as many as those of other so-called labor organizations. But you can see them constantly on the firing line, ever bearing the brunt of the battle. They never retreat. Their ranks are growing, and other good methods true will be found to join the I. W. W. ranks and fill all gaps that may be made during a battle. They have many qualities that endear them to their fellow workers. They are true to their convictions, are prompt to respond when assistance is asked. They are not greedy for distinction; but they never shirk responsibility. When the hour of trial arrives they never avoid danger. It is such men and women the I. W. W. and the labor movement need, and not the historians, or the empty, hot air platform Socialists.

What the revolution needs is men who can and will work as well as talk. Men and women who are glad to live, but ready to sacrifice everything—even life, if necessary.

can and will work as well as talk. Men and women who are glad to live, but ready to sacrifice everything—even life, if necessary.

Labor is now facing a crisis. Its majority is approaching, and what it needs is genuine men and women.

Clothing Workers of Chicago, Attention!

The members of Garment Workers Industrial Union No. 188, I. W. W., of St. Louis, Mo., are on a strike against the firm of Freilichs Skirt Co. Agents of Freilichs are in Chicago to secure skirt presses to go to St. Louis to break the strike. Do not go to St. Louis to work for this firm.

These agents of Freilichs Skirt Co. will also try to have the pressing for the firm done by the Chicago Pressers. Look out for any work from St. Louis. Do not do the work of the Freilichs Skirt Co.

This fight is your fight as well as ours. We ask and expect your active assistance in the fight for better conditions in the garment industry. Financial assistance will be gratefully received.

Send all remittances to T. Gorisman, Secretary, 1010 N. 16th St., St. Louis, Mo.

To all Members of the I. W. W. and the Working Class:

Garment Workers Industrial Union No. 188 of St. Louis, Mo., has been on strike for the past five weeks. Their funds are now exhausted, and they are compelled to call upon the workers for financial assistance. Their call is endorsed by the General Office and all locals are requested to collect money and send the same to T. Gorisman, 1010 N. 16th St., St. Louis, Mo.

VINCENT ST. JOHN, General Secretary I. W. W.

I. W. W. PICNIC at McKees Rocks.

Local Union 296 of McKee's Rocks and the District Council will hold a joint picnic in West Park, McKee's Rocks, Sunday, July 10.

All who wish to go with the main body of the picnickers will meet at 9 o'clock Sunday morning at the Union Hall.

Tickets 50 cents. Ladies free.

B. H. Williams will be the English speaker for the occasion.

A. A. Zielinski, of Buffalo, N. Y., will be the Polish speaker.

There will be refreshments and good music. A good time is assured to all.

JOSEPH J. ETTOR.

Agitation in Minnesota.

Brainerd, Minn., June 28.

Solidarity: Just got to this town two days ago, and held two street meetings so far. Find good interest among the railroad employes in the shops. There are about 800 men working in the R. R. shops in this town, and we are trying to start a local of the I. W. W. here. The men are talking about One Union for all workers, and they certainly like the idea of the I. W. W. Have sold quite a lot of literature already. Next step will be Duluth.

AGITATOR & TWO SINGERS.

To "A Woman Toiler."

What a treat for the women who subscribe for Solidarity, to read your interesting article in a recent issue. Evidently you are on the inside looking out; not on the outside looking in, as is the case with most women who try to write on economics. Let us hear from you again. Tell us who you are. Tell us how many hours a day you work in the shirt or overall factory. Tell us that you have but six cents a day to clothe yourself after your board is paid. Give us facts. How brave you are, "Woman Toiler," to say we will have none of their religion, politics, or marriage. Truly, you are, in the language of the street, "true blue" to yourself and your class. What is more, we need you. Come, fellow worker, tell us every week what you think and who you are.

Yours for the Revolution, AGNES THECLA FAIR.

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Harmony with the boss
Time contracts
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IT MEANS WAGE SLAVERY

THE I. W. W.

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An injury to one is an injury to all
One Big Union

THIS MEANS INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Is the only Labor Organization that Beat the Steel Trust.

Why?

Because they organize right.

Because they organize for might.

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Send for literature.

Mr. Workman, do you believe in the World for the Workers?

If you do, organize in the Industrial Workers of the World.

To get the Power. To get the Wealth that we produce.

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If you do there is only one way to get them—

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New York I. W. W. Meetings.

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Thursday, July 14—24th St. and Madison ave.

Saturday, July 16—19th St. and Eighth avenue.

ORGANIZATION COM.

About Going to Hell.

The senators at Washington, D. C., are losing the senatorial dignity and courtesy behind which they formerly masked their schemes of spoliation and corruption in the interests of the capitalist class. They are now advising each other in appropriate though inelegant language. In a recent stormy interview, to cite one of many cases, Senator Gore of Oklahoma told Senator Curtis of Kansas to "go to hell." Now it is only hoped that the next time he is moved to do any advising, Senator Gore will tell all the senators and the capitalist class which they represent, to go to a warmer climate also; for if they don't, the United States will go there instead. It is now well on the way, according to Prest. W. Brown of the N. Y. Central Railroad, who says that consumption is outrunning production in this country, with results that will bring on an industrial crisis that will be unparalleled in the world's history. However, we won't despair. We don't believe in hell and we don't believe in going there. We believe in the I. W. W. and in taking and holding the machinery of production and distribution in the interests of society! That's the way out.

THE COMMENTATOR.

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