

VOLUME THREE.

NEW CASTLE, PENNSYLVANIA, SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1912

THE NEW UNIONISM

As it Appeared From a C pitalist Writer's Standpoint, in the Lawrence Strike.

(Lincoln Steffens, in New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser.)

Out of the west has come a new factor in the labor situation. Whether it is al-together antagonistic to the American Federation is not yet clear. Its field is on morent. Its purposes are not identical. fine erent. Its purposes are not identical. immethods are different. It showed itself discharges. The victory for labor to show its ended in New England marks its ended in New England ma ce upon the Atlantic coast.

Generally in labor circles the Industrial
Vorkers of the World stand, only for the
Western Federation of Miners. They may
be nothing else. In what they have done
to Lawrane, they annealy in a role which, se nothing else. In what they have done
t Lawrence thry appeap in a role which,
this part of the world, 'u enfamiliar.

They work for the lower trades where the
merican Federation of Labor now repretute, in a large measure, the higher, the
comparatively skilled trades. These lowtrades, and the great mass of unskilled
orders, have not been able to organize
than composition of their employers. at the opposition of their employers their wages therefore (they think)
w. They see this. They are taught
it. They are the open opportunity
radicals in the labor movement,

the radicals in the labor movement, call the printers, the hatters, the case and fremen, and all the other programmed trades "the aristocrats, and line there which is something as line, and feelings which a bound for the I.W. W. And the W. leaders are appealing to it, are searching all the industries for morganized mass of workers who, numerous, of course, are neglected or, rate, not conveying the whole Research of the control of the con numerous, of course, are neglected or, by rate, not organized by the A. F. of and, as at Lawrence, when they find nunderpaid, discontented and friend, the I. W. W. sends in its organizers starts something.

his is going on in the steel industry

This is one of the reasons why the

coal workers' organization, which is threatcoal workers organization, which is three-ening a strike, is putting up such stiff de-mands to the coal miners. They must, else the I. W. W. will. And the coal companies played the I. W. W. game companies piayed the I. W. W. game when they refused point blank to consider the terms proposed. Also they help the I. W. W. when they exact big concessions from the A. F. of L. leaders. For the I. W. W. leaders are forever telling

the workers that the A. F. of L. is to friendly with the employers.

This was the I. W. W. policy at Lawrence. Fighting not only the employers, but the A. F. of L., they accused them both together. They asked the workers to notice that the A. F. of L. had been to notice that the A.F. of L. had been there with its aristocratic organizations for all these years and that, like the bosses, it had not bettered conditions of the common working people. And they whispered that there was a reason; that the A.F. of L. leaders dined and wined with em leaders dined and wined with employers, and that in all probability the employers would turn to the Central Labor Union and John Golden to get the strike calledoff. And this last happened.

The Case of Jonn Golden.

The Line or John Lessens.
John Golden is the head of the A. F.
of L. in Lawrence. He is well thought of
in all circles both in Lawrence and Boston. He ranks down east just about
where John Mitchell ranks in the United States. The negotiators I have spoken of know him well, and turned naturally to him as the man to handle the situation.

And they made a big mistake, I think, when they did that. They should have known that the I. W. W. leaders, anticipating Golden's agency, made him the bete-noire of the strikers. They had got

(Continued On Page Four)

THE GROWING I. W. W.

The I. W. W. may well rejoice. In the East, thanks to the Lawrence strike, testile wages have been advanced over \$10,000,000. The result is a big demand for I. W. W. organizers in New England, New Jork. A dozen or more, including Thompson, Trautmann, Joe Schmidt, Haywood, Yates, Miller, Flynn, Rossini and others, are on the jab, working to the limit of human endurance. At the Chicago general headquaters, the general accretary, Vincent St. ance. At the Chicago general headquasters, the general secretary, Vincent St. John, is as bury as a beaver with a force totally inadequate to meet the requirements of present day conditions. Solidaraiso feels the onrush of events I. W. ward. Its February income was uble that of last year, and March promiss as well or better. In addition, there is been such a demand for pamphlets delastes, especially Herve's "Anti-striotism," that the one great fear of pase in charge is that they will not be to get pamphlets and leastes out fast to the demand this spring and Where formerly there was a freaders, they now threaten to I too numerous to cope with, under unstances.

umstances.

The West the I. W. W. is not lag
hind by any means. It is growing
gers and influence to such an exelicit the combined boottility of
acturers' and Merchants' Assothe misleaders of various immual craft units' workers' lorThe M. &.

The M. &.

The water to

stemp out and prevent its industrial organization of the lumber, transport and other Pacific Coast workers. The mis-leaders, noticing the trend toward the I. W. W., both among the organized and W. W., both among the organized and unorganized, are spireading falsehoods regarding the I. W. W.; they fear the loss of their fat salaries and political graft. Both the M. & M. and the misleaders "jump on" the I. W. W. only to be knocked off of their feet by the rebound. Theal. W. W. is growing on the Pacific Coast despite them.

This fact is well profused.

This fact is well reflected in the contents and spirit of the Industrial Worker, our Spokane, Wash., organ. Both show progress and the virility born of development and growth. The Industrial Worker has always been good reading; but never as good as now. The reason is to be found mainly in conditions at present pre-

All the above is cheering. It can be made still more so by more additions to the income and press funds of both Soli-darity and the Industrial Worker. This will enable them to increase their forces and take complete advantage of the present favorable opportunity. J. E.

NEW ENGLAND, TAKE NOTICE-

All Locals of the I. W. and other working class organizations in the New England States who are willing to arrange mass meetings on Industrial Unionses in Bussian, Polish, Lithanalan and Jewish languages should communicate with M. Nagorove, 27 S. Eden St., Baltimore, Md., not later than March So. VINCENT ST. JOHN.

MURDERING FREE SPEECH FIGHTERS IN SAN DIEGO

(Telegram to Solidarity)
San Diege, Calif., March 25.
About 16 L. W. W. men were taken
out of jail last friday night by the
vigilance committee, put in a darkened
automobile and dumped 46 "miles out.
Two are dying; five missing; others
badly beaten up.
Six arrested today
and beaten up in golice station.

I. W. W. COMMITTEE.

(Special to Solidarity.)

San Diege, Calif., March 19.

The free speech light here is dragging along slowly, but the I. W. W. is gaining ground every day. The police have been trying to bulduse and intimidate us, but this has failed and they are now be-

but this has falled and they are now be-coming a buge joke.

After turning the water on the thous-ands of people a week ago they started clubbing and were not at all particular as to who they struck. Men and women have been clubbed indiscriminately. The bulls ands or people a week ago only assected clubbing and were not at all particular as to who they struck. Men and women have been clubbed indiscrusinately. The bulls were becoming so irutal to the crowds that merely as a matter of askey for the passers-by, the 1. W. W. quit holding evening meetings in the sacred precincts devoted to business and started daylight meetings so that very one, and especially the structure of the sacred process of the sacred process of the sacred to business and started daylight meetings so that very one, and especially though the sacred to business and the sacred for the sacred for the sacred to business and the sacred for the sacred to business and the sacred for the sacred for

the tree to retain to plant of plant of the bell rolling.

The papers of San Diego, with the help of some of the city's brainless cope, have discovered a terrible dynamite piot of the I. W. W. 's. Their story is that the city maintains a guard at their power bouse, but some dynamite has been stolen; that the I. W. W. had a bomb factory here, but owing to police activity the men have vanished; that, the bombs are hidden blowing up once valuable to but owing to police activity the men have vanished; that, the bombs are hidden blowing up once valuable to but owing the but owing to go not evil about the publication of the blowing up once valuable to but ower released on their own recognisance. But after telling the people of this terrible piot the papers calmly assure them that no harm shall befall them, for a vigilance committee of a thousand men has been organised to repel the invading

that no harm shail befall them, for a vig-ilance committee of a thousand men has been organized to repel the invading hordes, and at the same time escort out the terrible dynamiters who are now here and have been let out of jail on their own

the terrone uynamers and have been let out of all on their own recognizates.

But the spern have not a word to say the special of free speech, peaceable assemblage and the press, or the fact that over two hundred men are being starved in loury jails for demanding the rights of eitzens; or that an aged man was struck in the stomach by a policeman's clid band knocked insensible; or that a little girl who was drenched and injured by the police a week ago has since died; or that the parawell of the present by the stream of water from the base in the hands of the police have been spirited away, and there is a rumor that the baby is dead.

Not at all. These statements of fact must be left to the working class and radical papers to be published. But have no fear of the outcome here. We have the goat of the police force right now, and the policy of the special papers to be published. But have no fear of the outcome here. We have the goat of the police force right now, and when we give them the STUMPY.

BIG LUMBER

Gray's Harbor Sawmill Towns Tied Up of Slaves. I. W.W. in Charge.

(Special to Solidarity.)

Seattle, Wash., March 20. A strike of the mill men around Hoquiam has been declared. Men in three mills have gone out and mere will follow. Fellow Workers Isler. Holmes, Thorn and Allison are on the job. The Thorn and Allison are on the job. The striken are highly enthusiastic, and are standing firm. They will win with your co-operation. This is the first strike in the lumber industry since we organized the National Industrial Union of Lumber Workers. Everything is running smoothly. Yesterday lafer spoke in the Flinnish hall, where 130 men joined the Local. The time is rine, so help these men seen. nail, where 130 men joined the Local. The time is ripe, so help these men reap the fruits of the seeds of agitation. A stitch in ime sayes spine. Remember, if this strike is won the organization will then grow by leaps and bounds.

Give the strike all the attention possi-ble; hold meetings; collect money, and give the matter publicity in every way; picket the employment office; car ners on the streets of your city; let the working class of this country know that the I. W. W. is alive and doing. You

Yours for solidarity of the workers. MORRIS LEVINE Acting Sec. N. I. U. L. W.

Just as this week's Solidarity is nearly Just as this week a Solidarity is nearly set up, comes a lengthy and interesting report of the lumber workers' strike at the Gray's Harbor mill towns in Washington, it is from Organizer J. S. Biscay, and we give below some extracts from the same:

This struggle is no longer a Hoquiam strike, but a general tie-up of the Gray's Harbor lumber industry. It's catching, and the longer it lasts the further it

Since last Monday the strike spread in-to Aberdeen, and day after day the mills were pulled out of activity in threes and were pointed out of activity in threes and fours until practically every every mill in this community is tied up. Of course there are a few mills which yet run the whistle, but we expect that as soon as we have the strike completely organized the bosses will not even be able to run the whistle.

present writing the situation is as followed.

Eureka mill, Hoquiam; closed. Northwestern mill, Hoquiam, clos Lytel's mills, Hoquiam, closed tig Federal mills, Aberdeen, closed. Western mill, Aberdeen, closed. Slade mill, Aberdeen, tight. American mill, Aberdeen, closed. Michigan mill, Aberdeen, closed. Aberdeen mill, Aberdeen, closed. Wilson mill, Aberdeen, closed. West mill, Aberdeen, closed. Union mills, Aberdeen, closed.

Donnovan mill, Aberdeen, closed.

Western Cooperage Co., Aberdeen,

Anderson & Middleton, ippled. (Whistle operating.) Cosmopolis mill, crippled. National Box, Hoquiam, tight.

Longshoremen of both towns are out on strike in sympathy with the mill and lumstrike in sympathy with the mill and lum-ber workers and boats are idle whether loaded or empty. In some of the mills, where the bosses held out bravely, even the whistle had to shut down after the fuel rain out. Of course, the mill owners are not admitting that they are closing down-on account of shortage of men—not at all. They are closing down because many need-ed and long frogotten repairs have, to be uade. Other mills shut down, because there is no profit in ranning a mill anythere is no profit in running a mill any-way, and still another closed down so the

employes would be spared the ment of working while the strain Who says that the world has no sens humor? Any one else would be able guess that the mills will stay closed up the strike is over, but the bosses is have just discovered that fact-too unexpectedly for the mill Necessarily they are up in the air.

The strikers went from mill to mill in eat bodies and pulled out their fellow orkers despite all efforts of the bosses. workers despite all efforts of the bosses, In many instances as soon as the news arrived at the mill that the strike was on in Aberdeen, some of the men rushed into the engine room and pulled the whistle cord, which was the signal to drop everything. The only violence that has occurred so far has come from the side of the bosses, as usual. Several strikers, Greek fellow workers, were arrested and at fast. Several strikers, Greek fellow workers, were arrested and at first fined in the Hoquiam dispensary. But public opinion was so strong that the fudge was forced to grant an appeal, and the jury acquitted them.

The strikers, who were at first unorgan-ized, are coming into the I. W. W. at the rate of 125 to 150 daily in Aberdeun alone. At Hoquiam these figures are bealone. At Hoquism these figures are being duplicated. Meetings are being held in both towns afternoons and evenings with standing room at a premium. The greatest of enthusiasm prevails among the striking workers, who have baffled every attempt of the mill owners to divide them. Some of the bosses have offered to pay the scale demanded if some of the foreign element can be excluded, but the workers will not be divided. There will be no settlement until all are taken back, with no discrimination. The workers are conscious of their power, and will use it to gain better conditions for all.

As a last recort, the mill owner have

As a last resort, the mill ow As a last resort, the mill owners have brought pressure to bear upon the Jealers to refuse credit to those on strike. This is now being done. Nearly all of the workers are settled and with families. While all these dealers will be attended to in their order, yet at this time outside help is needed at once. In this struggle the are trades unionists, socialists, industri-ists and unorganized working hand hand for a common cause. Help is nee hand for a common cause. Help is neces-sary. Don't put off your help. Don't let women and children suffer. Collect relief funds at once and forward them to F. H. ALLISON, Sec. N. I. U. of Lumber Workers, 211 Occidental Ave., Scattie,

DATES FOR SPEAKERS

To locals and all revolutionary organize

tions:

Dates are being arranged for trips West for Fellow Workers Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, James P. Thompson, William E. Trautmann and Joseph J. Ettor. All organizations desiring dates are requested to communicate with General Headquarters.

VINCENT ST. JOHN, R. 518, 160 N. Fifth Ave.. Chicago.

FREE LECTURE IN DETROIT

"The History of the American Labo Movement" is the subject of a lecture by Joe Labadie to be delivered in Schulte's Hall, 275 Gratiot avenue, on Sunday, April 7, at 2:30 p. m

Despatches from Lowell, Mass., report another big I. W. W. strike and a lockout of 20,000 cotton mill operatives. More particulars next week.

sold ovst serie re, too of society has ed of —may seem hall he of its rapid growth ent from other people. Their theor-are modified by the conditions they front, and political socialism in operaconfront, and politi tion is entirely different from theoret m. Anarchism makes a great dea socialism. Anarchism makes a great deal of noise, but never gets anywhere. But the I. W. W. stands for a plan which means business and which actually could be put in operation, if it got enough of the working class to stand with it; and its aims and methods are revolutionary."

Without quoting any part of the above, the Cali answers as follows: "A trade union does not run itself. If the mem-bership increases there is the need of bership increases there is the need or more paid officers. As the membership increases, there is the growing desire to gain still further members, and organizers are put in the field. Those organizers are drawn from the working class, and though a union changes its name it does not change the characteristics of the per-sons from whom it draws its officials. Any claim of personal superiority on th part of the I. W. W. leaders over those of the A. of I. the A. of L., for instance, is a fundamen-tal absurdity. . . There can be no ex-tension of the I. W. W. without the formation of a permanent secretarial and formation of a permanent secretarial and organizing force, that is, the office force—
or the union 'job holders'. ... When, therefore, some members of the T. W. W. come forward with the ducovery that the socialists are 'office seekers' (an accusation that has the hearty support of the Times, the rest of the capitalist press and of all capitalist political parties), it is only fair to ask another question: Why, if fair to ask another question: Why, if this is so, should the I. W. W. have any officials at all? May they not also become labor skates, permanent office fixtures, leeches on the movement? If not, bow

has human nature, good old human na-ture, been changed?"

The Call misses the point. The funda The Call misses the point. The fundamental point of distinction between the "political party" and the "economic organization" is not to be discerned in the question to "foffee bolding," or "job hunting" alone. Even a child should understand that fact at a glance. The distinction between the two is rather to be observed in the fundamentally different should be a standard or the fundamentally different should be a standard or the sevential or the characters of the revolutionary industria characters of the revolutionary incustrial union and the political party. The latter, whatever its pretensions, is bound in its actions by the rules of the game laid down specifically in the interests of the ruling economic class. It cannot depart from those rules without first destroying the economic supremacy of the ruling class. Consequently, a political party must necessarily move exclusively within the iggal circle of capitalism—that is, class solegal circle of capitalism—that is, class so-ciety—and cannot function outside of that circle even should all its members elected to office be workingmen. Its every action to office be workingmen. Its every action must be "legal," or it ceases to be a po-litical party and becomes merely a band of "outlawed" propagandists. Does any-one doubt that such has been the history of the socialist political movement the socialist political movement oughout the world, to date? Is there throughout the world, to date? Is there any reason to assume that it can be otherwise? This does not affect the contention that many of the S. P.'s members are revolutionists, or that its office holders ev-en may deal gently (within legal limits, of course) with the workers in times of in-dustrial warfare. For all that, within the limits of the existing class society, the political party in office functions merely as political party in office functions mercin — the secondary coercive power of the rul-ing economic class. Wall Street uses Washington to help coerce the workers.

On the other hand, the revolutionary economic organization is fundamentally different. Its structure and tactical proutterent. Its structure and tactical program are immediately as well as altimately determined by the requirements of the NEW society whose ostlines are perceived in the evolution of the old. That new society is perceived to be inthe evolution of the old. That new ciety is perceived to be industrial and amogeneous in an economic sense, in intra-distinction to the present political

dy, the in at ery out at sety, and of developit. It begins with the orof the workers in the shops. dustrial Union of the Working Class. That Union has necessarily a two-fold function to fulfill: It has to fight the employing class (including the political and other institutions acting as props and other institutions acting as proper thereto) for economic supremacy, at which point (of economic supremacy) it will have prepared the working class through its industrial organization to assume complete control of industry, and thus will have control of industry, and thus will have sahered into being the new society. Some of the industrial union's methods (or if the worst comes to the worst, all of its methods) may be proclaimed "dilegal" by the ruling class; but if those methods conform to the security of t conform to the requirements of its evolu-tion, they will have to be persisted in, nevertheless. The instrument of the new society brings its own laws and eithical code which transcend those of capitalism

In this conception, the question of "job hunting," "official corruption," etc., in the economic organization, enters only as an incident. Of course, the revolutionary union will have to have officials, organizers, etc., and will need to guard against mere job hunters or labor fakirs. The prevailing principle in the l. W. is to have as few noid officials. prevailing principle in the 1. We so to have as few paid officials as are necessary for the efficient administration of the af-fairs of the organization, and to keep their salaries as low as possible. But we do not place entire reliance upon such measures place entire reliance upon such measures.

The growing intelligence, solidarity and revolutionary spirit of the rank and file of the industrial union as the Call intimates (the only clear bint in its whole editorial) will prove most effectual shields against the A. F. of L. brand of official-dom in the I. W. W. And that presuposes no change in human nature. (Strange, isn't it, how socialist editors.) are now repeating against the I. W. W. that eld capitalist chestnut about human nature?) It is simply a question of material class interest.

But the question of "office seeking more than an incident in the Socialist Party. Office seeking is one of the princi-pal and necessary characteristics of any political party. Offices are numerous, and politicians must either be found, or made, to fill them. Some must be filled by lawyers and other professional men, who may or may not be up to the snuff on working class psychology. All political offices are outside of the workshop and the atmosphere breathed in the daily life of the working class. All political office bolders must observe the rules of the game, which are carefully drawn up so as not to menace the property and other rights of the rul-ing class. Otherwise, economic pressure will be brought to bear by the rulers to remove those office holders. Hence office little care must be exercised in securing "conservative" office holders. Office "conservative" office holders. Office seeking is really becoming already quite a serious proposition in the S. P.

om all of which, it appears that there are fundamental differences between the S. P. and the I. W. W., which the Call gould do well to understand a little more clearly before it imments the alleged at-tacks of one upon the other. For all that, the I. W. W. will relentlessly pursue its two-fold purpose to fight the capitalist enemy and all his supporters to the final goal where the working class will be ful-ly equipped to supplant capitalism with the industrial commonwealth.

NEWS AND VIEWS

In Butte, Mont., where the Socialist Party is in municipal control, a tie-up of the metal mines and smelters is threatened, in order to secure the re-instatement of hundreds of Socialists, discharged because of their political affiliations

In the Pittsburg district Socialists being fired by the railroads and told by being irred by the railroads and out of the Steel Trust to sever their relations with their party or suffer the loss of employment. They are turning to the I. W. W. as a result. All of which goes to prove the I. W. W. position, that political power is based on economic might; that voting is important when backed by con-trol of the means of subsistence. Get wise, socialists; get wise!! Join the I. W. W. Organize the economic power of the working class 4

Many big strikes and labor troubles are

either on or threatened. The advent of spring finds building construction either tied-up or in danger of tie-ups, in Chica-go, Boston and other leading cities Shoe strikes are threatened in Lynn, Mass. In strikes are threatened in Lynn, Mass. In the silk textile industry of Passaic, Paterson and other New Jersey points a revoit against the four-loom system and for more wages is being waged. In the authracite and bituminous regions extensive coal strikes are imminent. On the railroads all the eastern lines are negotiating with the engineers' brotherhood regarding increased wage schedules. New England is rampant with revolt; sops are being thrown out without effect. Every where the spirit out without effect. Everywhere the spirit of unrest is in the air. Capitalism is on the verge of unprecedented trouble that can only be temporary allayed by improved conditions and higher wages. Help

New England and its many revolts, actaal and incipient, reminds one of the theory that wage advances paralyze the revolutionary development of the working class. Having had their appetites whetted the workers, according to this theory, will smack their lips and say "amen." Un-fortunately, New England does not sub-stantiate this theory. The unil corpora-tions granted a 5 per cent increase in wages, when, lo and behold, the textile workers demanded an additional ten per workers demanded an adultional ten per cent, with the understanding that more will be wanted when that is secured. This latter fact is worrying the mill owners. They believe that if this game of throwing tubs to the whale continues there will come a time when they will baye no more tubs to throw. The prospect fills them with horror. And well it may. As for the theorickers the fear of the mill owners points the moral to the tale that they have not understood. They'd better read

Wall Street believes that the country on the eve of a big industrial revival. the steel industry it is stated that the de-pression has passed and the turn has come. These statements have a familiar ring; we have heard them repeatedly during the past year and are somewhat sceptical about them, as a consequence. Still we hope they are true; a revival of industry means demand for labor and a chance for organizing labor and improving its condition This demand is important in the sense into labor organization. As the big strikes of the year show, at Lawrence, Mass., and in Great Britain, particularly, poverty as well as prosperity necessitates indus-trial unionism. The theory that panies destroy effective economic action on the part of labor no longer holds good. Labor nomic necessity demands it. Neverthe-less, we'd rather organize for the over-throw of capitalism with a full stomach throw of capitalism with a toll stomace than with an empty one. So here's hop-ing the business revival is coming to sati-ate our appetitites. But come or not, we are always on the job.

The arrest of Tom Mann proves that, like the bourbons, the capitalists never learn. They believe that the syndicalism advocated by Mann is based on leadership instead of the development of their own industrial system, with its need of militar-istic props and oppression. Consequently they make the great mistake, as did the Lawrence capitalists in arresting Ettor, to jail Mann in the belief that they will thus kill off English syndicalism and its anti-militaristic agitation. They have to learn that as long as their own industrial system persists syndicalism and the Tom Manns are both inevitable. They may jail Mann, but, as in the case of Ettor, other leaders will spring up to take his place by the dozens. Capitalist industry is prolific of syndicalist leaders. To kill off syndi-calism, to rid themselves of the Tom Manns, then, the capitalists will first have to abolish their own industrial system to abolish their own industrial system— their own class, their own selves. While this is a consummation devoulty to be wished for, it is not likely to occur, ex-cept indirectly through the stupid at-tempts of our modern bourbons to prevent peaceful evolution by means of foreible op-pression, aided by the growing industrial peaceful evolution by means of forcible op-pression, aided by the growing industrial organization of an enlightened working class.

J. E.

It is reported in Wall street that Prei dent Wood of the American Woolen Co. about to lose his job. The stockholde of the Trust are alleged to be sore ov Wood's toolish handling of the Lawren stoation, which presipitated the great strike. They say. Wood should not have reduced wages when the 54-hour law went into effect, as by doing so he caused an eventual loss of 15 per cent to the stock-holders as a result of the victorious strike. Our hats off to Wood, wogden head that he is!

THE I. W. W. PRESS

While the editorials and some articles are of a highly educational nature—logical, convincing, and inspiring the fighting members to renewed efforts to 'go ou' under the most trying conditions for the tidea and more of the goods—there is not sufficient space in our press to put the One Big Union idea, its concrete expression (the I. W. W.,) its means and methods before the respective member. The mass before the prospective member. The man on the job, the man at the home, the man in the boarding bouse, the man out-side of the hall and lecture room must be reached with our message; the man with whom we have not much time to talk, explaining the ifs and buts.

H

The lack of space for agitational pur-poses must be overcome at once, and you fellow workers must be the doers. To much space is occupied by notices, es much space is occupied by notices, causing dope, ads, too large headlines and extreme spacing between articles. Some of the ads look like an ocular demonstration of the size of a corneratione in the industrial republic to come. What is more, all this seeming waste of space serves no apparent purpose. But there's a reason why it must be done at this time: The ma-zuma in the cash drawer of our papers isn't there at all to do the job. One has isn't there at all to do the job. One has but to pay a visit to the places of busi-ness and he will wonder how it's done ev-en with all these shortcomings. Too, and notices complained of have to a as space fillers. To reduce the size and notices communication as space filters. To reduce the size ads, notices of meeting places, kill canned dope and replace it with live style to would cost more unner for composition, communication with the managers of of a part of the style of the st

All this is known to the managers of o press. They have told it to you throug the columns of the papers and in month the columns of the papers and in mount bulletins, perhaps in a different mant than yours truly. Now, you fellow wo ers, and the ones that are "just member are at fault for missing your opportu-ties to get the I. W. W. press into t hands of non members. You are all handscapping the doers in their wor The first-time reader must be given som thing that will lead him to become a co stant reader of stuff that will arouse stant reader of stuff that will arouse well as educate him; that will not or induce him to join and pay one mont dues, but to remain in the union; merely to become a stay-at-home of member, but a clear-beaded; class scious fighter to the finish.

acious fighter to the finish.

Our press must become a fot d b means of general and industrial it in tion (in a technical, sense) and all viit to rof communication—up to day mable and quick. It's a strategical pic., d and and quick. It's a strategical plant valuable at all times, and to be effected must have a mass of readers.

In order to get them we must be our efforts towards being able to meet crease in space means more reading one ter and more readers; more reading members (educated) and more passes and

members (educated) and more per and appetite to get the goods, and so mittle wage slavery is a thing of the patt.

However, first of all, we must get more subs. When is more, it's got to be done now. Intie the bands of our editors by burning sub cards. The cash drawer must be able to pay the typesetter of the collists. to fill the space with the stuff that will make a dead nan sit up and take notice. D. TROITER MUTT.

WHAT ABOUT DIRECT ACTION?

It's about time that the mouthpieces of the I. W. W. give a concise explanation of what the I. W. W. means by direct ac tion. A sort of composite declaration o the membership, rather than the individ the memoerator, rather than the individ-ual opinions of a few members. First all, I suggest to have our editors makes plain to us and to the deliberate faishift in the socialist movement, how we trail-late "direct action"—its when, how at where

the

Next, our members on the firing lim and those who hold positions such as st retaries, organizers, from Chicago down the smallest local. A discussion on th

the smallest local. A discussion on the subject would furnish great agitation reading matter.

It seems to me that such quest wand as important as our standpoint of kers in call action. Why not a declarational Rec cal action. Why not a declarate all Recr garding, direct action, absolage, the cha our papers after we have come to be Gen mon understanding on the subject harter, its methods interpret direct mean everything "Magnetic which now mean everything "Magnetic which now it to stand for "and a clearal Sor Joe tion can prevent "Magnetic action and St. Joe TROITE 200. I

Agitate for the real thing. es for

sir All Orders. disha intended for publi

ed as second-class matter Decem 1909, at the post office at New a., under the Act of March 3, 1879 INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD eral Headquarters—518 Cambridge ag, Chicago, Illinois.

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Rach subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the wrapper enclosing SOLIDARITY. For instance 117. That means that your sub expired last week, and you should renew.

This is NUMBER 118

A SOCIALIST EDITOR'S LAMENT

Following is a paragraph from a two-column editorial in the New York Sunday Call of March 24. The editorial bears the heading "Mere Office Seeking," and purrts to be an answer to so

"Just now several I. W. W. papers Solidarity for example, are fairly slopping over in glee at what they consider an opportunity to attack the Socialist Party. They deride it, malign it, villify it mis represent it. For what reason? For the sake of the working clase? For the sake of that class which is represented by the New York Times? And if it is not for the sake of the latter, how does it happen that sake of the latter, now does it nappen that the Times is patting the I. W. W. on the shoulder and announcing that it is the only real, possible bonafide revolutionary organization? Why is the Times so sud-denly satisfied that the revolutionary I. W. is the real, genuine article in "rer\u00fauis the real, genuine article in "revolution," while the S. P. is grown couraged tive and therefore should be discouraged It is a fair question, and one the L. W. W. must answer and settle, for, in the suddenmust answer and settle, for, in the sudden-ty aroused interest there is an element of the utmost danger. It is an attempt, boldly, skillfully and opportunely made to force, lead, induce or coax the I. W. W. into an organized attack on the Socialist the S. P. into an attack on the

The Call's allusion to the New York Times is not clear, though it presumably refers to a special write-up on the I. W. W, by Charles Willis Thompson, appear-ing in the Sunday Times of March 17, and reproduced in part in this issue of Soli-darity. In that write-up Thompson draws distinction as he sees it between 'po-al socialism' and the I. W. W. The , apparently, takes offense at this Call, apparently, takes offense at without clearly stating Thompson's p tion or otherwise enlightening its readers as to the exact nature of the controversy

"The Call goes farther. Its lack of clear-ness is shown still more glaringly in the above allusion to "several I. W. W. pa-pers, Solidarity, for instance." The burpers, Solidarity, for instance." The bur-den of proof rests with the Call. Why not be specific, come out from under cover, and state in detail just where, when and in what terms Solidarity has "derided, villified, misrepresented the ialist Party?"

agned, villined, misrepresented the laist Party?" Until the Call does the state of the control o

"THREATENS THE SYSTEM"

Following is an extract from a two-pillustrated article by Charles Willis Thorson, in the New York, Sunday Times March 17:

March 17:

A perfectly practicable scheme of non-political socialism has been gradually spreading intelligent over the United States for the last seven years.

Nothing much is known of it in the east even now, when its management of the Lawrence strike has focused the attention of the country upon it. To most Easterneers the I. W. W. is merely a name, but the West learned that it was something more when Governor Steunenberg of Idaho was hlown to pieces and when Moyer, Hywood and Petithone were placed on trial and acquitted of the crime.

The I. W. W., the full name of which is the Industrial Workers of the World, is an association (which ought not to be overlooked or slighted. It is the business of every American citizen to acquaint himself fully with what it aims and what it stands for.

stands for.

dalium, the political variety, may seem
are threatening because of the rapid
growth in angabers; but wherever Socialitie get into office they turn out to be
not very different from other people.
Their theories are modified by the condi-Their theories are modified by the condi-ing they confront, and political Social-ions in operation is entirely different from un preciosi Socialism.

rehism makes a great deal of noise,

But the I. W. W. stands for a plan bich means business and which actually solid be put in operation, if it got enough to the working class to stand with it; and es sims and methods are revolutionary. The plan off-the I. W. W. is to abolish the wage system. Not through politics; the I. W. W. has no intention of running he government through commercial and manufacturing industries.

ufacturing industries. State Socialism approaches the problem State Socialism approaches the oroblem from the governmental end. It proposes bacquire control of the nation's industries by votting its followers into public office. The I. W. W., on the contrary, proposes o have the workers of the world acquire hartol of the nation's undustries until a saint is reached where the capitalists will by demanding an increase of

per cert in wages. If it gets the in-se it waits for awbile and then asks to per cent more. So it will go on un-bas forced the wage scale up to 100 cent, by which time it will bave ven the capitalists out of Madeld, and
w. W. w. men put it, "taken posession of the machinery of production."
The I. W. W. differs from all previous ther organizations. All of them recognize present system of society and tacitly knowledge the right of capitalists to ex-All they do is to try to secure ad-ageous terms for the workers. But lantageous terms for the workers. But it I. W. W. declares war on wealth—wit to the death. It intends to tear down the whole social structure, and build it anew.

This is why such men as William D.

This is why such men'ng William D. Haywood are perfectly unmoved when they are charged with being revolutionists; why they preserve a tranquil countenance when horrified society cries out, "But you are incendiaries."

"We are," Haywood and his men reply, "that's what we have been trying to make you understand. Glad you see the point."

Denunciation is wasted on such men It sight as well have been addressed by orrified French society to Danton and

If the plan sounds impracticable the I. W. W. will frankly reply, "So it is, to-day. But there is nothing impracticable about it if we set a majority of the na-tion's workers into our organization. If tion a workers into our organization. It we can't educate the workers up to our standpoint, why, then we fail. If we can educate them nothing can stop our success, for the machinery of production is already in the hands of the workers. All rey have to do is to recognize that fact and take possession of it."

Now, so thoroughly obsessed is the

erican citizen with the idea that evthing must be accomplished through tics—through government, through ing some law passed on the subject— it it is next to impossible for him to get 1. W. W. viewpoint through his head ne state socialist, who of all Americans is use one most thoroughly obsessed with epolitical or governmental idea, will be telast to understand. The state Socialist works of TUH top down, when he is in the control of the cont I. W. W. viewpoint through his head

much more concerned about the with of the I. W. W. than are even employers, for such organizations as American Federation of Labor recog-mental properties of the contract of the con-society something deadly, nize in this new society something deadly, something which will wipe them out of

something which will wipe them out of existence if it continues to grow.

This explains what must have seemed incomprehensible to uninformed newspaper readers—the bostility of John Golden and other labor leaders to the Lawrence strike. Golden and big like are fighting the battle of the employers in Lawrence, not because they especially love the employing class, but because the Lawrence strike is in I W. W. strike.

It is dealered not for the old A. F. of

It is declared, not for the old A. F. of L. motive, that of securing better terms for the workers, but as the first step toward wiping out the capitalist class. Hence Gompers, for instance, who clearly understands what the strike is for, is re bitterly hostile to it than eve employers, whose interests are directly af-fected, but who do not understand what the fight is for.

IS THE I. W. W. ANTI-POLITICAL?

One of the first principles of the Indus trial Workers of the World is that political power rests on economic power; that is, the control of the means whereby men live, such as their jobs, for instance. The country where capitalism exists, because they control the land, machinery, finances, etc., on which the people of those cour depend for existence. By means of such control the capitalists are enabled to impose their dictates on society, regardless of governmental or political forms; they rule in monarchical Germany, as well as in republican America. Consequently, the Industrial Workers of the World teaches the working class that, if it would be a real political power, it must first acquire cal power; that is, it must gain control of the shops, ships, railways, min-mills—in a word, the capital of the co-try—through industrial organization. try—through industrial organization. Before a working class, industrially organized and conscious of its power, the government is powerless to proceed in the interests of the capitalists; may more, it is forced to act against them. This fact is being dem strated in modern life, in Lawrence, Mass., and England, as will be more specifically shown further on.

Mere Vote-Getting Not Politics.

Mere vote-getting, or vote-casting, cording to the recognized methods, is not cording to the recognized metalogs, is the politics. A party may poll enough votes to capture State Legislatures, governorships, Congressional and U. S. Senatorial ships, Congression seats; it may roll up a million or more votes for a presidential candidate and enter the electoral college; it may even cause the adoption of serious legislation, on trusts, finances, railways and inter commerce; it may do all this, as did the Populist party, and nevertheless fail, as did that party; because it lacks economic, that is, real political power. Or, a party may capture mayoralities and municipal-ties, yet have no power of recall over mayors, aldermen or concilient who vio-late the principles on which they were elected to office; it may also act bonorably nerce: it may do all this, as did the and well, through the selection of men of good principles and character, yet be without real constructive influence, being, at best, a palliative agent, insuring graft-less, cheap, healthy and philanthropic government, all because it has no real political, that is, economic, power back of it, as in the case of the Socialist Party. Majorities do not make governments; the incial plutocrats of this country are a minority more powerful than all its voters, because of their economic power, that is their control of the capital of the country they are its real government.

Political Parties Seek Economic Basis.

That politics and political power are something more than mere vote-getting and vote-casting according to the recog-nized methods—something more than mamized methods—something more than ma-jorities—may be seen reflected in the con-duct of the established political parties. These parties, of whatever name, all seek These parties, of whatever name, all seek an economic basis; they seek to reflect economic interests, without which they have no reason for existence. In the United States, consequently, we have two Socialist Parties. Both proclaim themselves to be "the political expression of selves to be the political expression of the economic interests of the working class," though both are mainly composed of middle and protessional class elements. Netther of these Socialist Parties is an outgrowth of modern working class eco-nomic organization, despite their protesta-tions that they are reflections of workin

organize the ordinate to their own p.
One opposes industrial of revolutionary basis, in favor of ary A.F. of L. on the ground of neutrality, in order to secure A. F. of L. support, ary A.F. of L. on the ground of neutrality in order to secure A. F. of L. support; alliances and votes. The other opposes neutrality and eraft A. F. of L. reaction in order to dominate the industrial union movement in the political interests of its own sectarian cult. Both will denounce, praise, cajole, assist and betray labor as occasion demands; they will do anything for labor but get off of its back or out of the way of its own political development. They are illogical, cart-before-the-borse,

The other political parties are t ously based on capitalist interests to need only based on capitalist interests to need analysis. They protect capitalists interests because the capitalists control them through their economic power. Whether free trader or protectionist; trust or antitrust, they know their masters' crib and always act in the light of their knowledge aways act in the light of the knowledge.

They use the courts, police, militia—in a word, the powers of State—to aid the capitalists, because the capitalists are the State, thanks to their economic power.

developments, and are only of real value when they cease to be political parties and aid the direct action of the economic or-ganizations of labor—in strikes, etc.—

which they are now most frequently com-

Industrial Union Changes Government.

But these old political parties, like the Socialist Parties, also feel the influence of Socialist Parties, also feel the influence of an industrially-organized working class; they, too, pose as friends of labor, and, much against their wiff, are compelled to act in a manner detrimental to capitalist interests. When labor revolts and unites industrially, as in Lawrence, Mass., old party politicians act in ways that expose and weaken the power of capitalism. The President, Senators and. Congressmen feel resident, Senators and Congression levi-constrained to cause investigations and create situations that are of immense edu-cational value and that otherwise rattle the dry bones of capitalist legislation in the interests of labor. There is much perturbation, fear and misgiving for the old order and action in favor of the new; not because 2,000,000 votes have been cast against capitalism, but because 22,000 men, women and children have asserted their conomic power through industrial organi-ation; and are, consequently, a political

If we, for a moment, forget "our" much lauded country in order to look abroad, we shall find working class power organized and asserted in a manner that makes capitalist political power a weak and valueless force, insofar as the capitalists are concerned. In the English railway strikes of 1911 such was the power of the strikers that the army officials had to secure permission from them to transport fodder for The English miners' strike now arch 8, 1912) again demonstrates that government, in fact all of society, is paralyzed and powerless before an industrially organized working class. Such a class holds not only political control, but also the fate of civilization in its hands.

Under the circumstances, then, it is no Under the circumstances, then, it is no wonder that the English government supports the miners' principle of the minimum wage and uses all its powers forocconcessions from the mine owners favorable to the strikers. If a million miners can, force the greatest capitalist government to act against capitalism what is there the whole industrially organized working cannot compel it to do? The indus-union forces changes in government. trial union forces changes in government. It organizes the economic power of the working class and, in so doing, makes it the political arbiter of society. It is a new political factor, before which the capitalist "powers of state" must eventually give

way.

This fact is slowly dawning on the working class. A new conception of political powers and forms is taking possession of their thoughts and aspirations. They see the possibilities of labor controlling society directly, through a democrat form of industrialism; that is, production and distribution primarily by, for and of the workers. They declare that the vote of no gravited working class solled in organized working class, polled in Union hall and applied on the job, to questions of wages, hours, conditions, is the vote that is most important is the vote that is most important now, both positively and prospectively. It affects essentials at the present time; and is a training for future citizenship; a citizenship which will vote because it owns and controls and will own and control an ols and will own and control i ic power of the

Kinds of Unionism." By
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al to Wage Workers, Men and Leaflet; 15 c r page By Oscar Ame "Union Scabs and Others." Four page Leaflet; 15 cents a ht "War and the Workers." By Walker C. Smith. Four page leaflet; 20 cents a hundred; "Why the A. F. of L. Cannot Become an Industrial Unic

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It builds on the lines of industrial evolution, through the industrial union form, as dictated by such evolution. In accordance with modern tendencies, it works for the industrial democracy which will event-ually take the place of the present finan-cial plutocracy. Instead of being anti-

ually take the power cial plutocracy. Instead of being autopolitical, the I. W. W., is, the only real colitical factor in American society today.

Join the Industrial Workers of the World! Organize to control industry by World! Organize to control industry and for the workers. This is real politi all else is fake politics, wherewith to mis-

JUSTUS EBERT.

SYNDICALISM CASTS ITS "SHADOW"

on, March 20.—Syndicalism cast a shadow on the great scene in the house of commons last night during the debate of commons last night during the detailed on the bill to terminate the coal strike. Every mention of the subject attracted the closest attention of the erowded bench-es and galleries. Obyiously every one present was anxious to learn everything present was anxious to learn everything possible regarding this new force in in-dustrial warfare.

It had been charged in the newspapers

that the syndicalists in South Wales were scheming deliberately to render the mines unprofitable as a preliminary to their cap-

unprotected as executions are the workmen.

"What we see," declared Lord Robert Cecil, "is not an ordinary quarrel between employers and, employes over wages, but a conspiracy on the part of a band of regulationaries to gain dictatorial control of the industries of the country of the countr torial control of the industries of the coun-try. The government knows that we are menaced by syndicalism, or a general strike; it knows that the movement is controlled by men who care nothing for the sufferings of the poor and nothing for the rights of property, yet the government offers us a pious legislative declaration

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

100 WOTKING class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace, so long as branger and want are found, among with make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

The common services of the

la unit is the possession of the manager whinery of production, and saving class when that the centering of the manager when the manager industries into fewer and fewer hands me industries into fewer and fewer than the manager which is the manager when class. The stries into fewer and fewer hands makes de unions unable to cope with the ever-g power of the employing class. The trade foster a state of affairs which silows one protects to be pitted against another set of s in the same industry, thereby leiping one another in wage wars. Moreover, the mions aid the employing class to nielead ricers into the belief that the working ave literates in common with their car-

casa have interests in common with their on-players.

Online can be changed and the inher-est of the working class uploted only by an organ-parative control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the may one industry, or in all industries if more-nary, case work whether a strike or leckest in injury to one an injury to all.

Injury to one an injury to all.

Injury to one an injury to all.

It is the historic nuisator of the working class to do away with explaining. In order to the control of the control of the control of the every day struggle with continuate, but also live every day struggle with continuate, but also live every day struggle with continuate the control of the every day struggle with continuate the control of the every day struggle with continuate, but also live every day struggle with continuate the control of the every day struggle with continuate the control of the every day struggle with continuate the control of the every day struggle with continuate the control of the every day struggle with continuate the control of the every day struggle with continuate the control of the control of the every day struggle with continuate the control of the control o

carrying no compulsion and no penalties.

Our entire industrial system must be overhauled if revolution is to be prevented. The government should work ou prehensive scheme of co-partnersh Ramsay Macdonald of the lab ent should work out a com

blamed the coal owners and especially the recalcitrants in Wales for the threat of syndicalism. Syndicalism," he said, "was not es-

tablished by doctrinaires. It emanates from policies on the part of the employ-ers which no self-respecting body of workers which no self-respecting body of men could tolerate. Men must be tr as human beings and not as beasts of as human heings and not as executed out-den or profit-making machines; otherwise evil on the part of the employers will cause evil on the part of the employes and the vicious circle will involve deeper and deeper ill will and enmity."

Chancellor David Lloyd-George distinct ly lightened the gloom of the house with his views of syndicalism. "Grave as my feelings are," he said,

"relative to the situation between capital nd labor in this country and elsewhere, I do not fear that syndicalism is going to destroy us. What we are trying to do is not to deal with the general situation, or

destroy us. What we are trying to do is not to deal with the general situation, or future possibilities, but to end the coal strike by the gentlest means possible. Then, undoubtedly, we must seek a solution of our problems. For my part, I reagard co-partnership as deserving of most careful consideration. "Meanwhile no men of weight in the labor party have committed themselves to syndicialism; no men of weight of any sort have done this. Some talk as if socialism and syndicialism are two forms of the same danger, but, of course, they are destructive mutually, and we can console ourselves with the fact that the cast political strains of the same danger, but, of course, they are destructive mutually, and we can console ourselves with the fact that the cast political strains of a superior of the same danger, but, of course, they are destructive mutually, and we can console ourselves with the fact that the cast political strains of a superior of the cast political strains of the same than the cast political strains of the same than the cast political strains of the same that the same than the sam

Attave of labor, let strike went of all talk after that of havmat t. He was sent for. The l.

"W. men knew of it, and they wished
e would respond. But they didn't think onld

A Spirit of De

And these leaders saw what the negoti-

ators see at Lawrence that it was uscless to settle the strike there unless the cause to settle the sprike there unless the cause of the strike, the condition underlying all the trouble, is settled also. The I. W. W. leaders differed from the negotiators on

one point only—the negotiators believed that the employers could and would, the I. W. W. leaders that employers would not, and that they could not, solve the la-

The men who undertook the settlement

of this strike fixed their eyes on the cou-ditions which made it possible. And they demanded, before they would move, that the mill owners should look in the same

direction.

"We have no interest," they said in effect; "we have no interest in simply getting your people back to work for you. We represent society, in a sense; not labor and not the employers of labor, but the broader interest of the whole community. If we "badid settle the strike, without taking up also the cause of the strike, we should not only leave, here the constitution.

training up also the cause of the strike, we should not only leave here the possibility of further trouble, we should be guilty of treating a symptom and neglecting the source of the disease. And it's the disease that hurts society. It's the fact that

and children cannot, orking faithfully and hard, earn living—that's the evil fact we would

a lot of men, women

A Spirit of Damscracy.

After all this indirection, mill owners got a real surprise. They turned to the I. W. W. They didn't want to deal with that organisation; they hated, and feared it; and, of course, they had cause to dread a settlement with its leadern. They found that they couldn't; that I. W. W. leaders didn't want to deal with them. The I W. W. preferred just what the owners said. anch surprised mot have to recog prietor of the cigar bind the difference bet ce the Craft Unionism and those print Irial Unionism, as exemplified by arc. I. W. W. preferred just what the owners said they preferred—to have all dealings di-rectly between the owners and their own men. The I. W. W. is a democratic orconfibe true working class organization armed with the proper weapons of civilized warfare, avoiding the capitalized flubdubbery of the A. F. of L., on one hand. ganization. It believes that not leaders, not Haywood and Ettor, should decide upon terms to be accepted by the men, but the men and women themselves, first through their locally elected committees, and finally all together, should settle with

the

bery of the A, F. of L., on one hand, and the alumnery of the bummery of the bummery of the bummery of the other, moves into action, alert and watchful with the two arms of the proleletarian movement performing their proper functions, one rubbing its protuberant abdomen and the other guarding its postulatant rear. With its two legs properly planted on true working class principles and its two wings outspread on the warm circumsultent surceases. atmosphere. Thus does truth

Thus it proved on this occasion and a notable victory was scored which will tend to the final surrender of the Capitalist Burg to the triumphant S. L. P. Proprietor Cats of the cigar factory was forced to surrender to the demands of the workers as rmulated by Organizer Cats of the W. I.

It is rum ed that some of the b dummery tried to butt into the strike, but when Organizer Cats notified his friends, the police, the bummery was prevented from getting access to the meeting ball. The workers have secured, thanks to the efforts of Organizer Cats of the W. I.

W., a substantial reduction in wages and a lengthening of the hours of labor, thus supporting the correct S. L. P. conten-tion that a shorter workday is an injury to the workingman.

Organizer Cats is working along similar

Organizer Cats is working along similar lines among the silk workers.

It is by such glorious victories that the Revolution of the Proletariat on the peaceful plan of Political Action is accel-

Fraternally yours.
APRILAS FOOLIBUS.

(Continued from Page One)

from any crowd of any nationality. andience might not kn ow any other word

> Central Labor Union. I explained at the time that the owners were afraid to settle with the I. W. W.; nay, they were so fearful of sabotage that they did not want to settle without having their employes or-ganized by leaders who would oppose sa-botage and "passive resistance." And the negotiators saw the need of some organization, not only to prevent the destruction of goods in the making, but also

But the owners wanted John Golden, the labor leader they had checked to the point where he had been discredited, and so last week Golden went to Lawrence. so lait week Golden went to Lawrence. The papers had it. They said John Golden had taken charge and would bring the strike to an end. He began, to the obvious mystification of newspapers, by calling his unions out on a sympathetic strike. They were the skilled workers, the aristacrats, who have remained in the mills. They came out; they settled, and then what back to work. The I. W. w. had what back to work. The I. W. W. had only to say: "We told you so. John Golden comes here, calls a fake strike and then tries to drive you all back in a pa with his aristocrats."

comes down to a mere question of terms In an I. W. W. strike labor leaders are as a a i. w. w. strike labor leaders are intent upon spreading revolutionary doc-tifines and in stirring up in workers a feel-ing that employers will not, and, indeed, cannot, economically be fair. The larger the fight, therefore, the better for propa-ganda; and the harder the fighting the bet-ter for the cause, too Each man arrestter for the cause, too Each man arrest-ed; each woman clubbed by a policeman, each boy or girl that is hustled by a mi-litiaman, is embittered and made ripe for the doctine of force. And, if a crowd is charged by a squad of soldiers, there is just so many people who will listen to the les-son that "capital gets the state to use vi-olence; so we must use—direct action." The mill men of Lawrence got this, no

only by observation, but in the reports of their spies, who said that the I. W. W. leaders wanted the strike to go on; welcomed with grim satisfaction the trial of the popular Etter and the mistaken inter-ference with the shipment of children. "The bosses don't respect the law," they taught, "except when it works their 7. They ignore it, flaunt it, abuse it, en it goes against them. So must we."

Almost every move the mill men made was grist to the I. W. W. leaders' mill. It may be remembered, for example, that I pointed out that, besides the doctrine of revolution, the I. W. W. is siming at the reorganization of the American Federation of Labor. I wish William J. Burns and the Erectors' Association, who are bent upon the same task—to discredit Gompers and his gang—I wish they could bear the I. W. W. men laugh over their efforts

"They are playing our game," these

The mill men had always fought the ions there that were affiliated with the A.
F. of L. And the mill men had won in
the long run—not so completely as the
steel cempanies; they didn't have absosteel companies: they shall insteed the organization of their labor to the workers in the higher-paid, skilled trades. That is the result all over the country of the anti-labor-union fighting by business men. They have had to let by business men. They have that the the printers organize, and the locomotive engineers, and—all the skilled trades. And these organized trades have established very generally the principle of collective bargaining and so achieved pretty good wages for themselves

UNEMPLOYMENT IN DETROIT

The Detroit Free (to lie) Press in one from Chicago stating that the unemployed of that city numbered over 125,000. It contrasted the ideal labor conditions of this open shop town with those of Chi and made the statement that there are less than 300 unemployed in this city.

Figures never lie, but liars sometimes figure. There are less than 300 men leading for the conditions of the conditio its recent issues contained on Chicago stating that the un contained a despatch

"figure. There are less than 300 men lookring for jobs at the free employment 6ffice. True, but how many visit the Employers' Association and make the rounds
of the shops, in earch of work? Those
figures the lying sheets do not give.

In the largest plant turning out automobiles, hundreds of men have been laid
off in the past few months. I don't know
how many in others, but I not it recently

how many in others, but I got it recently that 900 men had to hit the grit at one time. One can see for himself that the number of workers employed by that concern has been reduced to a very considerable extent. The premium system has been installed and the latest addition in the implements of labor skinning are elec-tric clocks and pace setters. It's going some. There is no union in this plant except a few metal polishers

There is one feature of the autor industry which is demonstrating our con-tention regarding the elimination of the skilled mechanic as the main factor in modern production. One will find among the automobile workers the proverbial butcher, baker and candlestick maker. In other words, men made jobless for some reason or other in their former callings find employment in this growing industry Truly, in these days a man in order to find employment must become a sort of a jack of all trades, with very slim chances

AUTOMOBILE WORKER.

TACOMA L. W. W.

Our hall is located at 110 S. 14th St. hasiness meetings every Wednesday at 100 p. m. Address all communications to-ec'y. I. W. W., No 380, 110 S. 14th St., acoma. Wash.

Don't neglect these times for agit, et some literature.

IS UPTON GETTING WISE?

London, March 28 .- Upton Sinelair, the ist, gave a state the labor crisis now prevailing in Eng to The World correspondent today.

"The present situation is the result of having too many clever politicians on the side of the capitalists. "The 40 labor representatives elected to the House of Commons ran up against shrewd, highly trained politicians, who simply twisted them round their flagers In the meantime the working class has stread in its own intered in its own juice.

stewed in its own juice.

"I do not say that all the labar representatives are like John Burns. The political game is too complicated in its machinery and too intricate for unpained workingmen to use. They have accept workingmen to the them, and whereas on the stump they have been radical and revolutionary, when they got into parlia-ment they were like a lot of dumb sheep. Beginning of Sunrise.
"When our working class saw that it be

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Tom Mann, is simply frank. His whole cry is 'Damu parliament; damn politicians.' He really is almost incoherent.

cians.' He really is almost incoherent.

"The working classes are finding thei
power. To me this strike is the mos dramatic event in human history le is the beginning of sunrise for us bud hit, tarians. It means that the people ha last found the way to enforce their will

sitting back laughing at the way in whit they fooled the railwaymen. Now the confront a situation where all their cu ning, chicanery, rules of procedure, par animosities and conventions become

Difficulty in America.

Difficulty in America.

"You have this hereditary privilege in England; in America, we have exactly the same sort of thing in judicial privilege. We are so tied up with political precedents and corporation judges that it almost impossible to bring about socialism in America by political means. In other words, we shall have to use this same so of means in America. of means in America.

of means in America.

"You see this industrial movement resents in the field of labor exactly the same thing as the trust movement repeats in industry. The sid craft unifought the individual employer. The fought the individual employer. The ion finds itself now facing one big be the steel trust, the coal trust ar what it may be, and so the labor men have ganized on the same scale and thus have the mass strike; and, of course just the same year at the formation. just the same way, as the formation per trust represents the last stage of the cap italistic union, on the other hand, an in-dastrial union represents the same thing,

Ripe for Socialism.

"It means that society is ripe for say "It means that society is rive to expension. Our whole civilization was upon the awakening of the working class. I look upon this situation is the Giant of Labor opening his eyes. He stirs and one of his chains snaps and he re-alizes he is only bound .by his simmber. This demonstration of what solidarity will do sends a thrill all over the world.

"Every night in England, France, nerica, Germany and Italy there are ousands of men pointing out the meaning of this lesson, namely, that if the workingmen will only stand together there

"Labor is like an animal in a cage—continually pacing up and down—and now, suddenly the door is opened. It is derful. In two or three years when t the transport workers, the railyou get gether, you will realize labor's power

TO THE MASTERS

They are coming, oh you masters, They are coming, half alive;

They are coming—

With their sweethearts, their children, and their wives.

They are coming, oh you masters; They are coming fast and thick; They are coming instant the services are coming—

With the foreigners to band you out all Uni

pick.

They are coming, oh you masters;
They are coming, though some fall;
They are coming, as the angels to free the world for all. cha

They are coming on you masters,
They are coming all at last.
They are coming mmENI SI.
And they'll name your property.

sip all Order dir intended i. /, 1912.

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liter; auartem Hamfatte

lal mattd place) was shown rior tactics m Hamfattery al organizer of the W. I. is, 19tly for twenty years and today

IN Unlike those who look for effects b causes are in operation, the S. L. o P. and its twin sister, the W. I. W., always apply causes first and then in the true ceientific manner, founded on correct Marxian principles, strike the proper posre and confidently await results. This sture, from which no amount of opposi-on can sway the true organization of the working class, consists in planting one foot solid solid rock of Political action. while the other is irrevocably placed on the enduring counter-rock of Economic Reaction. We believe in striking at the Ballot Box instead of the Bread Box, as is ated by the lunk heads who do not in the light emitted by the

udy questions in the light emitte hily and Weakly Peep. Having in the true scientific ma r premises we now proceed to der conclusions in the proper logical regardless of the mortal struggles duce our conclusions in the proper logical manner, regardless of the mortal struggles and grimaces of those who feel the cold steal of the S. L. P. logic entering their vitals. Let the dead bury their dead.

We shall now illustrate our unassailable position by a historical resume of the case in point. Let the reader note the pro-

dity of our scholarship. The craft, or graft, (joke) organization of the A. F. of Hellery (!) is now covered with a mantle of confusion and buried in a sea of oblivious decertitude, while the egation of Anti-Christ, direct-action ists, bomb throwers, dynamiters and hallelujah-l'm-a-bum-ists will now no more raise its head above the sea of popular disapprovnl which has overwhelmed it.

Intelligent organization and correct tac won a glorious victory that will ading down the reverberent corridors of time to the everlasting confusion of those who have derided and defied the glorious S. L. P. in its unflinching adherance to correct principles. Briefly told is the story of the Great Victory; let it be

Organizer Cats has been quietly working

Organizer Cats has been quietly working and has succeeded in organizing the eigar factery owned by Pobadolph Cats.

The fact that Organizer Cats has succeeded in his dual capacity of factory owner and labor organizer, and, unknown to himself in his character part of capitalist, has organized his own factory in his character part of capitalist, has organized his own factory in his character part of capitalist, has organized his own factory in his character part of capitalist. character of labor organizer, again illus-trates the correctness of the S. L. P. riple, by which the same individuals comprise the sister organizations of the S. L. P. and the W. I. W.

Organizer Cats was able to organize the Organiser Cats was able to organize the entire plant, consisting of one man, two boys and the proprietor's wife without the facts coming to the knowledge of the proprietor (himself). This is a wonderful confirmation of the true methods as advoated by the S. L. P.

the conditions of the

op was inaugurated.

The workers displaying transparencies with mottees and a large S. L. P. banner, marched to their meeting hall amid the plandits of a large multitude of sympathics. thisers. The only feature that marred the parade was the conduct of a small boy who pascua une tip of his thum against his-nose. This, which is supposed to have been instigated by the l'm-a-bummery, was the only disorderly manifestation. The boy was promptly chased by a police-man. (A victory for the civilized method ced the tip of his thum against his

THE NEW UNIONISM

so that when I was up here before, two weeks ago, an orator had only to mention the name of John Golden to draw a hoot addience might not know any other word the speaker spoke, but they all understood that "John Golden" was a signal to faugh and yell. And he and his name, you un-derstand, were used to symbolize she A. F. of L. "aristocratic labor," and a sus-piction intimacy with capital. Well, in the face of all this, the mill men did turn to John Golden and the

struction of goods in the making, but also to make and keep a contract and afterward to appoint a committee to sit down with an employers' committee to tackle the prob-lem presented by the bad labor conditions of the whole textile industry.

John Golden failed, and not only that, he whole fraudulent game helped to drive some to the mass of workers that the A.

have you deal with. This was some three weeks ago. The mill owners would not proceed upon that basis then. They did not like to make the concession implied by such an attitude that the conditions were bad and that they e in part responsible for them. The It has been pointed out by the mill en both here and at Fall River that these

were'fo part responsible for them. The answer to this was that they knew, and they knew that the negotiators knew that the conditions were insupportable. And they were, you understand—Some families-got as low as \$7.50 a week; many go'f more. But hardly any of the workers get what they got six days a week, and 52 weeks a week. It has been pointed on the the multiworkers, low paid as they were, had sav-ings bank accounts which totaled high. And that's true. And Miss Tarbell, in her tariff grities, explained that is was a re-markable example of providence and thrift of these textile workers that, on the small pay they got, they had learned from neces-sity to save a little each week.

And the necessity was that there were often weeks and sometimes whole seasons when there was no work for them in the

mills.
"We can't belp that," mill owners an-

"No," said a strike leader, to whom I But neither can we belo the help that fact that these workers have to live se days a week and 52 weeks a year. T ought to be paid by the year. Capital is. exacts its interest and dividends and always. Why should not

Not an Ordinary Strike.

But we need not dispute the questi But we need not dispute the question of conditions. The negotiators knew they were bad and also found out the mill own-ers knew that fact. That was the basis upon which negotiations were resumed. They waited a week or ten days—long

agh for the mill men to learn some o the differences between an ordinary strike and an I. W. W. strike. In an ordinary strike labor leaders, like employers, are eager to settle. They may bluff; both sides may pretend to be indifferent, but usually eyerybody wants to end the fight, and it ces between an ordinary strike