



ROCHESTER GARMENT STRIKE

TO ALL THE CLANS OF TOIL

"SABOTAGE THE GOODS"

Being Conducted by A. F. of L. Officials in Approved Craft Union Style.

("Lumberjack," Alexandria, La.)

With This Slogan, and a Boycott, I. W. W. Brings to Terms a Pittsburg Department Store.

(Special to Solidarity.)

Rochester, N. Y., Jan. 25.
The garment trade of this city is in the throes of a "general strike," in the A. F. of L. That is to say, the United Garment Workers have succeeded in pulling out all the hitherto unorganized clothing factories, while the only union shop in town is still working, and the union clothing cutters have remained on the job.

They were able to cope with war-horses of A. F. of L. officials trading under the leadership of a veteran like John A. Flett. Flett is chairman of strike committee and press agent against of the strike. Believe me he is some mouthpiece, too—for John, Hawkins, Richter, Gompers & Co. John is able, eloquent, plausible, experienced and unscrupulous.

Assemblies Phillips "accidentally" met the union organizers yesterday and a meeting with the manufacturers is to be "arranged."

A request from Mayor Edgerton was received by the strike committee through Hawkins, asking that Flett, Adamaki and Hawkins come to the city hall to confer with his honor. They were so authorized by the committee. Talk about taking candy from a baby!

The local organizations of the I. W. W., owing to a rigorous outside propaganda before the clothing factories this fall while the workers permitted, and in addition the drain on its energy and resources in connection with the Elton-Giovannitti case and the Little Falls strike was financially crippled and hounded (the headquarters) at the beginning of the garment strike. Meetings are being held nightly in Germania hall, which are addressed in three or four languages. We have Bothman in Jewish lingo, who was the first man in Little Falls and looked after the Italian end of that strike almost continuously to the end, speaks in Italian, as does Piosca, Mant and Teresi, and we are never at a loss to provide an English speaker. But it is not only in our hall meetings that opportunities are afforded. I. W. W. speakers are in demand wherever the "grand dukes" are not present to sit on the proposition.

The police gave the impression of being on the job to start something. Their handling of a crowd which I saw the other day bordered on brutality. Girl pickets have had guns thrust in their faces. Two of them who told me of such occurrences were advised to take their cases before the strike committee. So far as I know no action has been taken. The strikers are inexperienced and unsophisticated but suspicious. There are going to be interesting developments. The I. W. W. will keep track and try to prevent any trafficking by the labor brokers.

The Goldwater Co. pays the dues of its union (?) workers. No wonder they have not struck. Oh, yes!

Funds are needed to feed the strikers. Send all donations to Otto Gunn, Sec'y., Local 96, P. O. Box 209, Fresno, Calif.

NEW LOCAL IN NEW YORK

New York, Jan. 27.
Yesterday (Sunday) we organized a new local of Watch and Clock Workers. The preliminary work was done by Fellow Worker Stephen Wolf, and to him the credit is due. The new local started off with bright prospects of organizing the industry, the members promising to help the work along. Fellow Worker Wolf was elected temporary chairman and Fellow Worker Adolph Michaelson secretary. The new local will meet every Thursday at a place to be selected by a committee, till further notice is given. This local is going to call a mass meeting for next Saturday night. Office of District Council, 1915 Third Avenue.

THOMAS FLYNN.

Local 984, I. W. W., Omaha, Neb., has moved headquarters from 108 15th St. to 1917 Cass St. All rebels take notice.

When Alexander of Macedonia entered Asia, he entered it with the Grecian phalanx. A phalanx was a clan in battle array, its members were all brothers in the clan and all the clans were brothers in the tribe, so the army of Alexander marched as one army and always conquered. Whether attacking or being attacked, the Macedonia army always presented a solid front. It faced its foesmen there: Came the first phalanx on the line, then back of it another, 10 and 16 ranks deep, brother backing brother, row on row of coriari spearheads that were never beaten down or broken through. That army was never whipped. It conquered all the then known world.

Why? Solidarity is the magic word explaining all this wonderful army's might. Never was a single regiment allowed to fight the foe alone. Every member of that army, without orders, without appeals, upheld the Macedonia case. These soldiers neither asked nor expected Alexander to do it all. Each man acted as his own Moses, the army as one, phalanx back of phalanx, and conquered the world by sheer might of solidarity.

Army of toil, look you now the Macedonia lesson! Stand side with folded arms and let the Sun at Merryville be broken down! All the boys there ask of us to feed their wives and children while they are on the battle line of labor. Do your duty, and do it now, today!

Send all funds and provisions to Charles Cline, Secretary, Merryville, Louisiana.

DEPARTMENT STORE WORKERS

To all workers in department and retail stores of Pittsburg:
A meeting will be held Sunday, February 2, at Iron City College Hall, Sixth and Penn streets, 2:30 p. m., for the purpose of explaining industrial unionism and to organize the workers for shorter hours, higher wages and better working conditions.

The workers in department stores are known to suffer under conditions that workers in other industries would not tolerate. Until a short time ago it was believed impossible to organize these workers, but recent experience has shown they can organize just as other workers do. Part of the workers in Pittsburg stores are now enjoying improved conditions as a reward for having organized. The rest of you can do the same.

Come to this meeting and make the start for better conditions for yourself and fellow workers in the place where you are employed. The time to begin is now; the one to make the start is yourself; get busy!
Remember: Iron City College Hall, Sixth and Penn. Sunday, February 2, at 2:30 p. m. LOCAL 504, I. W. W.

GIOVANNITTI IN PITTSBURG

Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 24.
Solidarity.
Arturo Giovannitti will be in the Pittsburg district for two weeks, beginning Feb. 9. In the afternoon of Feb. 9 he will speak in Pittsburg at the Lyceum Theatre. At night the same date, Giovannitti will speak at New Kensington, Pa. At the latter place three months' subscription to Solidarity or Il Proletario at 25c will admit one to the meeting.

Giovannitti is also available for dates in the Pittsburg district during his two weeks' stay. His terms are \$25, and half the profits to go to Il Proletario. Locals in this district wanting dates should immediately make application to John Petroff, Sec. Industrial Council, 437 Third Ave., Pittsburg, Pa., naming first and second preference of dates desired.

Get a bunch of sub cards.

(Special to Solidarity.)

Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 23.
The I. W. W. has just added another victory to its list in Pittsburg. This time the victim was the Frank & Seder department store, where the workers secured their demands last summer without a strike. One of the conditions in the agreement at that time was the enforcement of the rotation payroll system advocated by the I. W. W. for the dull season which comes at certain times of year in most lines of business. This provision was overlooked by the employers, and when some of the workers had been laid off for seven weeks and others not at all, a new foreman was employed in the alteration department who tried to cut wages and introduce one of those near scientific systems of slave driving, the workers decided upon the "uncivilized plan" as a means of righting wrong and the alteration department was quickly deserted.

Tuesday evening a strike was declared; Wednesday the plan of action was decided upon. A committee was sent to see if the firm would discuss the difficulty. The report was brought back that "if the workers came back it must be as individuals" (sounds familiar, doesn't it?) Meanwhile a handbill was being prepared by the printer, which read as follows:

SABOTAGE THE GOODS ENOUGH SAID

Strike—Strike Together—Strike to Win

All workers in the department store of Frank & Seder must now stand together, to win better wages, shorter hours of work, more rights, for all, for men and women.
Frank & Seder department store agreed last summer to improve the conditions of all workers in the alteration department, to deal with and settle all grievances with committees of their employees. Time and again the firm has repudiated that agreement and finally, now the firm has engaged a foreman for the sole purpose of cutting down the wages and imposing bad conditions upon the employees.
The employees laid their grievances before the employers. They were turned given and suspended work to discuss the situation. The firm now has declared a

AN URGENT CASE

(Special to Solidarity.)

Brawley, Cal., Jan. 22.
Lest it should be surmised that our efforts for the liberation of Fellow Workers Dodson, Stanford, Niles and Roberts have been abandoned since recent investigation has developed that appeal can not be taken on account of the failure of the so-called Attorney Johnson to take the preliminary steps required by law, we make this appeal to all locals and members of the I. W. W. and all other class conscious workers and liberty-loving people in general.
As a crowning infamy, tapping their other crimes, Imperial county officials have apparently either bribed or intimidated the counsel for the above named fellow workers.

Attorney Johnson claims he thought the law allowed one in which to perfect appeal. It seems incredible that a lawyer, admitted to the bar, should be ignorant of the law on such a vital point, and to those ignorant of the law it seems to be ample room for the suspicion that sinister influences have been at work.
We appeal to liberal-minded people only. To those who advocate non-resistance at all times and on all occasions we have nothing to say. We can not grasp the workings of the mind of the individual

war against the workers by refusing to re-estate the workers who had grievances. Now that the firm has declared a lock-out, the workers decided to call on all other workers in the store, as well as on all outsiders to help us win this strike.

Workers in the alterations, on the delivery wagons, packers, engineers, firemen and all others in the department store—stand together, win together.
The up that store. Let the buyers know that a strike is on. Stay away from the place; don't trade, by remaining at work; don't trade by buying goods sold in a store where workers are fighting for better life conditions.

An injury to one is an injury to all.
Frank & Seder's department store workers on strike. Talk notice.
Department Store Workers' Industrial Union No. 504, I. W. W.

Wednesday morning the picket line was marching before the doors of the bestaged store passing their handbills out to the workers in other departments, as well as to prospective customers. Inside we could see about 200 people waiting for us to pull off a "big" or "revolution," but there was nothing for us to do, for we kept searching in a passing rain. After an hour we returned to our homes carrying some water from our clothes and dry out a little.

After we had been on the picket line for an hour at noon, the boss sent for the committee. Negotiations were begun which resulted in a satisfactory settlement of the present difficulty. All employees will be organized and shop committees of the different departments will be received in the future and an effort made to adjust grievances without resort to the strike. At present the Frank & Seder Co. runs the only store here that complies with the requirements of the I. W. W. as to wages, hours, sanitary and working conditions; the other stores will be required to meet these same demands as soon as we get things lined up for them.

P. S.—The people of Pittsburg are certainly THERE when it comes to using the boycott, which in this case worked almost automatically. A statement from Local 504, I. W. W., to the press was given to lift the boycott after the settlement was reached.

who would blame these fellow workers for doing what they did. Being former insurgents, they armed themselves after Sheriff Meadows had inaugurated a reign of terror, kidnaping and delivering to barbarous Mexican frontier officials a former insurgents and threatening to wipe the I. W. W. out, and among his crimes was highway robbery and violation of domicile. He robbed Fellow Worker C. E. Miller of a pistol and invaded a hut occupied by Captain Moran and stole correspondence and private papers.

Who will say that the fellow workers should meekly have surrendered their arms with these outrages fresh in their minds? They resisted, and started to cross the Mexican line and were apprehended by the sheriff and posse of barbarous desert thugs who would shame the Russian czars.

The dirty frame-up through which they were railroaded has been exposed time and again. The prosecution's star witness, the degenerate Knox, went first to one thing then another, barefacedly perjuring himself, but that made no difference to the honest (?) farmers on the jury who love not the I. W. W., but are staunch believers in cheap labor.
The trial was absolutely a farce. On account of lack of funds able counsel could not be engaged. Let those who failed to realize the gravity of the situation at that

(Continued On Page Four)

WAR IN FRESNO

(Special to Solidarity.)

Fresno, Cal., Jan. 28.
The striking Construction Workers of Stone and Webster at Big Creek are standing firm; there has been no break in the ranks and the works are still closed as tight as a clam.

Mass picketing is being done. Enthusiastic strike meetings are held every night at the I. W. W. hall, 822 F street. Fly speeches are made and revolutionary songs are sung.

On the morning of January 21st, our pickets were attacked all along the line by imported thugs and gun men. A pitched battle occurred at El Prado, about 28 miles from Fresno, between six of our pickets and a force of S. P. bulls. They told the boys that what they intended to do to the I. W. W.'s would make San Diego look like a speck. But you can take it from us that San Diego will not be repeated at Fresno. There are good and true men here, but the married veterans, Direct Action and Saboteurs in the Pass Ward.

SOLIDARITY

EASTERN ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

P. O. Drawer 622, New Castle, Pa.

Ownership Published Weekly by
C. H. McCARTY and **H. H. WILLIAMS**

C. H. McCARTY, L. U. 200
H. H. WILLIAMS, L. U. 207

Place of Publication—New Castle, Pa.
S. H. Williams, Managing Editor
C. H. McCarty, Business Manager

SUBSCRIPTION

Yearly, \$1.00
Six Months, .50
Canada and Foreign, 2.00
Single Copies, 10c
ONE-DOLLAR COPY
Advertising Rates on Application
Cash Must Accompany All Orders

All communications intended for publication in *Solidarity* should be addressed to the Managing Editor; all others, pertaining to financial matters, to the Business Manager.

Entered as second-class matter Decem 18, 1908, at the post office at New Castle, Pa., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
General Headquarters—307 Mortimer Bldg
164-66 W. Washington St. Chicago, Ill.

GENERAL OFFICERS
Vincent St. John, General Sec'y-Treas
Jas. P. Thompson, General Organizer

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
J. J. Ector, F. H. Little, J. M. Fox,
Ewald Koetgen, P. Eastman.

WATCH FOR YOUR NUMBER

Each subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the wrapper on closing *SOLIDARITY*. For instance 161. That means that your sub expired last week, and you should renew. This is NUMBER 162

WHAT OF THIS PROPHECY?

In closing a long forecast of the probable labor situation in the United States during 1913, Henshah N. Duff says, in the "Hittory," "Labor World," "The real dangerous factor in the labor world during the coming year is going to be the Industrial Workers of the World. Before the year is out they may be either broken completely, or in absolute command of labor and its objects, aims and ends, which seems to be their plan."

We don't know who this "Henshah the Second" happens to be, but he is at least one of many who are making similar prophecies at the present time. Of course we "Hittory" friends of the A. F. of L. and some socialist politicians, who in long syndicated newspaper articles have recently evinced a very superior knowledge of the labor situation, past and present, will smile at this Duff's simplicity. Having so often predicted the "bursting of the bubble" and the "passing of the I. W. W.," these "friends" of ours have developed a real mania for prophesying according to their wishes. The mouthpieces of the master class, however, are not inclined to smile or sneer with them. Hence, Henshah and his "prophecy."

Now, we are not going to pat ourselves on the back over the possibility of "the I. W. W.'s being in absolute control of labor and its objects, aims and ends," at the close of 1913. Neither are we going to lose any sleep over the dire alternative possibility of its being "broken completely." Such a method of viewing history is not that of a revolutionist—who expects no miracles in working class progress nor fears any permanent setback for the revolutionary movement. No doubt the times are ripe and the sentiment everywhere rapidly developing for industrial unity. The I. W. W. has come to be regarded as the organized method and form of that expression. Its influence is accordingly enormous and in proportion as it voices the aspirations of an awakening working class. But we need not deceive ourselves; although the working class cannot and will not awake, by any means, it is not yet awake, by any means. The working class today consists of an overwhelming mass of "unskilled" workers. That mass has had little or no experience in unionism, and although instinctively it is seeking that experience as never before, it has yet to learn the art of conserving its forces. By "conserving its

forces" we do not mean what the craft unionist means. Contracts, job monopoly, craft exclusiveness—have no place among the unskilled. The ranks of the mass must be left wide open to include all workers, and their movements must be untrammelled by any restrictions except self-imposed discipline in action. Such movements naturally develop great genius for co-operation in times of conflict. In the heat of battle, the unskilled mass is welded into a terrible engine of old energy. Petty jealousies are forgotten, national and race prejudices are buried—all the superior genius of collective psychology and action is pitted against the inferior cunning and force of the enemy. The mass movement sweeps everything before it.

But as yet the unskilled has shown little ability after the battle in following up its victory and conserving its force. Constructive work—the great purpose of the revolutionary movement—is still in a stage of crudeness and inefficiency. It is upon this fact, of course, that our craft union and politician friends base their conclusion that "the I. W. W. is passing." They are mistaken. What they fail to understand is, that the "genius for construction" is still in its swaddling clothes. The I. W. W. reflects the characteristics of the unskilled at present. That character will change, it is changing, with experience of the unskilled mass in their movements and conflicts with the enemy. What we most needed now in the I. W. W. are EDUCATION and THE SPIRIT OF CO-OPERATION in the solid work of agitation and organization. Without these the I. W. W. will be retarded in its development, and the unskilled mass will continue to fall back into inactivity following its brilliant conflicts with the boss.

It is a knowledge of these things that prompts the militant I. W. W. member to smile alike at capitalist prophecies of dire disaster to themselves in the coming year, and at "socialist" prophecies of the "demise of the I. W. W." in the same period. We propose to pursue the even tenor of our way—never afraid of any possible conflict, nor in despair over any possible recession following that conflict. Conquer that spirit if you can!

THAT AMUSING CREATURE, "BOBBY" HUNTER

The "scientific" socialists of the Hunter type are verily amusing creatures. They try to command industrial unions with sarcasm. It is impossible for them to realize that industrial unionism is an outgrowth of industrial evolution; and that it possesses all the collective and social characteristics of such evolution. Industrial unionism means class, not individual action. Its objective is social, not individual production. And its mode of government will be basically economic; that is, it will be more, truly political than the political action advocated by the Hunter type of "scientific" socialists, who capture political office only to find they have the hanks without the kernel, just as Wilson is now finding out on a larger scale, and as Roosevelt and the populists found out before him.

There is one thing that these amusing creatures do not seem to realize, and that is that economic evolution has outgrown their peculiar conception of the state, as something more powerful than that evolution itself, to be used against that evolution. The Hunter "scientific" lament against direct action and the general strike, where industrial evolution forces both to the front in spite of the state, while both force the state, as in England and Lawrence, into an inferior position, instead of a dominant one, as before. So far, the members of the working class have given no signs of being taken by the siles of the Hunters; they are not as the sophists would like have them to. All of which proves once more that it's conditions and not criticisms that make revolutions.

JUSTUS EBERT.

EIGHT-HOUR LEAFLET

All I. W. W. locals and active unionists should send for a quantity of the new leaflet, "Eight-Hour Workday; What It Will Mean, and How to Get It," by August Walquist. This is a good introduction to the agitation for a shorter workday, which must soon take shape through the I. W. W. Order now. Price of leaflet, 15 cents per hundred; \$1.35 a thousand. Address I. W. W. Publishing Bureau, Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

Solidarity guarantees that each issue will contain good propaganda material. Order a bundle, and some sub cards.

HITTING A HEAD WHEREVER SEEN

With so many investigations going on, it may be well to observe that investigation is not examination. It is confirmation of what has long been known.

"Protocols" is the new name for the old evidence that bid the wage slaves to wage slavery. A contract by any other name smells just as rotten.

The way trams are "disclosed" reminds us of the "dissolution" Christians are said to experience when they die: it is the beginning of a new and better life.

Somebody wants to know: "What is the matter with Massachusetts?" Why not Wisconsin? Why not Schenectady, N. Y., and Butte, Mont.? In all these places there is a recession of political office due to lack of economic power.

Sh—! Did you notice the way business has slumped because big capital refuses to invest "pending the present political uncertainty"? Getting ready to put the kibosh on Wilson and his extra session in April!

"The real seat of government," says the socialist of the Hunter type, "is in Wall Street." Then he advises the capture of Washington, D. C., and thereby the government of the country. Logic is sometimes fearfully and wonderfully used, unbeknownst to the user.

"Little New York," long supposed to be immune from labor trouble, is now proving that there is no immunity bath for capitalism from the class struggle.

Talking about the class struggle on the economic field, it's marvelous how it persists in spite of all that is written against it by learned investigators. Even Hunter's 18 articles don't seem to have affected it. There are no signs of tenses, whatever.

Strikes, strikes, strikes everywhere. What's the matter with labor? For answer find out what's the matter with the wage system!

For a bull pup that is alleged to have no pedigree, that blamed I. W. W. is causing the dog fanciers who snarl him a helluva lot of trouble. Why, the peaky brute has such a tenacious hold that, as a subject for editorial abuse and misrepresentation, they can't drop him, even though they want to. There's sure-home strength to that creature; as even his enemies testify without being aware of it.

The Bureau of Labor's report that prices have gone up 61 per cent in ten years will put 61 per cent more wages in no man's pockets. Soft words and statistical data butter no parsnips. The one big union is required to do that. Join the I. W. W.—and join it now! Then—and only then—will some of that 61 per cent, no long overdue, come your way.

J. B.

BORING WITHIN THE S. P.

The following important paragraph is from an article by Jessie Ashley in "Justice" for Jan. 18:

"There are two elements in the Socialist Party now. One element which is working for wages under bitter conditions, which sees the proletarian viewpoint very clearly, and another element which directly or indirectly lives of the working class, which includes those who have pictured themselves as holding some good political job in the future, and between these two elements there is an economic chasm that can not be bridged. This explains the real cause of dissension in the party."

Those who are "working for wages under bitter conditions" are the machine proletariat, the unskilled laborers, especially in the oldest industries, textile, steel and iron, and mining. Those who "see the proletarian viewpoint very clearly" are the intellectuals or others who throw in their lot with the unskilled masses, or at any rate believe in their ultimate triumph. All of these are called "reds" and work to have the S. P. recognize and protect the industrial movement.

The "reds" recognize that the economic interests of the unskilled workers require organization on the economic field. What they fail to see is that their economic interests do not require anything else. The time and effort spent by the "reds" in trying to "make the S. P. foster indus-

trialism is misdirected energy. That is like trying to make a cow churn her own butter. A cow is not a churn and if you want any butter you have got to milk the cow first. In the same way, the unskilled or machine proletariat can gain nothing from political action, since the machinery of governments are useful simply for the propertyless class in their exploitation of the propertyless, and in determining what "business principles" shall be enacted into law as the rules of the game among themselves and in their exploitation of the masses.

The "red" element of the S. P. would be far better off outside the party. To expect the S. P. to do them any good is like trying to eat breakfast from a live steer. The lowest class cannot benefit from the electoral and parliamentary mechanism which is adapted to exploiting them. They have got to organize society in an entirely different way, from the bottom up, in ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL UNION. Before you can eat breakfast you have got to kill your steer. Before the machine proletariat can meet its economic interests they have got to turn their backs on the political state and everything connected with it. Let the machine proletariat devote all its attention and energy to ONE BIG UNION.

HERBERT STURGES.

SABOTAGE

Sabotage is a weapon which the capitalist class has used on the working class throughout the ages, a weapon that so called revolutionary politicians have used and are using against militant organizations, a weapon that has been used unconsciously by the working class throughout its history, a weapon that will be used in the future consciously by an organized working class with telling effect.

Refraining all as that sabotage means death, destruction and violence. Peace-shells tell us it is unchristian. Nevertheless it is being practiced by workers everywhere whether they realize it or not. Now what does it mean?

Sabotage as practiced by craft unions, unorganized individuals and others unconsciously and without clearly defined purpose may mean all of the above things. Practiced by an intelligent working class, knowing why they practice it and having a common goal to accomplish, it means none of the above.

Any action while on the job, that will tend to be of benefit to the working class as opposed to the interest of the capitalist class, can be construed as sabotage. Withholding of your efficiency as a worker is sabotage. Willfully curtailing production is sabotage. Forgetting to safeguard your employer's interests, for example, forgetting to lock up the premises, forgetting to turn off unnecessary electric lights, etc., is sabotage. Acts of sabotage are committed every day in every industry and only need concerted action and a common goal to make them the most effective war measures in the fight between the master class and the working class.

You practice sabotage when you tell your prospective employer that you are a good workman when perhaps you are but an indifferent one. You practice sabotage when you act all the time, lead you can grab at a street meeting and fail to properly distribute them. You practice sabotage all the time, why not do it to some effect? Nothing will bring a reluctant or obstinate employer to terms quicker than the knowledge that his entire force is practicing sabotage.

It doesn't matter what you work at, where there's a will there's a way.

Cooks practice sabotage when they neglect to season food. Waiters practice sabotage when they delay serving food until it is no longer palatable. Dishwashers practice sabotage when they neglect to rinse soap from dishes. Clerks practice sabotage when they give customers more than they pay for. Bookkeepers practice sabotage when they place debits on credit side of ledger. Janitors practice sabotage when they fail to beat buildings properly. Printers practice sabotage when they misspell words and slip type. Lumber jacks practice sabotage when they fail to saw logs clear through. Weavers practice sabotage when they make up instead of fine fabrics. You practice sabotage if you need this on the boss' time and I practice sabotage through you if I get you to do it.

Everybody's doing it. Let's do it together. The ethical side of it need not concern us, as right and wrong are relative terms and do not concern the working class anyway. What's bad for the boss is good for us always. What's good for the boss is always wrong for us as workers. Get the wheels out of your thinking machine

ry. Join the union of your class and if sabotage is practiced let the boss do the mauling and scowling.

GROVER H. PERRY.

EDUCATION IS THE SAFEGUARD

There have been many organizations of wage workers started out to fight and abolish this oppressive system; and yet they have always failed in their object. And why?

Take, for instance, the United Mine Workers of America, an industrial organization in structure, but not in action, and which, for this reason, has no success whatever in fighting the coal trust.

The reason is that the rank and file are only a dues paying membership just like any other A. F. of M. organization, and do not understand what a great power they really are; hence their leaders whip them into line quite as easily as any other craft union.

We find the miners of one section systematically scab on their brothers in an adjoining state or even county.

So you see the form of organization makes no difference if the rank and file do not understand the movement.

The time is here when all fakirs, with the aid of the capitalist, will encourage industrial unionism. So let us use all our power to prevent these humbug schemes from simply changing the name of the union from craft to industrial, while still keeping the rank and file in the same position as before.

How can this be accomplished? Listen! Use all your energy and power, instead of advocating industrial unionism, in explaining how it becomes a power.

It is not the industrial union that the capitalists fear; but the teaching of men who advocate concerted action of a class against a class. Educate the individual members so that no leader is able to lead the rank and file what is good for them, but the rank and file tell the leader what to do. This is what the pirates fear.

An industrialist must be a man who is ready at all times to strike a blow at the capitalist class; conscious of the motto, "An injury to one is the concern of all." What I mean by this is, he must be ready to strike this blow even if he struck yesterday and won his demands, if other workers, no matter in what part of the world, need his co-operation to win. He must be a bitter enemy of the employer and his tools.

And why not? Has he not been deprived of every thing dear to him; in spite of being the producer of every thing the human race needs for its existence. He must not look for one to better his condition, but act for himself whenever and wherever he gets a chance. His religion must be the idea of emancipation. His country the world. His demands the full product of his toil. His power Solidarity. His morality, to free his sisters from prostitution. His weapon Education in attacking the present system with all his might using whatever tactics are necessary to win, as everything is fair in war and war it must be until he has won the world for the workers.

Let the human hyenas howl and attack us, such is but music to our ears, for they would not attack us if they did not fear us. You have nothing to fear from them, as least as no reason, hence no weapon of defence against reason. For every life they take from us they stir up hundreds to take our place, and for every life they speak they uncover their objects and aims, so keep them active howling and fighting us. They killed Francisco Ferrer but not the modern School, they murdered Ling, Parsons and Spies but did not kill their ideas.

Now is the time to be on your guard as this the first time in human history when the proletariat has found a way of ending wage slavery, once he realizes his power concentrated in the solidarity of his class.

Onward to the General Strike. All—one, one for all.

ALBERT PETZEN.

STRIKE CALLED OFF

Local 388 at a regular meeting on Thursday, January 9, 1913, decided, by a unanimous vote, to call off the strike on the Grand Trunk Pacific construction. All demands have not been conceded, although substantial improvements have been made. The strike, from an educational point of view, has had an incalculable value. Further, by calling the strike to a close at this time, it will give the union a chance to recuperate for the rush in the spring. So the local finds itself justified in taking this step.

In appreciation of the support given in our struggle and in hope that we will be in a position to return our comrades in time to come, we are yours in revolt.

LOCAL 388, I. W. W.
A. O. MORSE, Secretary.
Printer: Report, B. C.

EFFICIENT
How the I
Revolutio
forms of th
of youth;
it been in
natural
It is in
write of th
viewpoint
much more
we have in
This view
Little Fa
social revol
an epoch in
epoch of ar
so that we
won money
gally cast
The early
over current
are already
content, for
They are a
the organiz
banner of t
ar with the
false imper
ions" polit
workers bu
Rams is ab
with his r
bloodthirst
equipped
publications
by told abo
be to tal
It was af
gress some
was dally
the founda
which will
strikes.
Strikers
but none m
member. It
but the o
in such a
please stri
bow much
was conten
It fortun
contains a
whose busi
sioner in S
in Practical
of relief we
oughly call
She went t
be done
strategic i
that it in
organization
her victory
in the fight
better than
says:
"During
of meals se
600. The
for carried
we weigh a
as a fair-
pounds of
lard, half
pound of
prunes, or
"The coc
sale prices
of cents lo
used daily
been in vog
language fo
strikes. I
committees
"What
Breakfast
constated
butter, or
before or
becom the
roast with
cabbage, o
rice, peas
prunes or
was 7 cent
In depen
low figure
had no ren
then we r
people all
Supplem
that there
card-filling
striker in
card. Ever
punched.

FRENCH SYNDICALISM

By LEON JOUHAUX, Sec'y C. G. T. of France.

(Address delivered at the People's Hall, Brussels, Belgium, Dec. 6, 1911. Translated for Solidarity by Herbert Sturges, Painesville, Ohio.)

ORIGIN OF THE C. G. T.

The General Labor Confederation (Confederation Generale du Travail) of France represents a unique tendency among international labor movements. This tendency, these revolutionary tactics which characterize its actions did not arise spontaneously from the will of a few persons; they are the result of historic development.

The C. G. T. was founded at the Congress of Limoges in 1895. It was formed from different labor elements adhering, some to the Germanist Party, some to the French Labor Party, some to the Blanquist Party, etc., in short, from all the political and revolutionary bodies which at that time shared in the movement of ideas and events.

To understand our movement it is necessary to know the principal manifestations of the French working class throughout history. There is an intimate connection between our movement and these manifestations, which have had a considerable influence upon our spirit and methods, and enable us to account for the strong position taken by French syndicalism with reference to the political organization of the government.

The fight of the workers against the authority of the State is of all times; it does not stand out clearly perhaps in the remoter periods, but since the great revolution of 1789 this fight has assumed definite form and has always kept the same significance of a struggle against bourgeois authority.

The framework of legality is too restricted and inflexible for union action, which, whatever forms it may assume, must be able to unfold without hindrance. In obedience to the interests which were in the movement and in accordance with its aspirations, it jettied out from this framework to accomplish its true revolutionary mission on the margin of legality.

The ground of illegality of the moment is always, as a result, the social basis of the ground of preparation for the legality of the future. And future legality moves forward as the complete making over of the social edifice, the total re-creating of this old society based upon the exploitation of man by man, which in modern terms takes the name of the "wage system."

It is towards the suppression of the wage system that we are moving; it is to attain that goal that we labor. We want to get into the hands of the producers the instruments of production in order that each, working according to his ability, may consume according to his needs. So our C. G. T. immediately took the form of a class organization, waging the fight upon the ground of the class struggle.

For us, labor alone is purifying, enabling and fruitful; that is the reason which allows us to give to the syndicalist movement the value of a social transformation.

Let us resume our historical sketch, in order both to understand correctly the position of the French syndicalist organization and to grasp the direction and value of its manifestations.

At the outset of the French Revolution, immediately after the declarations of the rights of man and of the citizen, the Parisian workers recognized the necessity of uniting to defend their right to life. A few months after the storming of the Bastille the workers of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine met together and decided to combine against their employers. Immediately, the Revolution not yet being ended, the old despotic spirit, which has always dominated France, awoke in the breast of the National Assembly, and a representative, Le Chapelier, proposed, in the name of public order and national welfare, a "law of safety" prohibiting labor organizations. Thus the "right of the people" reacted against the people themselves. And this law has been repeating this phenomenon under all the regimes since.

We have in France some grand principles of justice and equity, but they exist only on walls and in books, because the despotic tendency dominates everything, and turns all the conquests of "democratic rights" achieved by the workers, against the workers themselves.

The judicial history of France at the epoch of the Mutualist labor movement shows us that the most ferocious autocracy and despotism were exercised against the workers.

But, we are told that, since the re-oc-

urrence of the right of union in 1864 we have not had persecutions of the workers? This right was conceded to appease the people, but as soon as the latter's attitude of attack and combatsiveness diminished, without waiting for an act of parliament, the employers suppressed this legal right and went on as if it did not exist.

In 1870, after the proclamation of the Third Republic, founded by the people, new persecutions made their appearance. Those who had been elevated to power profited by the situation to persecute the militants who wished to arouse the workers.

If they have not succeeded in killing the labor movement, it is because from its infancy it has learned to endure the blows of its authority and to live on the margin of legality.

Thus we come to 1884, to the law of Waldeck-Rousseau, granted as a law profoundly democratic and gaining its inspiration from the rights of labor. In reality what was this law? A law which sanctioned an order of things established in the teeth of ferocious reaction. This law, which recognized the legal existence of the syndicates or trade unions, was in reality only a law for diverting into canals, and then damming up, the revolutionary current in motion among the laboring masses. The congress of Marseilles (1876) had decided to study the General Strike!

The tactics of authority were always the same in France: the manufacture of laws to better dam up revolutionary tendencies. After 1884, the syndicalist organization, somewhat chaotic, without a directing principle, without a well defined goal, without co-ordination, operating rather according to local interests, without adequate grasp of the common interests of the proletariat, existed, without growing.

These were the syndicates with a "political" color; some a little more advanced than others. The economic goal was not definitely perceived. We can realize this by reading over the debates at the Lyon congress of 1890, which witnessed the clash of diverse tendencies without being able to arrive at the basis of a real labor movement. They did not yet think of creating tactics allowing them to obtain the maximum of results from joint effort.

It remained for the international congress of 1889 to lay down the principle of the eight-hour day for all workers.

But we must look to the Paris congress of 1891 to see the appearance of an idea truly organizing, truly economic.

This idea was that of a man who was concerned only with the labor movement; that man was Pellouier, the originator of the Federation of Labor Exchanges (bourses du travail), who laid the foundations of this movement. This was not yet the Confederation; but the idea, the impulse which made its later creation possible, were here born. It was at the congress of Saint-Etienne, in 1893, that this organization was founded, and at the congress of Nantes, in 1896, that the break took place between it and the Socialist Party, the political organization of the working class.

The congress of Limoges, in 1895, saw the establishment of the C. G. T. The syndicates (local unions) decided to form national federations and to unite among themselves in a confederation; and at this moment when they were trying to assure proletarian unity, they were already voting a resolution upon workmen's pensions, identical in spirit to that which was passed in Toulouse in 1910.

In every succeeding congress - Tours 1896, Toulouse 1897, Rennes 1898, Paris 1900, Lyon 1901 - always the same ideas animated the militant workers; to bring about the unity of proletarian forces; to join the Federation of Labor Exchanges to the C. G. T. in order to form a labor alliance against capitalism! At Montpellier in 1898 this fusion was accomplished. It was from this crest that we date the truly homogeneous action of the French working class. Constitutional provisions or statutes were then definitely adopted, which conformed to all that had been previously desired.

(To be continued.)

INDIANAPOLIS I. W. U.

Local 66 has opened headquarters at the corner of Alabama and Washington streets, Indianapolis, Ind. Library and reading room open day and night. All agitators coming this way are welcome.

SOLIDARITY

TEXTILE CONVENTION

The fourth annual convention of the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers, I. W. U. was called to order at New Bedford, Mass., Jan. 11, 1912, by National Secretary Yates. Ewald Koettgen was elected chairman of the convention.

Fifty delegates were in attendance, 81 from Lawrence and 5 from New Bedford.

Fraternals delegates from Fall River, Lowell, Providence and Little Falls were seated with voice and vote.

A motion to reduce per capita tax, 7-1-2 cents per month failed to carry, as did a motion to raise the per capita tax to 15 cents and furnish office space free to members.

A motion to abolish referendum, leaving all matters of legislation to the annual convention was lost.

The General Organizer was given supervision of organization work. It was decided that the National office be moved to Boston.

A motion was carried that all organizers placed in the field be required to have an understanding of the Textile Industry.

The convention went on record as favoring the abolition of piece work.

Wide discussion was allowed by the chair upon the request of the German Branch of Local 29, to place the convention on record as favoring political action. The neutral position of the I. W. U. was made clear to all in the discussion which ensued and the resolution was voted down.

Language federations were allowed to continue with the promise that they shall not draw upon any regular income of the organization. Delegates to the next General Convention of the I. W. U. at Chicago were entrusted to bring the matter of language federations before that body.

A cheering message of solidarity was sent to the Little Falls workers, pledging support in their struggle. In answer to a call from Little Falls for Polish-Slovak organizer to counteract the efforts of the bosses to disrupt the organization there, Fellow Worker Walecky Lech was sent.

The request of Fall River local for an organizer to put new local in shape was referred to the National Executive Board.

The N. E. B. was instructed to co-operate with Local 1 Union 99 in making adequate preparations for the impending general strike in the rail coal industry by organizing the Polish, Greeks and Armenians who have not yet been reached with the message of One Big Union.

The N. E. B. was instructed to communicate with the General Office with view to getting Solidarity moved to the city where the National Office is said made the official organ of the National Industrial Union.

The National Secretary was instructed to issue a bulletin to the locals for the purpose of having members informed on job conditions at all places.

Starting statistics regarding the health of mill employes and their conditions of labor were referred to the N. E. B. for publication.

The report of National Secretary Yates reviewed at length the strikes and other struggles carried on during his term of office. Each local union will be supplied with two copies of the report.

All delegates were instructed to carry their respective locals in pay cash for dues stamps.

Thomas Holliday, J. S. Blacy and Francis Miller were nominated for the office of National Secretary. Yates declined. No nominations for General Organizer were made; the matter being left in the hands of the N. E. B. on motion.

Ewald Koettgen and William Morgan were nominated for the G. E. B. of the I. W. U.

The next convention will be held at Lawrence.

The convention adjourned its five days' session January 15 in the tune of "The International."

AN URGENT CASE

(Continued From Page One)

time bestir themselves in their behalf now.

These fellow workers are not noted labor leaders. Let it not be said to our credit that they are not making a strenuous effort on behalf of leaders who fall into the clutches of the ruling class who pitroously abandon the rank and file which they are victimized to appease the masters of the bread.

The fine Italian hand of Harrison Gray Otis, much-beloved of the Holton Power Co., the economic master of the Imperial valley, can be plainly seen in the persecution of the I. W. U. and Mexican political

refugees. The old gray was eagle, with a rancorous heart, in his soule fury; sees a menace to his profits from slave labor on his million acre ranch in Lower California in the Mexican revolution as well as his God-given right to exploit slave labor on immense Imperial valley ranch, in the I. W. U.

We ask you to wake up to the gravity of the situation and get busy. Give the case the utmost publicity. Hold private meetings - this is of utmost importance - do it now. Let what live wires there be stir the rank and file to action. Send protests, individually and as organizations, urging the release of T. M. Dodson, of Bravley, Cal., James W. Stanford, Fred Niles and James Roberts, of Holtville, Cal., and setting forth the reasons therefor to Hiram W. Johnson, governor of California, Sacramento, Cal. All that is humanly possible must be done to free these martyrs. We must fight to the bitter end.

DODSON ET AL. DEFENSE COM.

EXONERATES FELLOW WORKER

Detroit, Mich., Jan. 27.

Solidarity:

I beg that you will give space to enclosed statement which will clear up much of the prejudice of Local I. W. U. created against me by my personal enemies during trumped up charges that, during the campaign I joined "for material purposes" the Young Men's Wilson Club of Detroit.

This is nothing short of a malicious falsehood, which some persons were very much interested to spread about me. Solidarity offers me the only chance to make a statement and prove my alibi. The enclosed certificate will prove my statement.

Yours as ever for One Big Union,

JOSEPH B. POLONSKY.

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that Joseph B. Polonsky has never been a member of the Young Men's Wilson Club. Mr. Robert H. Clancy, Washington, D. C., also acknowledges this certificate.

JOHN FAUST,

Sec. Young Men's Wilson Club.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of January, 1912.

BERTHA W. MOELLER,

Notary Public, Wayne Co., Mich.

My commission expires April 7, 1916.

THE CIVILIZED PLAN

"The labor movement must place itself upon the highest plane civilization has reached." This warbles the organ of the Detroit I. W. U. in the January issue. We insist, fellow workers, that every true revolutionist should wear a silk hat, carry a cane, and attend grand opera at least once a week! Each revolutionist in his high powered automobile should make the grand tour of Europe now and then, this being preferable to the American tour, because the roads are better in Europe.

Now these particular elements of "civilization" are good, and we expect that every one will have them some day when they establish the industrial commonwealth. But if you slaves were fully and completely "civilized," why in the dickens should you take the trouble to be revolutionists?

Dear me, dear me, what ungentlemanly forms of the class struggle are used by the actual combatants! Oh yes, we believe in the class struggle, but it should be conducted thus and so, please! So don't wake the baby, fellow workers! Do nothing the capitalists can object to! By political action you can greatly improve your situation, and direct action is all wrong!

With such only ideas we may surely hope to prevent militant tactics being used! Even though hundreds are needlessly killed in industry and transportation, and countless thousands die of slow starvation and overwork, it would not be civilized to put some carbide powder in the oil or some acid in the water! The "morality" of the workers is of more importance than their lives!

No, that is the wrong way about.

The bread and butter question has got to be settled first and settled right. Do away with poverty, establish equality of consumption in the good things of life and then you can depend on human nature to find itself morally.

We can not predict what the moral consciousness of a classless society will be like. Why try to take over any of the elements of upper or middle class morality, which are so largely concerned with individual accumulation and the protection of property and privilege from the lowest class? The only question we need to ask about any method

is, "WILL IT WORK?" and when tried "DOES IT WORK?"

No, the machine proletariat is not on the "highest plane civilization has reached." And there is very great doubt whether that is worth bothering about. "Civilization," morality and all, is based on consumption, leisure and educational opportunity, all of which are monopolized by the upper classes. That is why they are "civilized" and the lowest class is not. And that is why it is useless for the civilized planners to prate and preach to those who consume the bare necessities of life or less and who are defrauded of every cultural opportunity.

The unskilled working class has nothing to lose, not even "civilization!" It has a world to gain, including something vastly superior to "civilization."

The unskilled working class has nothing to lose, not even "civilization!" It has a world to gain, including something vastly superior to "civilization."

HERBERT STURGES

NEW "BABY" IN FRISCO

San Francisco, Cal., Jan. 11.

Solidarity:

You will please announce in the next issue of Solidarity that a new baby has been born into the I. W. U. and name for him christened Clothing Workers' Industrial Union Local 187. The baby is two weeks old and has all the signs of health, and its promising. The undersigned has been elected Financial Secretary, and all notes intended for the local should be addressed to the address given below. We have business meetings every Thursday evening at the I. W. U. hall.

Yours for One Big Union,

WILLIAM NEZBI,

5777 Fine Street,

San Francisco, Cal.

The article appearing in No. 160 of Solidarity under the title, "The Economic Argument for Industrial Unionism," by Vincent St. John, has been put in booklet form, pocket size, 16 pages, and is now ready for delivery. The title has been changed to "Industrial Unionism and the I. W. U.," and the booklet retails for 2 cents per copy. In quantities to locals and agents, ONE CENT a copy. Order now from I. W. U. Publishing Bureau, Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

A reader wants to know the definition of the word "boss" as used frequently in the columns of Solidarity. That word is used with reference to the OWNERS, CAPITALIST or EMPLOYER, and therefore the ECONOMIC MASTER, and therefore the BOSS of the working class in the latter's present unorganized state. Solidarity does not use "boss" to refer to foremen, superintendents or other "captains" of industrial groups, who are likewise employes of the "boss." We classify foremen, etc., simply as "slave drivers" and "retainers" of the "boss," whose function is to sweat all possible surplus value out of the hides of the slave workers under them in the shops. Frequently, these "slave drivers" are more vicious than their masters, and along with cops, soldiers, corporation judges and other retainers of the bosses, are responsible in large measure for the successful revolts of slaves in recent times. Along with the "boss" himself, they will be tamed by the solidarity of the workers in one big union.

PAMPHLET OUT OF PRINT

The edition of "The I. W. U.: Its History, Structure and Methods," by Vincent St. John, is completely exhausted, and no more orders can be filled at present. More than 10,000 copies of this pamphlet have been sold to date, and the demand is still strong. A revised edition will be printed as soon as we can get copies for the same from the author.

EDITOR AND GIOVANNITI

Before the Jury at Salem, Mass.

Speech stenographically reported and published verbatim in 120 page pamphlet, Revolutionary to the core. A scathing arraignment of the wage system. Nicely bound. Large type. 25c per copy; \$1.00 per 100. Send all orders to

VINCENT ST. JOHN,

307-164 W. Washington St.,

Chicago, Ill.

We are now prepared to furnish E. S. Nelson's "Appeal to Wage Workers" in the following languages: Swedish, Hungarian, Slovak. The last named can also be read by Bohemians. Price of each, 30 cents per 100; by the thousand, \$1.50. Address: I. W. U. Publishing Bureau, Box 622, New Castle, Pa.