



EMANCIPATION

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G. I. OR SYNDICALISTS VERSUS SOCIALISTS

(Special Correspondence)

BY W. Z. FOSTER.

Paris, France.

The January number of the International Socialist Review, in an article entitled "How to Kick," Mr. Robert Bivins Monte sketches a program of action that the American workers must adopt if they are to achieve their economic emancipation. His theory is the well known one of combined political and direct action. Whilst organizing and using in our daily struggles "such unions as the W. F. of M." we must also pay our dues into the Socialist party and vote its ticket.

Mr. La Monte lays much stress on the necessity for the development of what he calls the "new unionism," but which is none other than the old, but which is now the "new unionism," as syndicalism. He considers the conflict of the workers as indeed hopeless if they don't develop strong fighting unions of this syndicalist character; unions "that use all their wiles as one" and which in form and tactics are radically different from the conservative A. F. of L. trades unions. Political action of itself, however revolutionary or extensive it may be, can accomplish but little if not backed by real economic power, he tells us. Our economic might must be organized into this modern and potent form of labor organization. However, he hastens to assure us that these syndicalist unions by themselves cannot accomplish the "miracle" of overthrowing capitalism, nor do they. They must assist and aid the Socialist party.

The class direct action and political organizations must go shoulder to shoulder together to the assault of capitalism. On this condition alone is success possible.

As to the weight to his theory and to the beneficial effects of this political-economic co-operation, Mr. La Monte touches on a few points as follows:

Since the new unionism is the highest development of the movement, the Socialist party it and prepared the ground for a—fortunately strong enough to such necessary protection in its own name.

In Socialists, who will form the readers of Mr. La Monte's article chiefly for their glibly stated position when the subject of the Socialist party is mentioned.

The "Socialist Party" is one thing. It covers a multitude of things. The "revolutionary" farm-ers, the "class conscious" law-son, the "proletarian" mil-lionaire, the new York, the disfranchised worker in the West—Socialists all—how their hearts beat in glad union when they learn of some new and beneficent exploit of the Socialist party. What matter the country it occurs in or what the nature of the Socialist party is that performs it, or even if it ever occurs at all. They will never investigate. Suffice it for them to say that one of the great international families of the Socialist parties has done such or such a noble act. Only a vandal or a cosmopolitan intellectual would be scrupulous enough to doubt it and to tear the veil from the beloved Socialist party in order to find out the facts.

When Mr. La Monte makes his statements about the French Socialist party having "prepared the ground for" and given "such necessary protection to" the redeeming syndicalism and also broadly hints (though he would hardly say so) that the Socialist party and syndicalists' organizations still continue to preserve the former fond relations, he will be instantly believed by the faithful. Such good deeds on the part of the Socialist party are perfectly natural. However, being long since classed amongst the heathen, I will uncover for a few moments the clay feet of this Socialist party idol and show the incorrectness of Mr. La Monte's statements and inferences.

rainbow from the rankest opportunism to the most impossible impossibility. They waged an incessant warfare on each other for years. All naturally sought the support of the syndicates and these for about 10 years reflected all the quarrels of the politicians. Many, torn by these dissensions, disappeared, others falling under the control of some "party" were either turned into voting machines or study clubs.

But the great mass of the syndicates, weakened by the incessant political dissensions, gradually developed and insisted on a policy of no politics in the union. Some seven of these independent and fighting socialist parties were tinkered together into the present nondescript Socialist Party in 1905, nine years after the formation of the General Confederation of Labor (G. G. T.).

Mr. La Monte's "The Socialist Party" during the "early years" of syndicalism, therefore resolves itself into a sort of hash of socialist parties which not only did not directly aid in the development of the budding labor movement, but distinctly retarded it. They were too busy helping themselves to waste time helping the workers.

SOCIALIST ASSISTANCE.

The later neutrality policy of the syndicates toward the political action was very un-pleasant to the politicians. The International Socialist Congress of London, 1896, illustrates the latter's attitude towards it. The French socialist deputies (congressmen) attended the congress with no other credentials than their deputies' cards. The syndicates also sent delegates. To whip the French syndicates into the political line, Millerand, Jaures, Guesde, Gerault, Richard, Viviani, and other prominent socialists proposed that all neutral syndicates be excluded from the next congress. Motion lost by 57 to 56. The French syndicates narrowly escaped being "protected" out of the international movement. Many similar instances of opposition to the neutrality policy could be cited. The socialists' policy towards the bourses du travail also bears witness to the amicable relations existing between the political and economic movements during this early period of syndicalism.

SOCIALISTS VS. BOURSES DU TRAVAIL.

After the passage of the much discussed "law of 1884" which gave the workers the legal right to organize (1), a general policy of steering the labor movement was adopted. Many municipalities built fine buildings, and turned them over to the local syndicates to serve as general headquarters. These ungrateful organizations formed themselves into local unions of syndicates. These unions are known by the title of Bourses du Travail although this is really the name of their headquarters (labor exchange).

The bourses are real CLASS UNIONS including the workers of every trade and from their first appearance have been strongly revolutionary. They were the real beginnings of modern syndicalism. They particularly distinguished themselves in the revolt against political domination in the unions. Many municipalities, seeing the anti-political viper they were nursing in their bosoms, attempted to kill their local bourses by withdrawing the subsidies or even closing the bourses altogether. Emile Pouget says: (La Confederation General du Travail, page 14) "It is to be noted that these persecutions are not peculiar to the workers of one or simply republican opinions, but that the socialist municipalities have persecuted their bourses du travail with the most vigor."

Probably the socialist tactics should be classed as "giving much necessary protection" to the new unionism, as Mr. La Monte puts it.

The popularity of all class bourses in socialist circles is well evidenced by Georges Sorel, one of Europe's most prominent economists, who, writing in 1898, eleven years after the first bourse, says (2): "The bourses du travail which unite the syndicates without any consideration of politics are poorly viewed by the socialist deputies; it is rather curious to note that these are no institutions of this character at Calais, Boulogne or Lille" (3). Doubtless the socialists were so busy "preparing the ground" for the new unionism that they had no time to found bourses.

FORMATION OF THE G. G. T.

The bourses in spite of the socialist "protection" rapidly increased in number and

(Continued On Page 2.)

SHOE STRIKE OFF

(Special to Solidarity.)

Brooklyn, N. Y. March 20.

The strike at Wichert & Gardner has come to an end. Such action was taken last Saturday by the strikers and approved by the Shoe Workers Industrial Union and the Strikers' General Committee.

On last Thursday upon invitation from Scott Griffin, a committee waited upon him to find out what he wanted, whereupon it was agreed that the next day a committee should be sent in to the firm to negotiate settlement and as to what basis the workers could go back to work.

On Friday, the shop crew sent in a committee of three with instructions to inform the firm that the workers were willing to declare the strike off providing that . . .

All taken back to work without discrimination, no taking into account of any action or acts committed during the strike.

The annulment of the 14 dollars fine and arrears imposed upon every striker by the Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

The committee met Griffin and also Wichert and it was agreed that the men would all be taken back to work as per proposition made by the strikers, all to be taken back in previous positions within a period of two weeks in all. That the strikers will choose from day to day as the request may come in for workers from the firm.

The fine is remitted. No question was raised as to the part of the firm on the right of the workers to belong to the Industrial Workers of the World; in fact, Wichert stated that he did not consider it any of his business.

The agreement reached was ratified by the men Saturday and forthwith they proceeded to ballot upon the men that would go to work on Monday. It has been agreed by the men going to work that in the event all are not at work within two weeks a strike will be declared anew. During the time they are at work and any of their fellows are back at work they will give one half of their weekly wages to the strike fund to maintain their shop mates. They will stick to the I. W. W.

This morning sixty men went to work, and it was a hard matter to get most of them to go. They cried for sorrow that they could not go in this morning as they came out eighteen weeks ago today, all together.

During the eighteen weeks that they were out, there was not a desecration of fourteen out of 250 men.

This morning the men who were out of the strikers are concerned, from now on more than ever a systematic campaign will be carried on to pick up all those that may have dropped by the wayside during or after the fight with the shops and to organize the trades and the shops that we had no chance to get at before the strike came on.

Special attention will be paid to the Buccofini defense, for the fellow worker is soon to be called to trial.

I. W. W. IN NEW YORK

(Special to Solidarity.)

New York, March 20.

The agitation in behalf of the I. W. W. continues to grow in Greater New York. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn reports many requests for address, better address labor bodies. In April, she is to address three labor unions. More may be added as time progresses.

Wm. D. Hayward, on his recent visit to the city, was invited to address five locals of the garment workers. These locals threaten to secede, owing to the management and treachery displayed in the Chicago strike.

Hayward spoke in behalf of the Buccofini defense on the 16th inst. His address on "The General Strike" was a masterly effort. It was given down stenographically, and will be issued in pamphlet form for the benefit of the defense fund.

Regarding the Buccofini defense, funds are earnestly solicited. A member of the rank and file is in need of assistance. Will the working class that has rallied so nobly to the defense of Hayward and other prominent labor officials, permit Buccofini to be sacrificed? Answer the question in the negative, by sending a dollar to Chas. Linfante, 10 Troy Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Do it at once.

THE COMMENTATOR.

The Capitalist Wage-Cut Campaign.

The capitalist campaign to reduce wages and to destroy working class organization to that end is being pursued with a vigor and ruthlessness that should leave no doubt as to the need of an aggressive awakening on the part of the entire working class, if it is to prevent itself from being suppressed and obliterated. In New York City the express drivers are on strike for union recognition that is, to prevent wage reductions and the necessity of joining a corporation union in order to exist. This strike is bitterly assailed by strike breaking agencies, the press and the municipal authorities. Its spread into a general strike is prevented by the general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Daniel J. Tobin. This Tobin is a member and defender of the Civic Federation. He, together with other leaders, led the strike of last fall into a blind alley, with the aid of the Federation. Strike talk during the Christmas season was crushed and the strike now on was started in the dull spring season. In Milwaukee, attempts are being made in Los Angeles, to hold the unions responsible for the destruction of the huge steel coal mine frame of the Milwaukee-Western Fuel Company. As is usual in such cases, no positive charges are made; and the arrests occurring are of a flimsy character. The two incidents given above but reflect the nature of the whole conflict now raging from one end of the continent to the other, a conflict which the "World of Labor" predicted months ago.

The Closed Shop of Capital.

Chicago, the home of "anarchist" hangings, A. R. E. strike, and the packing trusts, is once more the scene of an illuminating incident in the class struggle. There the telephone monopoly is fighting the telephone workers' unions. And it is doing so on grounds that appear to be the acme of trust and social devotion. The telephone monopoly claims that it must have an unhampered control of the public service which it performs, or else the latter will be faulty and inefficient. Could a thumping real for the communalism more pronounced? Sure, the workers must be subject to competition with one another in the labor market or else telephone will telephone users. The telephone and society will go to the dempition hownows; or possibly down to the camp of Lake Michigan. Competition—that's it!—is the mast to which civilization marches. That is, when the workers are concerned; with capital the closed shop, however, in favor. For it was this very telephone trust that bought Prof. Pupin's wireless telephone invention, which would have destroyed the telephone trust's profitable investments and introduced a competition that would have resulted in lower rates to telephone users. This invention now reposes in the trust's safe; in return, Prof. Pupin received \$250,000 outright and \$50,000 a year. It's not all gold that glitters; nor is the capitalist demand for an open shop the public benefaction that it seems. It is a cloak behind which to rob both labor and society. Workingmen, don't be gulled by it!

The Results of Union Scabbing.

Gomper's "war" on the steel trust and the Amalgamated Association's scabbing on the Sons of Vulcan, by working under a lower rate, is beginning to bear fruit. Although the United States Steel Corporation at the beginning of the year announced a raise of \$1.60 a ton in the price of steel bars for 1911, and Judge Gary promised there would be no wage cut, new of a reduction of 1 1/2-2 cents in puddlers' wages throughout the country has just been given out.

According to the examination of the sales sheets of the Western Bar Association and the Union Rolling Mill Company for the bi-monthly period of January and February by the bi-monthly committee of the Amalgamated Association and the puddlers of the Western Bar Association, the price paid for puddling for March and April will be based on a \$4.30 rate of \$5.75 per ton instead of \$5.87 1/2 as previously.

The puddlers were expecting an increase in wages owing to the advance in the price of steel bars. The reduction afflicts not only the Pittsburgh mills, but

WORLD OF LABOR

plants west of the Allegheny mountains to the coast.

The wage scale for the finishing department shows a reduction of one per cent.

The Rewards of Industry.

Patrick Brophy, the longest employed motorman of the Public Service Corporation in New Jersey, is dead at his home, 124 Barclay street, Passaic, N. J. The company's records show that in 1873 Brophy secured a position with the old Paterson street railway as driver of a horse car and for 38 years has been in front of the cars both as driver and motorman. During all that period he was off duty but a week, because of illness. The company's records also show that Brophy owned no part of his property. He was industrious; poverty was his reward. That is the reward of all the workers under the present system. As was shown in last week's Solidarity, in the article, "Schmidt the Ox Man," the harder they work the less they get. Away with such a system!

Situation Abroad.

The labor situation in other countries is threatening. A big strike of coal miners in the Crow's Nest district is expected all through the Canadian West. The mines affected have a daily output of 15,000 tons of coal and coke and the number of men affected will be 5,000. The points disputed are wages and recognition of open shops. A struggle of any duration would result in closing of smelters west of Kootenay and also affect a few smelters in Montana.

According to the Brussels newspaper, The People, the Central Committee of the International Season's Congress, now in session at Antwerp, has decided to organize an international commission which shall study the situation with authority to arrange a general strike if thought necessary.

Representatives of the Atlantic ports of the United States as well as of England, Norway, Denmark and Holland, the paper states, have announced themselves as favorable to a strike.

The secretary of the International Seamen's Congress, confirms the Brussels account of the secret proceedings of the session, at which it was decided to appoint a commission having authority to declare a general strike if deemed advisable. The secretary adds that the German delegates refused to join the movement for a strike, as they have received already a wage increase.

A Correction.

In last week's "World of Labor," a typographical error gives the trade union membership of Germany in 1908, per 1000 occupied inhabitants, as 36; it should have been 86. The trade union membership of the United States in 1908, per 1,000 occupied inhabitants, was 85. Those who speak of "organized labor" in this country, overlook comparative statistics. There is less labor organization in this country than in England and Germany; the greater population and development of capitalism here to the contrary notwithstanding. This is something for the opponents of the I. W. W. to chew on.

Don't enlist in the American capitalists' war against the Mexican people. Enlist in the class war against American, Mexican and all other capitalists. Join the I. W. W.

A big revival of "jingo patriotism" may be expected soon as a result of the Mexican situation. Fine schemes to distract the slave's attention from the place where he is robbed and degraded—his master's workshop. Get wic and join the fighting union of your class—the I. W. W.

We demand 8 hours for sleep, 8 hours for work and 8 hours in which to agitate for a still shorter work day.

Last—The worker who wants to labor more than 8 hours a day has lost his mind. No Reward for return as such a mind is without any value.

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

SOLIDARITY

EASTERN ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

P. O. Drawer 622



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WATCH FOR YOUR NUMBER.

Each subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the wrapper enclosing **SOLIDARITY**. For instance: 66. That means that your sub expired last week, and you should renew. This is NUMBER **67**.

TO OUR READERS

With this issue, Fellow Worker Frank Morris severs his official connection with Solidarity as Assistant Business Manager. For that reason we request secretaries of local unions and others whom it may concern, to make all money orders in future payable to "Solidarity, Box 622, New Castle, Pa.," so as to avoid possible confusion at this end.

Fellow Worker Morris will solicit subscriptions for Solidarity in Ohio and other eastern states, and any favors shown him wherever he may be will be appreciated by the management in New Castle.

THE I. W. W. AND "POLITICS"

Solidarity presents its readers this week with a lengthy though brilliant historical survey of the relations between the socialist political party and the revolutionary industrial organization of France. That survey is timely in view of the misinformation that has constantly been circulated through the socialist press of the United States. Much the same story could be told of the labor movement of any other European nation, from all of which similar facts and experiences are coming to light. This article by Foster calls to mind some facts relating to I. W. W. experience in this country, that are worthy of consideration in the same connection.

The I. W. W. was founded in July 1905. The original impulse leading to its formation came from active and experienced unionists, East and West. Some of its leading promoters had passed through the industrial struggles of the United States Workmen, the Western Federation of Miners, and other organizations. Although most of them were active members or supporters of the Socialist Party, some of them were clear headed enough to see that this new union should be established "as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party."

The first convention assembled in Chicago, June 27, 1905. Barring the few practical and militant unionists above defined, the some 200 delegates came to a hodge podge of conflicting elements—old union agents of Gompers or east-of-I. W. W.; scheming socialist politicians with more craftiness and cunning than practical insight into the labor movement; and various types of "intellectuals" and "idealists." What wonder, that with such a

medley of "midwives" and subsequent "nurses," the I. W. W. should have had trouble in its infancy!

The outcome of that convention was a structure for the economic organization, whose parts consisted mainly of pieced-together remnants of older organizations, which were not dignified by the name "Departments," with the autonomous Western Federation of Miners holding the center of the stage as the "Department of the Mining Industry." It was like trying to build a house with unsuitable materials and without first excavating and laying the foundation. The delegates to the first convention did not clearly perceive that this new and revolutionary movement must needs be an organic growth whose elements must be directly assimilated to the economic organization; and not merely attached to the new union with their old craft or "party" clothes still clinging to them. Long and bitter travail has attended the learning of that lesson.

The chief bone of contention in the first I. W. W. convention was the question of "politics." What attitude should the new union assume toward socialist political parties. There were two of them—the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party. Both insisted that the I. W. W. should not be affiliated with any political party, at least not until the two parties "united." Yet, as subsequent events proved, both sets of socialist politicians were determined to have the main say-so in the control of the new organization. Both old (and inexperienced) maids, hostile toward each other, insisted on offering their services as nurses to the infant I. W. W.

Long and fevered was the debate over the following clause in the propose I. W. W. Preamble, which was finally adopted: "Between these two classes (working and employing) a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, to take and hold that which they produce by their toil, through an economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party."

Thus the I. W. W. at its birth was committed to a program of "political action" while at the same time forbidden to endorse or affiliate with any "political party." Thus the "political" secretaries were afforded a common vantage ground whereon they might meet and attack each other, using the I. W. W. as a stagepost for their mutual tirades. And the I. W. W. must not attempt to come back at them. No individual member, even, must be allowed to attack either "political party," because that would be attacking "political action" you know, which was "treason" to the Preamble.

So the battle raged. The bubble of the "department" structure burst at the Second convention in 1906. The W. F. M. withdrew, showing that it was not a limb of the I. W. W., but only "fastened" to it with very thin glue! The other "departments" were found to have really partaken of the nature of vases and to have dwindled to very small proportions. A split occurred over the throwing out of a grafting president. But the question of political action remained the chief bone of contention.

It was during this period that the writer traveled extensively through the United States as an organizer and later as an executive board member of the I. W. W. He saw everywhere the withering effects of political sectarianism. Prominent I. W. W. locals would be started, with much enthusiasm and goodly numbers. Three elements composed the membership—"raw" recruits without political affiliations; members of the S. P.; and members of the S. L. P. The two last named elements would begin their squabbles; the raw recruits would conclude that they had come to the wrong door—and would leave; followed soon by the S. P.'s, and leaving behind the S. L. P.'s, still clinging to the I. W. W. like a drowning man to a straw. Stagnation followed, and the "locus" vegetated as a mutual admiration society. Further growth was rendered impossible.

But there was a saving element in the I. W. W. It was the Western hobo. With all his faults, the hobo had one "virtue" which admirably fitted into the situation at this time: As a rule, he could not vote. But he did not propose to wait until he could vote, before doing something for himself and his class. He could become a member of an industrial union and begin at once to fight for better conditions right on the job. The hobo soon became impatient with the politicians, and demanded direct action. For this, he was denounced

by the sectarians as a "traitor," an "anarchist," a "bum," etc. But the hobo made up his mind that the ulcer of sectarianism had to be cut out of the I. W. W.

At the time of the Fourth annual convention in 1908, the fate of the I. W. W. hung in the balance. But the hobo showed his mettle. These "bums," "loafers," "slum proletarians," etc., as the little chief of the S. L. P. in his impetuous rage called them, traveled on the rods of freight trains for 2,000 miles from the Pacific coast, to be at the 1908 convention. It was an inspiring sight to see these men troop into the convention hall in Chicago—many of them sturdy six-footers—miners, lumberjacks, laborers—fine types of American proletarians.

To make a long story short, they "cleaned house" at the Fourth convention. They refused a seat to the little chief of the S. L. P. and some of his blind or crooked tools, on charges of treason and drunkenness, and preferred before the credentials committee, and proven beyond a question on the floor of the convention. They amended the I. W. W. Preamble, rendering its meaning clear and striking out all reference to political parties and "political action," and they passed a resolution in the same connection declaring that the I. W. W. "refuses all alliances direct or indirect with existing political parties and anti-political sects." Those of the S. L. P. element who did not leave the "party," promptly got out of the I. W. W., and have since been working overtime trying to discredit it, but without success.

The I. W. W., freed from the incubus of sectarianism, has since that convention found its influence developing in all directions. It is fast becoming recognized as the only clear cut expression of working class aspirations in America.

In view of these facts, we say again: Let the political sectarians howl; the logic of direct action upon the industrial organization, will soon unite the working class under the broad banner of the Industrial Workers of the World. And the POLITICAL or class power of our one big union will be invincible!

MAY DAY ISSUE

A New York reader has suggested that Solidarity get out an EIGHT-PAGE special May Day issue, and also set that date for getting the required \$300 on the Press Fund!

Capital! Let's do it! What do you say?

We make this condition: That every active worker redouble his efforts towards getting subs during the next three or four weeks. Otherwise it will be practically impossible on account of the extra expense.

There is no question that Solidarity has been hauling out some good stuff the past three months, and we are developing a list of working class contributors that will enable us to keep up the good work. But we must have more financial support, if we are to hold the pace we have kept by sheer dogged determination the past few months.

More important still, the slaves need this paper. Outside of the I. W. W. press, there are no papers that can be depended upon to fight the economic battles of the working class, to emphasize the tactics that will win for the workers better shop and life conditions, to expose the pitfalls of reaction, and to clear the way for the unity of the working class.

So we beg of our readers to take more interest in the circulation of the papers. Don't simply enjoy them yourselves, and leave others in ignorance of their existence. Get new readers; urge others to do the same. That means more interest in the I. W. W. and more organizations as a result.

The next three weeks will determine whether we shall have an eight-page paper on May Day.

POLISH PAPER IN CHICAGO.

"Solidarnosc" (Polish for Solidarity), which was until recently published twice a month by the Polish I. W. W. local in Buffalo, has since been moved to Chicago, and now appears weekly as the official organ of the Polish locals of the I. W. W. "Solidarnosc" has eight pages, and the subscription price is \$1 per year or six months 50 cents.

I. W. W. members and supporters who come in touch with Polish workers should not fail to introduce this paper to them. Address all subscriptions and communications to

POLISH INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' ASSOCIATION,
1469 Milwaukee Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

By the Executive Committee of the Pacific Coast District Organization.

Portland, Oregon, March 7.

Solidarity: In answer to the objections to the Pacific Coast I. W. W. Conference by Local 175 of San Francisco, and those from other sections, we will say: Those who have read the minutes of the conference held in Portland, Ore., from Jan. 30 to Feb. 4, 1911, know that the conference did not consider the constitution of the I. W. W.

The chief objection against the P. C. D. O. is that it is "unconstitutional" and "illegal," and still there is nothing in the I. W. W. constitution relative to district organization. If there is nothing for or against district organization in the I. W. W. constitution, it is a certainty that said organization is not contrary to any of the laws of the general organization of the I. W. W.

But it appears to us that anything, no matter what it is, which is practical and conducive to the growth and development of the I. W. W., is good and useful whether it is constitutional or not.

The Pacific Coast conference was but a result of the general desire on the part of the membership on the coast for better and more systematic co-operation between the coast locals in our agitation for industrial organization.

It is true that the conference requested a 25 cent per capita tax be granted by the P. C. D. O. for the year as awarded the Textile Workers' Industrial Union in the East, but the conference provided that a 25 cent per capita tax be paid by the locals of the district organization, pending the action of the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. convention on the proposed reduction in the per capita tax. This proposition was refused by headquarters on the ground of unconstitutionality. It is unconstitutional it is true, inasmuch as the constitution requires that 15 cents shall be paid by the locals to the general organization; but the district system nevertheless lessens the work in the general office and would it not be the best way to determine as to whether or not all locals within the district pay full per capita to the district as well as to the general organization.

As to the Industrial Worker.

The delegates to the Pacific coast conference came instructed to take over the Industrial Worker, and also its debt, providing it did not exceed \$700. The conference made provision on the ballot for a 25 cents per capita to be used to sustain the paper.

It was decided to establish a universal initiation fee. Three fees were put on the ballot: \$2.00, \$1.00, and 50 cents. If either of the first two carries, 50 cents will go as a sub to the Industrial Worker. The headquarters now inform us that the Worker will remain under management of the general organization, and that the support of the Worker must be kept up and bettered.

It seems to us that if the support of the Worker depends upon the coast locals, which cannot be considered successfully, then the coast locals should have a chance to decide as to where they want to have the paper printed, and whom they want for editor and assistant editor. This would prevent the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. from having supervision over the editorial policy of the paper. We are not desirous of any controversy with any one, but we want to improve our methods of propaganda for industrial and class organization.

We have tried to the best of our ability to give you the opinion of the conference on this question.

Yours for Liberty Freedom,

E. S. NELSON,
ERNEST T. CRANE,
B. E. NILSSON.

Temporary Executive Committee P. C. D. O.

CIRCULATE NUMBER 68

Next week's Solidarity will contain much matter of interest to the printing trades. An article showing the control of leading officials of the Pressmen's Union by the Publishers' Association will be one of the features. A circular recently issued by the Denver Typographical Union, calling for closer affiliation of the different crafts, will also prove an interesting subject for review and comment.

There will be other good features, making it an excellent number for general propaganda.

In this connection we wish our readers everywhere would send us names and addresses of printers, pressmen and others, to whom sample copies may be sent.

A "sample fund" should be started, consisting of contributions to cover postage and other expense of getting Solidarity into the hands of new readers. Help us to this end by sending names and addresses of workers of different trades, and also contributions to the "sample fund." Do it now! Help extend the circulation and influence of our paper.

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

THE C. G. T. AND THE

(Continued from Page One)

importance, and in 1892 they organized themselves nationally into the Federation of Bourses. This made two national organizations—the older National Federation of Syndicats, which grouped in criminalistic syndicates, and the (National trades union) still functioning. The Federation of Bourses, one wing of the movement, was revolutionary and autonomous toward its own section. The National Federation of Syndicats, the other wing, was under the "protection" of the Guardia Socialista Party. To combine these two rival organizations was absolutely necessary to the development of the labor movement. It occurred several years of the direct actionists' best efforts. They tried to accomplish it by holding the national congress of the National Federation of Syndicats and fairly stealing this organization from the socialist dictator Guesde (G.). The following year, 1895, the two organizations were merged and the C. G. T. was formed. This marked the definite rupture of the labor and political socialist movements. Henceforth the socialist parties fought decidedly shy of them, on the labor movement from distance.

HAND IN HAND.

The two movements gradually drifted apart, the working class organizations began to suspect the motives of the political congress of the National Federation of Syndicats and fairly shy of them.

In 1899 the various socialist sects held a general congress, preliminary to their unification in 1905. Of this affair Fernand Buisson, secretary of the Federation of Bourses, and one of the founders of syndicalism, said: "The chief characteristic of the socialist congress is the total absence of the workers' syndicates. This absence struck everybody, and I myself, although knowing the horror the syndicates have for a long time professed in regard to the political sects, was surprised at the small number of them who were present at this first general congress of the workers." Later on, speaking of the syndicates, he says: "At present our position in the labor world is this: Proscribed from the Socialist Party because of our revolutionary theory that Vaillant or Guesde; nor less resolutely partisans of the suppression of private property, we are in addition what they are not—rebels of every sort, men they are not—rebels of every sort, men truly without a god, master, or country, the irreconcilable enemies of all despotism, moral or material, individual or collective."

These statements, emanating from such a high authority as Pellissier, may be taken as fairly indicative of the friendly relations existing between the multicolored political parties and the struggling labor organizations during this period.

DEVELOPMENT OF SYNDICALISM.

In 1899, as a result of the Dreyfus affair, the French socialists secured much political power and Millerand became Minister of Commerce in Waldeck-Rousseau's cabinet. The frightened syndicalist class and expectant working party anxiously awaited the beginning of long talked of revolution. Millerand answered these expectations by handing the office of Minister of Commerce to a bourgeois. The Dreyfus affair established the "Superior Labor Council" an advisory body with great moral influence on labor legislation. It is composed of 60 members—32 workers, 22 employers and 22 other persons. It is open to comment on the merits of this French Civic Federation. In this layout of Dreyfus' affair and Millerand's resignation, Millerand delivered himself of some "peace" schemes of a very character. He was soon joined by Jules Brand and Viviani in a very lenient diet for the workers for the first time. Viviani's famous old adage says: "Syndicalism is the only way to keep up the good work." They have interpreted the class struggle as "the collaboration of the classes," having fused first with one party and then another as opportunity dictated.

The disappointment and astonishment of all but a few of the militant workers at these events was intense. They found themselves in their syndicates forced to vigorously fight their "social peace" schemes of "their" socialist representatives, the acceptance of which would have stripped them of their difficulties with the politicians. They were largely due to the efforts of the various sects to secure dominion over the syndicates, a national situation so it seemed. But the labor unions operate in the power they and they showed a distinct hostility towards the direct action organizations, it put the matter in a different light. The theory of political action came in for a serious investigation and largely as a result of this investigation has come the new syndicalist movement with its own brand of working class tactics which is violently antagonistic to that of the socialist movement.

SOCIALISM VERSUS SYNDICALISM.

The socialist program, only truly disguised by Mr. La Monte, divides working class activity into two fields—economic and political. The labor unions operate in the economic, the S. P. in the other. The syndicalist is arbitrary, however, as all social questions have economic bases. The political and economic fields are kept each other. They are the one "field" and the economic. The labor unions in the socialist program therefore have to differentiate between the socialist social and political questions. They must therefore to the latter, leaving the

of the S. P. They must pursue... of hands off in regard to... the P. G. T. is the... nature. It would be manifestly... for the working class direct action... to fight against on the eco... what the political organization... light for on the... the labor unions should be subordi... to the political party and accept the... laws, social peace schemes, etc.,... it secured from the political... mental interference in strikes is also a... for the political party to handle... the labor unions. Victor Griffueux... Secretary of the C. G. T., thus states... socialist roles for working class orga... They must be "ADVERSARIES... THE GOVERNMENT ON THE POLI... FIELD, SERVING THE INTERESTS OF... THE WORKING CLASS ON THE ECONOMIC... ELD." (7)

The syndicalist movement, to the contrary, recognizes but one field of working class activity—the economic; only one end of social question—the economic. To these economic questions it uses, in cases, direct action tactics alone. It presses the State to pass laws which are aimed at it forces a better working conditions—by strikes, sabotage, boycotts, etc. And not only does syndicalism feel perfectly sure of its ability to force the State and private employers to grant concessions by its direct action tactics, but, if we are believers in best writers, it also intends overthrow the whole capitalist system by the supreme application of direct action—that is, the general strike. It has absolutely no provision for the continuation of the political power by "penetration" but aims at overthrowing present society completely, ending some great labor crisis, and to substitute its own institutions in place of those that have been overthrown.

For syndicalism to accept the socialist "double action" theory, entailing the subordination of the economic to the political organization, would be tantamount to fighting its own most powerful enemy—the government, which is not only by far the greatest employer in France, but is also a highly developed strike-breaking machine for the whole capitalist class. Not for a moment is syndicalism willing to leave this great enemy to the care of the politicians. Experience has taught us that these intermediaries serve only to obscure the outlines of the class struggle, and to act as a shield, not for the workers, but for the government. Syndicalism recognizes in the State its most insidious as well as its most powerful enemy and rejects all participation in it. Its attitude towards the government is well stated by Victor Griffueux: "The State is a political point of view, adversary of the State and all its institutions from an economic point of view." (8)

All class Socialist movement is just; the working class syndicalist movement is anti-State. The one advocates a working class congress of the State parliamentary action, the other demands; the other, abstention from participation in the State and revolt against its arbitrary laws. The one conceals the State as a possible ally, the other, as an inveterate enemy, two movements cannot exist in harmony. They are trying to absorb each other. Syndicalism claims itself as self-interest; socialism it needs a guard and helper—a political shield. It to force this guardianship on the unwilling syndicalism. A socialist success is a syndicalist defeat, and vice versa. The two movements are competitors for divided support of the working class. There can be no co-operation between them. They must fight to a finish.

It is true that the S. P. officially endorses the economic organizations and even advises its working class members to join them, and that the C. G. T., in its function as an economic organization, is neutral towards all political parties, but these are only diplomatic pretenses. Their real sentiments are evidenced by the continual guerrilla warfare being waged between the militants of the two organizations. "But," the unphilosophical American socialist will say, "why this warfare? If political action is incompatible with the interests of the working class, why not abandon it and adopt direct action tactics entirely, cut out the S. P. and build up the C. G. T.?"

THE "NIGGER" IN THE WOODPILE
The answer is simple: The French workers are "seeking salvation." They have very high ideas of the nature of capitalist governments, they are also gullible and in addition they are universal sufferers. A good doctor for the ambitious socialist lawyer, doctor or shop keeper to work on. And the prize is worth while, the French government being particularly rich in snags, not to mention the vast amount of patronage and graft of the innumerable judgeships, mayorships, postmasterships, etc. There are some 1,000 positions as deputies and senators at \$5,000 per year to be had simply for the asking—provided it is done skillfully enough.

On the other hand, the C. G. T., the direct action organization, offers no compensation to the horde of socialist intellectuals—honest in a majority of cases, not being the ones are not even entitled to membership. It has but three regularly paid officers who each receive \$50 per year. Its component organizations are self-aided. They are no soft "direct action movement for

the unemployed intellectuals. These intellectuals have no economic interest in common with the workers. They are not forced to help build up powerful fighting organizations in order that their own condition may be improved. Their interest lies in building up a strong political organization in order to more successfully "penetrate" the government. The nature of their program demands the support of the working class. The syndicalist movement by demonstrating its own self-sufficiency and showing the fallacy and uselessness of political action pulls working class support from the socialist movement and is a distinct menace to the latter. The politicians seeing their lucrative profession thus menaced consider the syndicalist movement a legitimate object of attack. Hence the continual warfare between the two movements. French railroad history, like that of any other industry is a series of battles between socialists and syndicalists. A few citations from it may be instructive.

"BRIAND, ROTHSCHILD & CO."
In 1896 the Rothschilds, the French railroad kings, got into the labor movement. Through an intermediary they bought "La Lanterne," a well known Parisian journal. Briand and Count Courdeur were placed in charge of it. An unholy trinity—five millionaires, Bonapartist count, and revolutionary socialist—operating a radical journal, Jules Verne and Viviani and other prominent socialists were its principal contributors.

In 1898 Rothschild's railroad slaves threatened to strike. Friday, Briand hastily resigned his editorial position in order to lead them to victory. A brilliant talker and writer, he soon found himself at the head of the agitation. He advocated the general strike and organized the famous "Knights of Labor," a secret organization, whose object was to destroy R. R. signals, bridges, stations, etc., immediately after the strike was declared. He became the confidant of Guiscard, the socialist dictator of the railroad unions. The strike date was set, and Briand "squealed." The government was fully prepared for the strike. No sooner was it declared than Briand announced, through "La Lanterne," the discovery of a great military plot to overthrow the government and establish the "regime of fear." The S. P. immediately protested against the threatened outrage and elected a permanent vigilance committee to protect the interests of the government. In this great "crisis" the railroad strike was a danger to the republic. Guiscard immediately called it off. "Needless to say, the plot" was simply a manufactured one and never materialized. Briand had earned his seat in the ministry and the political movement secured a victory. The direct action movement amongst the railroaders was given a deadly blow, and for 10 years Guiscard's domesticated union protested via political channels. It became a common saying that the railroaders would never strike again.

THE RECENT RAILROAD STRIKE
In 1909 Guiscard was forced to resign and shortly afterwards the R. R. slaves began to stir again. They threatened to strike if their long deferred demands were not granted. This agitation was the work of the famous "syndicalist minority." The agitation rapidly grew and a general strike on all the railroads planned. On Oct. 8, before the strike plans were fully developed, the strike burst out spontaneously, and in two days two systems were completely tied up. A general strike on all the roads in France was then called. The key to the situation was the big East R. R. system, the unioning of which were under the thumb of their general secretary, Niel, ex-secretary of the C. G. T. If this road could be induced to strike the strike would undoubtedly be a success, if not failure was certain. The other four roads still at work wanted to see what the East R. R. was going to do. Niel, the socialist dictator, became the man of the hour; he had it in his power to give Europe one of the greatest strikes it had ever known.

"SOCIALIST" NIEL'S TREACHERY.
The C. G. T. congress at Toulouse had just ended (Oct. 10). The socialists led by Niel, had suffered a complete defeat at the hands of the syndicalists. The opportunity for revenge presented itself, and Niel, instead of hastening to Paris and doing all in his power to swing the East R. R. into his promised to the south of France, and sent a long telegram to "Le Matin," a widely read capitalist paper, criticizing the strike as premature and stating that it would not (he meant should not) be a general one and that the strike leader had reached every group of local. This, although every paper in France had published the order. His lieutenant on the East R. R. took the hint and awaited the arrival of the official strike order. The strike committee at Paris, not being able to trust the mails or telegraph, sent messengers all over France with copies. Briand also taken Niel's tip, however, and spread these messages. The result was a grand confusion, many of the unions got no orders, others waited to hear from the rest of the unions, etc. The psychological moment slipped away—Briand's mobilization order arrived and the socialist East R. R., numbering 70 per cent of union men, gave by the highest of the railroads in France. Remained at work and handed soldier axes to break the strike on the other roads. The failure of the East R. R. to strike undoubtedly caused the loss of the strike. Niel's telegram was a master stroke, but it was not the only socialist factor in the loss of the strike. The committees, largely socialist, using practically as head-

quarters the office of "L'Humanite," the official organ of the S. P., were surrounded and dominated by socialist politicians openly hostile to the strike. The necessary vigorous action—even had it been wished—was absolutely impossible under these circumstances (9). Their inertia also contributed greatly to the disaster.

On the warfare between the socialists and syndicalists the loss of this great strike marked an important surface victory for the former. Direct action tactics were discredited and 3800 militant syndicalists discharged from the strategic railroad industry, thus leaving it once more in almost complete control of the socialists. The socialist delegation in the Chamber of Deputies was also given much free advertising by its spectacular defense of the railroaders against the syndicalists. The syndicalists' tyrannical measures, its pleading for reinstatement of the discharged railroaders, etc. The railroaders may be expected, for at least a season, to once more complete control of the socialists. They protest through political channels.

The real victory, however, in spite of appearances, is on the side of the syndicalists. They have one more proof that the socialist movement like all other political movements, holds its own interest to be superior to that of the working class and that it is distinctly hostile to the direct action of the workers. The displaced syndicalist railroaders will soon be replaced by others of an even more virile type.

Mr. La Monte's citation of French labor history, in order to add weight to his theory of combined working class economic and political action, is without value. Such co-operation does not exist now in France, nor has it in the past.

As far as the workers are concerned or not, the two movements have always been opposed to each other as the foregoing incidents demonstrate. The most prominent features of syndicalism, like all other political movements, are its growing consciousness of this position, and its rejection of all political action.

As for the I. W. W.—the American syndicalist organization—its militants, who are imbued with the real syndicalist theories, will do their best to prevent the S. P. from "protecting" or "preparing the ground" for the socialist organization. They will insist on a policy of strict official neutrality towards all political parties, and as individuals will vigorously combat the political action theory advocated by the S. P. or any other party.

Yours for the Revolution,
Wm. Z. FOSTER.
Paris, January 24, 1911.

(1) Perhaps Mr. La Monte in his article refers to this law which though not the work of socialists is sometimes cited by them as having made syndicalism possible. The creative nature of this law is to be doubted. Mile. Kritsky in "L'Evolution du Syndicalisme en France," page 181, says that in 1881 there were over 500 syndicates in legal existence. At the congress of the National Federation of Syndicates in 1886 the law was officially condemned as a governmental attempt to domesticate the labor movement it had ineffectually tried to suppress.

(2) Le Crise du Socialisme; "Revue Politique et Parlementaire," Dec., 1898.

(3) Great Socialist strongholds; Roubaix is often called the "Mecca of Socialism."

(4) Paul Delaunay, "Les Bourses du Travail et la C. G. T.," page 8.

(5) "Le Congres General du Parti Socialiste Francaise."

(6) An amusing instance of "jurisdictional" conflict between the political and economic organizations is furnished by the attitudes of the S. P. and C. G. T. regard to Briand's compulsory old age pension law. The socialist deputies, with one exception, voted in favor of it, but at the C. G. T. congress at Toulouse, in spite of the most vigorous efforts of the socialist element, the C. G. T. condemned the law and advised the workers "to use all the means in their power to oppose its enforcement." The R. R. unions to make the labor unions accept the law has procured for them, in order to regain its lost prestige has now declared itself an opponent of the law, and a few days ago Jules Guiscard presented an amendment to it that would have removed the features condemned at the C. G. T. congress. "L'Humanite" (official S. P. paper) remarked "the ridiculous change of front by stating that 'the group' voted for the law because it is no good and because they knew it would encounter so much opposition from the workers that it would be impossible to enforce it and another and better one would have to be drawn up. A very original reason for assisting in the passage of a wretched law. However, 'L'Humanite' says capitalists' laws are of such a character that this procedure is justified 99 times in a hundred. In other words, the group in parliament can't go wrong if the law supported by them is bad, and if it turns out to be good, why, of course, they can claim the credit for it. A sort of coming and going arrangement.

If the C. G. T. had been an orthodox socialist movement playing its proper role, i. e., servitor to the political movement, this miserable compromise of the party would have been avoided and the French workers would have had Viviani's law for four months.

(7) L'Action Syndicaliste, page 44.

(8) L'Action Syndicaliste, page 44.

(9) This railroad history may be found in "L'Humanite" of November and December, 1910.

Join the I. W. W. and FIGHT for better conditions.

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

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

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

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

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any 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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CHANGE OF LOCATION.

The office of Solidarity is now located in the Gilliland building at the rear of No. 8 Croton avenue, having been moved from 10 1/2 South Mill street.

Send in the pulp.

DULUTH I. W. W.

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

THE RAGE OF THE KEENLWORTH MINE

BY WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN

Address delivered at Salt Lake City, February 12, 1911.

(Continued From Last Week)

The Keenlworth Tragedy
A week ago Friday morning practically all the men of the Keenlworth Coal Mine went on strike. They had made complaints to Mr. Bell that for several months their daily output of coal had been reduced by the weight to about one half its former weight, and he had paid no attention to them. Instead of giving the men a respectable hearing, this upholder of "law and order" told the committee making the complaint: "You can do as you damn please." When they decided that no satisfaction could be had at his hands and struck, Bell sent a deputy to them, gave them their time and ordered them off the company grounds.

These fifteen men then went in an orderly way to Mayor Price to consult with him as to what they should do further. The mayor gave them a letter to Mr. Bell and told them to report back to him the result. Monday morning they went to Keenlworth to present the letter. Arriving too early to see Mr. Bell, they up on the hills outside the grounds to wait until Mr. Bell should be up and ready to hear them. The weather was cold and they built fires to keep warm. They were entirely within their rights and no just reason existed for their being interfered with in any way. The local thugs, which Mr. Bell naturally keeps about him to carry out the establishment of the mining company, saw the fire on the hills and the men gathered about them. They at once approached the men, told them to hold up their hands—as any other highway man would have done before he took to him the time even to do that, began firing upon them. Three or four men fell to the ground wounded. Naturally the Greeks returned the fire, and they were castles in the air, shot at, for the most despised knew what to do for themselves. They were in the Carbon county—Thomas Jackson—left the world which he had degraded. I am speaking, not on the ground of personal knowledge, of course, but on the practically unanimous testimony of the people who had the best opportunity to know this man.

Not only are the people of Helper, who knew him well, unanimous in saying that he got exactly what he deserved, but even his brothers in the Knights of Pythias say the same thing. Indeed, their language in describing him is not fit to print. After that first encounter the Greeks fled up the hills and the deputies pursued. Four or five of the Greeks were taken prisoners. Coming down the mountains the deputies saw a wounded Greek lying by the fire, where he had been left. One of the deputies, a brother of Thomas Jackson, deliberately went up to the man and shot him to death. This is the testimony of the Greeks at Keenlworth.

The Tribune tells us that law and order were vindicated at Keenlworth. Let me tell you what the Tribune means by that. These so-called deputies—that kind of animals they were you can understand if you know the character of Chief Barlow and prison keepers generally—took their prisoners and proceeded to take the consent by the direction of Mr. Bell, to sweat them, as our authorities call it. They took the law into their own hands, or rather they disregarded the law, for there is no law that authorizes any such thing as the sweating process. The only warrant that these modern fends, to whom we entrust the "dispensing of justice" today, have for their criminal acts is the warrant they derive from the acts of the Roman Catholic Church in the Spanish Inquisition. They are exactly the kind of people whom all decent people hold in contempt. They tempt; the Torquemadas and Dukes of Alva of the 20th century. These deputies tied these Greeks to telephone poles and whipped them till they were tired. Two of them had ropes around their necks, and one was hauled up feet first and whipped while this suspended in the air. When some of the Greeks begged Mr. Bell to set these men free, his reply was, according to the statement of these men, "No, I'll leave the damned sons of bitches there till the coyotes eat them."

What Are You Going to do About It?
Men and women, how do you like this sort of thing? How long do you propose to stand for it? How long do you propose to support by your votes or in any other way the men or the policies which stand back of that sort of thing? What reason have you for believing that the time will ever come when the powers that be in this State will make the smallest effort to do justice to these fendish corporations, whose servants and tools these very officials of every county in the State government are? Do you not know that capitalism would commit suicide if it were even to attempt to do any effective thing toward the suppression of such deeds of lawlessness and murder?

There is even now a bill before the State Legislature whose whole aim is to fasten still more firmly on the chains of our serfdom. These plant lords of capitalism propose to enact a law which will compel every male citizen between 21 and 35 to pay an annual tax for the support of a militia. This tax will be levied on every citizen male citizen between 21 and 35 to pay an annual tax for the support of a militia. What is the design of this bill? What is the purpose of this militia? Its purpose is to place in readiness this militia

to be used for one purpose only: to shoot into submission your brother workers whenever they make any complaint concerning their conditions of employment, whenever they make any attempt to better their conditions.

What do you propose to do about that law, if it is made a law? I don't mean, what do you propose to do about opposing its passage in the Legislature. With that you have absolutely nothing to do. Let me remind you that no legislative statute can blot out a fact, can alter by its passage in the Legislature. And the supreme truth, the one incontestable fact, which is your first and highest business as working people to know is this: That there are but two nations in the world—two. The nation of the exploiters and the nation of the exploited. You belong to one or the other of those two nations, not to both. And your first and only allegiance is to one or the other of those two nations—not to some particular geographical section of the earth. No military enactment ever passed or ever to be passed can have any force with the members of the nation of the exploited.

Such enactments are always for the benefit of the nation of the exploiters. If you will consent under any circumstances to obey such a law, to pay a dime of your money for the maintenance of any such force or allow yourselves to be enlisted in its service, you are casting away your manhood. You are traitors to your class, to your homes, if you have any, to everything that can make you human. And your refusal at any cost to obey such a law, your defiance of such a law, would do incomparably more to hasten the revolution in which alone you have any hope of freedom or justice than anything else you can do.

Workingmen Unite
The time is always here when we must align ourselves on one side or the other in the only conflict that is worth while. Are you for the exploited, or are you for the exploiting class? You are either for the human hydra of water-strips who are feeding on the lives and hopes and happiness of the workers of the world, or you take your stand in the ranks of the proletarian army whose complete triumph over this enslaving capitalism alone holds hope of better things for all the sons of earth.

Working men and women, close ranks! The workers of whatever name or nationality are your brothers, your allies: Exploiters of whatever name or nationality or religion are your enemies, your only enemies. On with the Revolution! You have nothing but your chains to lose, and a world to gain!

NOTHING TO FEAR

Wall Street "Ticker" Delivers Shocking Message to Financiers From A. F. of L. Organizer.
(Special to Solidarity.)

New York, March 18.—That the express strike in this city is likely to prove a worse fiasco than its predecessor of last December, is evident from the following statement "ticked off" this date in every Wall Street broker's office. "The Revolution is led by William H. Ashton, general organizer of the Brotherhood of Teamsters."

"Persistent rumors of a general strike of miners is both preposterous and absurd."

"Nothing is doing in the mines. Dan J. Tobin (general president of the I. B. T. U.) has any intention of coming to take charge of the situation, as in my opinion the atmosphere here is clear in a few days. I desire to say to truck owners, merchants, and employers of teamster work are working under a signed agreement with Teamsters' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that such agreements will be kept sacred and under no circumstances will they be violated."

The "ticker" continues: "U. S. Express Co. employees in Jersey City have returned to work, and at strike headquarters it is said it will soon be no surprise if Wells Fargo men follow their example."

"Wagons sent out today by the American, National and Westcott Express companies have been given police protection. There has been no serious disturbance."

CLEVELAND, OHIO.
Local No. 33, I. W. W. of Cleveland, meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock standard time, corner Superior Avenue and Columbus Road, No. 1501. From the stand-point of the State Entrance Facing Superior, Violate up one flight second door to your right. All workers are invited to attend any and all meetings in order that you may learn what it means to you as workingmen and women. We challenge any one to come and dispute our claim for the I. W. W. which is its SUPERIORITY over all others considered from the standpoint of the working class movement.

SALT LAKE, UTAH.
Local 69, I. W. W. of Salt Lake City, Utah maintains headquarters on a 2nd floor reading room at 62-1-2 West 2nd St. All workers welcome.

MIKE CARROLL, Fin. Sec'y.

SOLIDARITY

REFUSED TO HELP I. W. W.

Fresno Socialist Party Ignores Free Speech Fight and Expels All I. W. W. Members.

By Grace V. Silver, New York Call.

Fresno, Cal., March 11.—The free speech fight, after lasting six months, is over. The petty capitalists of this arid ridden city have been most ignominiously beaten. They have surrendered unconditionally and granted the entire demands of the I. W. W. The workers will now speak on the streets whenever and wherever they choose. The community simply came to the conclusion that it was costing them too much to hold and house a few hundred I. W. W.'s, who could not eat plain bread and water, who could not be kept in a dark cell, and who could not be worked on the chain gang. And when they heard that they would soon have to take care of a thousand instead of one or two hundred, they gave in. It was all they could do.

By March 5th all the men had been released from jail. The men immediately held a meeting and elected their own officers of their intention to carry on their work of organization.

Having won the free speech fight, the I. W. W. in Fresno is not to be beaten. It is now up to them to do what they started out to do when they first came here—to organize the unskilled workers. White agricultural workers are paid less than Japanese workers in the same field, and the despised yellow man has organized and demands, and gets, higher wages as a comrade. He would not eat plain bread and looks down on him, seeks to use him, and demands that that same Jap be excluded from the country on the ground that he can't be organized, and that he "lowers wages" and lowers the standard of living of the white worker. All of which is a bit of patriotic falsehood. The Jap, it is true, will take a job at extremely low wages, but he is paid less than Japanese workers in the same field, and he gets the job. And, too, he will be doing as little work as possible for what he gets. It will take two men to do a day's work of the I. W. W. Jap intends that it shall be now up to the I. W. W. to treat the white laborer as much as the Jap already knows, and then teach both a little more.

In the meantime the craft unions and the small merchants and other small profit seekers—and political organizations that cater to them, want exclusion bids passed. There is one feature of this fight which, so far as the I. W. W. is concerned, is told in any paper. And, too, he will be doing as little work as possible for what he gets. It will take two men to do a day's work of the I. W. W. Jap intends that it shall be now up to the I. W. W. to treat the white laborer as much as the Jap already knows, and then teach both a little more.

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HOW ABOUT THIS, SAMMY?

Following is a copy of a letter sent by the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party to Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor:

Headquarters of the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party, 519 1-2 E. Fourth St., Los Angeles, Calif.

To Samuel Gompers, March 11, 1911.

Sir:—

The Mexican Liberal Party appeals to you to direct and officiate as head of the largest body of organized labor in the United States. It appeals to you in a cause as just and holy as ever history recorded. It makes an appeal, therefore, that you cannot and, we are sure, will not resist.

It is time that the workmen of the United States speak out, and it is for you to do so. We are sure that you will give the workers of the United States the slavery against which we are fighting is the slavery your American Federation of Labor was organized to fight. The chains that bind us are fastened on us and are the chains against which you fight. Our cause is your cause, but you are in its extremest, most pitiable and, therefore, most respectable form.

We are revolted against unspeakably atrocious slavery, forced on us and supported by the American money power. The Standard Oil Co., the Guggenheims, the Seaboard, the Rockefellers, the Trust—all that Wall-Street authority against which you and the great masses of

your nation are making such vigorous protest—are the powers against which we of Mexico are in revolt. They have disposed of us as of the dregs of the earth and rendered us homeless by the hundreds of thousands; they have left us the choice of exile or imprisonment in such hells as the Valle Nacional.

To support this Wall Street infamy American soldiers are being called to arms. Already by the tens of thousands they are being sent to our borders, that they may be sent in stamping out the last spark of that freedom which is supposed to be the basis of our republic.

It is time for effective protest, and it is for you to do so. We are sure that you will give the workers of the United States the slavery against which we are fighting is the slavery your American Federation of Labor was organized to fight. The chains that bind us are fastened on us and are the chains against which you fight. Our cause is your cause, but you are in its extremest, most pitiable and, therefore, most respectable form.

The issue is clear, unmistakable, beyond evasion. We repeat that our cause is your cause, and we call on you to give it voice promptly, clearly and decisively.

Yours for human liberty,
(Signed)

RICARDO FLORES MAGON,
President, Junta,
Mexican Liberal Party.
(Seal of the Junta attached.)

TOBIN SCABBERY IN CALIF.

(Special to Solidarity.)

Napa, Calif., March 10.
I am informed that the San Francisco Labor Council has refused to give the I. W. W. the facts relative to their trouble with the Tobin shoe workers. Following are the facts:

The A. F. of L. Cutters were cutting shoes for the notorious scab firm of (Cahn, Nickelburg & Co., while employed in the shoe shop of Buckingham & Hecht. Their work was traded to the doors of the scab factory.

When the Labor Council expelled the Cutters, when they reported to John F. Tobin, who was called in by friend Sammy Gompers, and Sammy forthwith ordered the Council to reinstate the scab cutters. The showworkers of Napa are trying to get their fellow workers of the I. W. W. to line up with them in the I. W. W. They say the "city" workers are working at lower rates than they are getting here, notwithstanding that they are much cheaper here than in the metropolis.

In the case of the pulling over boys, Napa has been paying from 60 to 65 cents, while in Frisco A. F. of Lites, are doing work for 50c. This is organized scabbery with a vengeance.

The "United Workmen" (a fine name for a scab factory) has posted notices of a reduction of from 40 to 60 per cent. of the scab work for 50c.

The above facts have been given me by a man who was a member of the A. F. of L. Showworkers for twenty years.

Buckingham & Hecht have absorbed the shoe factory, and they are now expected to give Frisco conditions, scab label and all, inaugurated in the near future.

SAM MURRAY.

DIRECT ACTION TENDENCY IN ENGLAND

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

Louis Pierard, a Belgian journalist, relates in the last number of "Societe Nouvelle" an interview with Comrade Sorelle, just returned from England, where she took an active part in the most tumultuous strike of the miners of Wales.

"Really," said Madame Sorelle, we know those English very badly. Under an English mask, they hide a burning soul. Their language is full of parliamentaryism in meetings often deceives us. And many foreigners are misled in their opinions because they do not know the language of the miners. Their curious insular customs. Notwithstanding, deep differences in customs, there is in England just as on the continent, a strong disposition among a combative minority to attack capitalist progress in the other end a hatred of the workers among the bourgeois."

As to our new syndicalism, Madame Sorelle states that considerable progress is being made. The old trades unionism so profoundly law abiding, is declining. Trade syndicalists are more and more over to the methods of action followed by the French Confederation of Labor.

Louis Pierard adds: This view is borne out by the strike of the Great Northern Railway, the lockout of the hosiery makers of Newcastle, the strike of the miners of Aberdare, and the reports of the recent congress of the Labor Party. But the most interesting work on this point are the details given by Madame Sorelle in the powerful International Transport Federation, and the great struggle which is preparing. In conclusion Madame Sorelle said:

"I returned to England with the conviction that the revolutionary methods of the French Confederation of Labor will be more and more applied by our friends in England. Men of a decisive character like Ben Tillet, Havlock Ellis and Cathery are ready to make an entente cordiale with the militant syndicalists. An entente cordiale which will be more significant than the official one of which so much is spoken."

BELLINGHAM, WASHINGTON.
The address of the newly elected secretary of Local 337 is Theo. Bethka, 1315 Railroad Ave., Bellingham, Wash. All mail should be addressed to him, or his care. Headquarters at same place open day and night. Free reading room.

CAPITALIST "JUSTICE"

I see by the Industrial Worker and Solidarity that our Fellow Workers Preston and Smith are still in jail at Carson City, Nevada.

They are in jail because Fellow Worker Preston was forced to kill a man in defense of his own life.

Harry Thaw, the millionaire, is in an asylum. He did not kill in self defense, but as a deliberate and well planned scheme of revenge. But he is safe. Sure, Mike! He's got the coin. There's a difference.

Just to give a further illustration of how the courts and governors bear their masters' voice, I will give you an incident that happened in Butte, Mont., the city of graft and fake.

In December, 1905, Antonio Mezzano killed Peter Coello. Both were citizens of the United States. He was sentenced to 99 years in Deer Lodge penitentiary. The killing of Coello was as cowardly as it well could be. He was shot in the back without any provocation. Nevertheless Mezzano was pardoned in spite of the protests of the parents of Peter Coello.

I wonder if Fellow Workers Preston and Smith could get out if they were to play crazy? I don't think so.

This is just one of the many cases that go to show what there is in the claim that we are all equal before the law in this supposed land of freedom.

Yours for the liberation of our fellow workers.

PETER MARCHANDO,
Mezaderville, Mont.

CONDITIONS IN EUREKA

Eureka, Calif., March 18.

Solidarity:
The logging camps and sawmills of this section are all starting up for the season; also railroad construction is going on. Wages for common labor here are \$1.75 and \$2.00 in the hills; \$2.25 to \$2.50 in the woods. Longshore work 50 cents per hour, open shop.

Our winter had started in the winter when hundreds were out of work, and now although we have 125 members, they are scattered all over Humboldt county. One or two men cannot keep the local together. We need a few active English speaking workers here. There is a good chance to build up a big local here, but we need help to cover this large field.

Number 8 can ship here from Frisco for \$1.00.

Now, fellow workers, I have worked hard to start this local. I ask that some of you come here to take up the local. This is the heart of the redwood lumber district; it will mean much to the I. W. W. The foundation has been laid, it is up to some of you to live wires to build up a powerful organization.

JOHN PANCNER.

MATERIAL WANTED

In order to complete an article, I have authentic cases of the harm done by craft unions through craft autonomy, excessive dues, closed book, prohibitory initiation fees, refusal to recognize traveling card, etc. I want to know where new initiation charges, employers in the locals, barring of workers on account of race, creed, color, sex or age; limitation of apprenticeship contracts; the check-off system; settlement by shops or districts, jurisdictional quarrels, wrong tactics, strikes in dull season, protection of employers' property when striking, use of union label, shop cards, boycott of one line in favor of another, sick-and-death benefit features, false industrial organization, the Civic Federation, etc.

Don't say "Let yourself do it," but send in the material yourself to:
WALKER C. SMITH,
715 W. 11th Ave.,
Denver, Col.

LOCAL UNION 432.

Members take notice that a special meeting for the purpose of instructing delegate to the National Convention will be held on April 9th when final instructions will be given.

Members not receiving their papers should communicate with the Secretary when the same will be sent on request.

J. H. REYNOLDS,
Financial Secretary.

CHANGE IN LOS ANGELES.

Local Unions No. 1, 12, 18 and 63, I. W. W., Los Angeles, Calif., have moved to 604 Crocker street. All the latest revolutionary papers and literature on hand. All wage slips are welcome.

WM. E. SAUTER,
Joint Secretary.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS.

After April 1st, 1911, the number of the "Cambridge Building" will be changed to 160 North 8th Ave. All locals take notice. Use new street number so they will avoid delay in delivery of mail.

518 Cambridge Building,
160 N. 8th Ave.

Fresno Local No. 66 will open each new Hall and Reading room 917, E. corner North 8th Ave. All everybody welcome. All new Fellow Workers coming through libraries are invited to give us a call.

Agitate for the 8-hour day!