

# OFFICE OF THE A. F. OF L.

### TO THE TUNE OF "MY COUNTRY 'TIS OF THEE." NO RECOGNITION OF CLASS WAR. POLITICIANS TALK

(Special to Solidarity)

Seattle, Wash. Nov. 12.

The American Federation of Labor met in convention in this city Sunday, the day before, A. F. of L. Secretary Frank Morrison, spoke before a church congregation. According to the newspapers he said in part:

"Organized labor stands for all that is goodly and believes in destruction of radical actions like these, but we get our results through peaceful methods as possible."

He further said that through a recent investigation, he had found as a general rule the churches of the country were in sympathy with organized labor. He compared the church movement with the movement for unionism and told how both divisions were working for the same end—the bettering of conditions.

Some other delegates also spoke at churches.

The convention met in a big dance hall, built by "scab labor." Only recently, any man who enters his union button, was not allowed to dance in that hall.

The entrance to the hall was decorated with 49 American flags and one English (the mayor of Seattle was born in England). Inside the hall was decorated with 127 American flags, one of which was illuminated. No red flag.

There were a lot of lies, and then the Star Spangled Banner and "My Own United States." She received much applause from the delegates. When she sang "The Star Spangled Banner" the delegates sang but I noticed one who had the nerve to remain silent. One of my friends had no chair, but tried to get one when the lady started singing. As a substitute he put on the Star Spangled Banner.

After the singer came Rev. Hugh Elmer Brown, pastor of Pilgrim Congregational church, who "called down the benediction upon the Most High on the delegates and officers of the convention, and prayed that patience, understanding and a spirit of fair play would rule within the hearts of the participants of the convention."

Amen! Hallelujah!

After the preacher came the governor of the State of Washington. He spoke on the flag, patriotism, and bade the delegates welcome to the greatest state in the greatest country of the great world. He spoke of the Panama Canal and wanted the co-operation of all to make the many slaves coming from Europe pull the great stumps in the great state of Washington. He hoped the labor representatives of the world would speak about labor legislation. Boosted Gompers, and said "labor unions are an element of strength in any community WHEN IN PROPER HANDS." And delegates and crowd applauded.

Then came the mayor of Seattle. Boosted Seattle with its eight-hour law for city employees and its minimum wage of \$2.75. Presented Gompers with a about a big automobile home of Seattle and to the noble hearts of its people. The mayor is a kind of radical and a forceful orator, and received the biggest applause.

The president of the State Federation of Labor followed and spoke as the governor had asked him to on the state labor legislation. But he forgot to tell about a big automobile road the state is building, on which road conditions are so bad

that no one except the drivers can stay there more than four or five days, and where, if a man tries to stay more than a week, he gets fired.

After him came the president of the Seattle Trades and Labor Council, who spoke partly of the good laws of Seattle. But he also gave out all work to the cheapest contractor, and that the contractors drive the laborers as if they were beasts, and charge \$7 a week for board.

Then it was Gompers' turn, and he certainly knew how to talk for such a body. First, he told the officials that the flag stood for more than the Star Spangled Banner, and "The Star Spangled Banner." The flag also stood for free speech, free assembly, free work, and a free press. Then, like an expert politician, he made a circuit so nobody could tell where he had him. The delegates stood up when Gompers picked up the platform, while the lady who remained seated, while the lady was singing got up, though uninvited.

And Gompers declared the convention opened.

One word was said of the man in jail for the cause of organized labor; not a word of the McNamara or Greengard. They were all talking about the flag and the Star Spangled Banner. They were of cheer for the many thousands of brave miners, fighting a life and death struggle for unionism against soldiers and gunmen in West Virginia, Michigan, Colorado, and other foreign lands. Nothing about Indianapolis.

Now they forgot the suffering slaves, amidst the tunes of the 180-piece band, after which the delegates sang through the business section of the city, and Gompers rode in the same automobile with the governor and the mayor.

Now they have a Catholic priest on the floor from the "great victory" of the convention—a fraternal delegate from the State of Michigan. And this priest has already made sure that he will "take an active part in the prayer and debates of the convention."

Holy smoke!

Leifer Morrison, the secretary of the A. F. of L., is right. The A. F. of L. and the churches are working for the same end—to make conditions better for parasites, teachers and the churches to keep the great mass of working people down in hell.

### LEGRE WILL NOT ASK PARDON

Benj. J. Legere refused to appeal to the governor of New York for a pardon, as was suggested to him. Legere considers his imprisonment in Auburn as a gross injustice (which it most assuredly is), which such an appeal would endorse. Legere has committed no crime; he was able and energetic in the interests of the striking textile workers of Fall River, N. Y. It is for this that he is now made to suffer.

For the first time, while awaiting trial at Herkimer, contracted incipient tuberculosis, from which he is now falling. He attempts to run the cars with scabs, putting them out of commission. Trolley ropes cut, and wires down, on the impression of a battle.

Saturday, strikers were busy for morning demands. Although the strike came unexpectedly the company had 300 scabs at hand in the barns. An attempt to run the cars with scabs failed, cars running off the tracks. During the day 137 arrests were made. Mobs attacked scabs and some scabs were arrested, charged with carrying concealed weapons.

The company has the right to fire whom it sees fit. It will not deal with the men who are organizing. Article 10 of the agreement states that the agreement shall be signed by

### WATCH FOR YOUR NUMBER

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202

Local 61, Kansas City, Mo., has moved to a new office at 15 West Missouri Ave. Propaganda meetings every night in the hall. All rebels welcome.

Local 64, Minneapolis, Minn., has moved to a new office at 15 West Missouri Ave. Propaganda meetings every night in the hall. All rebels welcome.

# DEFENSE DESIRES 500 SUBPOENAS

### Trials of Men Charged With Murder in Hop Riots Are Set.

Special to the Sacramento Union

Marysville (Yuba Co.), Nov. 11.—H. D. Sahr, William Reed, Harry Beagan and Edward Malouf, all charged with murder as the result of the riot in healthful last August, were arraigned in the superior court this morning before Judge McDaniel and their trials set for December 15. Nelson, who was indicted by the grand jury the same time as Sahr, was not arraigned owing to the fact he had no attorney to represent him. The trial of Malouf, who was the first man to be indicted, was set some time ago.

Initiated after the arraignment of the men Attorney R. M. Boyce, one of the lawyers engaged in the cases by the U. M. W. defense committee, served notice upon the clerk of the court that he desired 500 subpoenas for witnesses in connection with the trials. He has already secured a large number of subpoenas for Ford's trial, and his action today indicates that the county will be put to great expense in bringing in witnesses for the proceedings. These, for the most part, will be people who were in the riotous streets during the riot, and have since scattered all over the country.

# BIG MEETING IN NEW YORK CITY

### Paterson Defense League Arranging One—Other Items Of Interest.

The other evening it happened into Phil's restaurant on lower Broadway. While there, in two well known W. W. speakers and workers in the Paterson strike who followed I learned that Philadelphia and Paterson are in good condition from the I. W. W. standpoint. In Philadelphia, the results of the longshoremen's strike have been beneficial in the upbuilding of the organization. In Paterson, a similar condition prevails, because, despite "defeat," many gains have been made. Over 200 persons are joining the I. W. W. preparatory to achieving more of them. A headquarters, meeting over 500 persons, has been opened at 95 Market St. in both Philadelphia and Paterson, internal wrangles excluded.

In New York City some good work has been done among the restaurant workers; and, as I learned from another source, among the transit workers in New York. The transit is afflicted with internal discussion; the result is bad. Time is spent in "progressive" wrangles while organization declines.

In Boston and Springfield, Mass., the I. W. W. is making good progress; the result is quiet; but not without

Continued On Page Four

# "VICTORIOUS DEFEAT"

### Such Is The Way Our Correspondent Describes The Outcome Of The Street Car Workers' Strike In Indianapolis.

(Special to Solidarity)

Indianapolis, Ind., Nov. 12.—"Napoleon, after a terrific battle, retreated with saying, 'Another victory and we are lost.' This well applies to the tragedy that has been enacted in the city of Indianapolis during the last week, in the strike of the street car men against the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees, affiliated with the I. W. W. The strike should make the laboring world sit up and think. We skeptically look on for the result of the 'great victory' of the A. F. of L. so much boasted of. We sometimes even question the validity of it. It has long been argued that the A. F. of L. has lived its day; that it is no more adequate to deal with the labor problems of the day. Today the A. F. of L. is obsolete; all its victories are but the last convulsions of a dying body. The car men's strike in Indianapolis proves the contention.

The story runs thus: After much wrangling on the part of the men with their employers, the strike was known as inspectors, beatling off unmercifully. Men were laid off and were suspected of having any connection with the union. Some were taken to the office of the company and were kept there for several days. The men revolted and came out on strike Saturday, 11 a. m., not a car was running.

Sympathizers had taken a hand in the matter; women boarded the cars run by non-union men and took them off. News of the strike spread like wildfire. Mobs of thousands thronged the streets, and the cars with scabs, putting them out of commission. Trolley ropes cut, and wires down, on the impression of a battle.

Saturday, strikers were busy for morning demands. Although the strike came unexpectedly the company had 300 scabs at hand in the barns. An attempt to run the cars with scabs failed, cars running off the tracks. During the day 137 arrests were made. Mobs attacked scabs and some scabs were arrested, charged with carrying concealed weapons.

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Everybody in the city is struck with a "I Will Walk" tag. The streets are mob to attack them; inspectors (sluggers) hurt. Some cars on the streets are burning; police powerless to check the mob. 150 deputy sheriffs summoned, only 23 answer call.

Thursday: Eight more police turned out to run cars; Supt. Hyland and majority of the street car company stoned by sympathizers. Police powerless to check the mob. 150 deputy sheriffs summoned, only 23 answer call.

Friday: Police refuse to protect scabs; 25 officers offer to resign. Stranger shot by scab. Scabs fight with burning; police powerless to check the mob. 150 deputy sheriffs summoned, only 23 answer call.

Wednesday: Awful riot; 1 killed, wounded; 2 police hurt.

Thursday: More police turn out to run cars; Supt. Hyland and majority of the street car company stoned by sympathizers. Police powerless to check the mob. 150 deputy sheriffs summoned, only 23 answer call.

Saturday: Cars are all running. Men have returned to work; find scabs on duty. Some strikers have returned again; are advised by leaders to go to work with scabs, and swallow all the scabs they can get.

And so the farce is ended.

The newspapers are congratulating the men on their "victory." But those who watched the battle closely look in vain for any semblance of a "victory." Let us see wherein lies the cause of this so-called "victory." The men came out demanding recognition of their own better conditions of labor, and better pay. And the company ignored them. Now they are asking for a strike to be ignored. And now, after a week of the most splendid show of force in the history of the city, they are paralyzing fight, with all the chances in the world to whip their employers. Although the strike came unexpectedly the company had 300 scabs at hand in the barns. An attempt to run the cars with scabs failed, cars running off the tracks. During the day 137 arrests were made. Mobs attacked scabs and some scabs were arrested, charged with carrying concealed weapons.

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### LAWRENCE FUND ARTICLE

The second installment of Fellow Worker Eitor's article on the "Lawrence Strike Fund Controversy" could not be inserted this week, owing to the misplacement of one page of the article. Fellow Worker Eitor has promised another copy of the article, with the missing page, in time for next issue.

# APPEAL TO MINERS OF AMERICA

### By Geo. W. Spangle

The mine owner is your greatest enemy. You are continually fighting him for more of the fruits of your toil, and better conditions to labor. Did you ever stop to think that the next greatest enemy you have—the thing that stands directly in your path barring you from higher wages and shorter hours and a guarantee of a job—is your form of organization—your union, and its methods and tactics, if you please?

You are organized and organized strong in your industry, as far as numerical strength goes. Why is it that you can be beaten by the boss, blacklisted, hounded, driven from place to place? Why is it that even after a victory in some mine your conditions continually grow worse?

The coal miners in particular, who have the largest body of workers in a single industry affiliated with the A. F. of L. (nearly 400,000) have been reduced to a form of slavery more despotic and barbarous than any other industry in this country. Why is it that you are so miserable, that you can be worked on short time, docked, laid off, forced to buy your necessities from the company "pick-me-up" exchange for everything that you purchased from these company robbers?

The answer to these questions lies in your form of organization. The answer is plainly, YOUR DISTRICT TIME CONTRACTS AND SCALE AGREEMENTS. These are made in the counties of central Pennsylvania with the bosses and virtually sell the miners into slavery. If you strike for better conditions you strike as a district—a contract—and not as an organization. When you present demands to the bosses you do so as a district and not as a nation or even a state.

In 1902 the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania waged a bitter struggle against the coal mine owners for six months, which was settled by a board of arbitration. During this strike the members of the same union (U. M. W. of A.) in the neighboring counties of central Pennsylvania, who were as District No. 2, the bituminous fields, worked over time to fill the orders that necessarily arose for coal. Coal sold for as high as \$7.25 per ton on the cars at the mine during this strike, and even farmers and small wagon mine owners hauled coal for miles and showed the miners on strike by the hundreds poured into the bituminous fields and helped "dig" the coal that helped to break their own strike. It was an easy matter for railroads and manufacturers who used anthracite coal to exchange their grates for bituminous users and the trick was turned.

What better illustration do we need of the fallacy of time agreements and district contracts than the two strikes now being waged? The one of copper miners at Cosque, Michigan, and the other of copper miners in Southern Colorado? Here are miners separated into two unions. Copper and other metallic miners in the Western Federation of Miners, coal miners in the United Mine Workers of America. The copper miners are still at work in the western states and working steadily to supply the market. They are passing resolutions denouncing the mine bosses of Michigan, and putting up funds for the support of the strikers. But they are still at work. The militia is taking great care of the mine property in Michigan.

In Colorado the mine owners have called out the militia to keep the miners at bay, while the miners of other states are working to fill the orders for the Colorado bosses, which is the secret that will settle the strike. The miners and other union (?) men will put up thousands of dollars to feed the strikers and their starving families while this process is being carried out.

The enemy is now in sight. The districts that have signed long contracts are prevented from calling sympathetic strikes. Split up from coast to coast in different unions and organized properly to one union of transportation workers closely connected with the mine owners have called out the militia to keep the miners at bay, while the miners of other states are working to fill the orders for the Colorado bosses, which is the secret that will settle the strike. The miners and other union (?) men will put up thousands of dollars to feed the strikers and their starving families while this process is being carried out.

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The miners of America have the power to bring the capitalist over to their knees, crying, crawling and begging for mercy and settlement, if they so desire to use it. What is this power? THE POWER OF SOLIDARITY. "AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL." If the miners of Colorado are being slaughtered why should we, as miners pass a resolution. If our fellow-workers of Michigan are being starved, why should we as miners, no matter of what kind, produce the product in other states? WE SHOULD'NT.

If the miners of America, coal, copper, lead, zinc and iron, were united, as industries, with the same idea in view—this of protecting one another while fighting for their immediate demands, and have on their program the ultimate overthrow of the wages system and the ownership of the earth for the workers, united in ONE BIG UNION. If the railroaders were closely connected with the mine workers, and all the other workers organized according to their industries, into the same form of organization ONE BIG UNION OF ALL THE WORKERS, strikes would be thing of the past, bosses would be at the mercy of every man and woman that works would be receiving the full product.

THEN UP AND AT THEM, FELLOW WORKERS. EVERY MINER THAT HAS A BELLY OF FLESH STILL GLIMMING TO HIS BREAST SHOULD ARISE IN THE NEXT UNION MEETING AND DEMAND THAT A MOVE BE MADE TO STRIKE NOW AS AN INDUSTRY. THAT EVERY TIME AGREEMENT AND CONTRACT BE TORN TO PIECES AND NOT BE SERVED ON THE BOSSES OF THE FUTURE. THE MINERS OF AMERICA WILL TAKE MORE AND MORE OF THE PRODUCT AS FAST AS THE OTHER WORKERS DO LIKEWISE, AND THAT HERE AFTER THE BUSINESS BETWEEN THE BOSSES AND MINERS WILL BE TRANSACTED AT THE OPTION OF THE MINERS.

SERVE NOTICE ON THE BOSS NOW BEFORE THE STRIKES IN COLORADO AND MICHIGAN MUST BE SETTLED BY GRANTING ALL THE DEMANDS OF THE MINERS AND WHILE YOU ARE AT IT DEMAND THE SIX-HOUR DAY AND TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT INCREASE FOR YOURSELVES. THE TIME IS RIFE FOR GENERAL REVOLT.

DON'T BREAK ANY MORE STRIKES. GET TOGETHER.

### NOTES

OF THE RIGHT PAGE SPECIAL, JAN. 24, 1914

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## Helpless Miners

In the "United Mine Workers' Journal," Nov. 13, is a long appeal "To the Stockholders of Lake Michigan regarding the copper strike in Michigan. It may not be official, but at least it does not bear any signature. It may have been written by the editor of the Journal. Still one cannot escape the idea that it would not be there, and be so definitely addressed to "the stockholders" if it did not have the official sanction of the stockholders conducting the copper strike. Here is the concluding paragraph of the article in question:

"It is within your power to bring industrial peace to this community, a peace which shall be lasting, a peace which will enable you to enjoy large profits while at the same time giving to your employes a modicum of justice. Many of your companies have sought to pose as generous employers. We ask much less than that: 'Be JUST employers.' The emphasis is as it appears in the Journal."

In the same issue of the same paper, we find the following interesting information regarding the action of the U. M. W. A. towards the Colorado and British Columbia coal miners' strikes: "Strike assessment endorsed by rank and file—129,489 in favor; 17,215 against. By an overwhelming majority the members of our organization voted in favor of continuing the payment of the 50-cent assessment in support of the strikers in Colorado and British Columbia. The action of the rank and file does not need any comment. It is another demonstration of the splendid spirit of solidarity of which our members have given so many proofs in the past; it is a manifestation of confidence in the present administration, a complete endorsement of its policy. Our members are willing to empty their pockets because they want to see our strikes won and because they know that their money will be spent in the right direction."

Thus talk official spokesmen of the "greatest union of the greatest labor organization in the world." What a confession of subservience and impotency! Will thinking miners in the U. M. W. A. and U. M. W. A. stand for such dope without protest? A modicum of justice for strikers, bruised and beaten miners, and the enjoyment of large profits for the mine owning parasite stockholders—if the latter agree to make contracts with us (the union officials). Four hundred thousand organized miners allow their officials to cringe before and beg the bosses in that cowardly fashion while their protesting and starving districts are being shot, starved and hunted like beasts! What a fiendish chuckle must emanate from the throats of the mine owners when they read this dope!

And there is the "strike assessment." A "demonstration of the splendid spirit of solidarity of which our members have given so many proofs in the past." Ho, you assessment-paying miners, who are breaking your backs today, digging coal to supply the scarcity due to the Colorado and B. C. strike (for which the coal mine bosses are receiving increased prices)—what do you say to this kind of "solidarity"? Are you blind to the crime you are committing against your striking fellow workers? No doubt you are howling about the cruelty of the operators, their thugs and other murderous agents. But, whether or not you know it, **THE BLOOD OF YOUR BROTHERS IS UPON YOUR OWN HEADS!** You have the power to bring the mine bosses cringing at your feet. By assessments? Never. Not according to past history, or present indications. Not by "religiously" respecting your contracts, and allowing your fellow miners in striking districts to fight the owners alone. But you have the control of the mining industry of the nation in your hands, if you will but use your organized power.

Serve notice on the mine bosses that NOT A POUND OF COAL WILL BE DUG, OR COPPER ORE MINED, anywhere in the country, until the "stockholders" grant the demands of the striking copper and coal miners! Stop and figure out for yourselves what that would mean. One week or less, would turn the trick. No need of an assessment. No thought of buying. Simply **SOLIDARITY IN FACT**, and in the only place where it can be effective—**ON THE JOB.**

Miners, why be helpless? You have suffered enough. Throw off this incubus that weighs so heavily upon you. Get away from the false teaching that contracts are more sacred than human life—your own life and that of your fellow miners.

**PROCLAIM A GENERAL STRIKE OF THE MINING INDUSTRY OF MICHIGAN, IN ASSISTANCE OF THE MINERS OF MICHIGAN, COLORADO AND BRITISH COLUMBIA!**

Mail for the following is at the I. W. W. Headquarters, 307 Seventh St., San Francisco, Calif. Send your address and mail will be forwarded: George Busch, 105 Bond St., Yanderlieth, Ben Talber, Wm. Morgan, Alex. Kaddelle, Adam R. Sullivan, Ben Kalk, Robert Morgan, H. Williams, Ernest Arata, C. Ashberg, Daniel Brown, Eric Falk, Joe Davis, Christ Peterson, J. Ruffin, L. Laben, Secy.

Interesting reports of Tom Mann's meetings in San Francisco and Los Angeles had to be crowded out here along with other good propaganda matter. We will try to find space for some of this at least, in coming issues.

# THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM OF THE I. W. W. INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT COUNCIL.

From a series of articles in "The Voice of the People," by Paul Dupres, of Montreal, Canada. ("The Question of Decentralization" we extract the following:

"The bourse du travail or district council (in France), is by nature more revolutionary than a national craft or industrial union. The district council is composed of workers of all categories. It is a purely class organization. The more the union ever broad in scope, consists of only a portion of the working class. Throughout the world local central bodies are more revolutionary than national unions. Naturally the former fights for class interests, the latter for the interests of a particular class." "In France, thanks to the autonomy of the local unions, the district councils have reached their highest development. They are the backbone of the labor movement. They are the source of modern syndicalism. From them it spread to the national unions. The local unions being free to respond fully to the revolutionary psychology inherent in the district councils. The local general strike is an institution in the French movement."

"The district councils are the pride of French militants. They jealously guard their autonomy, and are always ready to take into consideration. At present we do not on the industrial unions, neglecting the no less important district councils. We don't even allow them representation at the convention. The less said about their autonomy the better. Remember only the sad fate of the P. C. D. O., when a few western locals attempted to form a district organization such as is common in France."

"With the I. W. W. in its present centralized form a free development of the industrial district council is impossible. Paralysis is already upon them. The breath of life for them is autonomy for themselves and their component units. With them, as with all other labor unions, centralization means stagnation."

Here is a plain case of attempting to "fit the facts to a theory." As a consequence, many important facts are missing from Dupres' analysis. The reason for the non-development of the I. W. W. district council is not decentralization, but centralization. Neither has this formation been "ignored" by our organization or its active workers. An examination of Article I, Section 2, paragraphs f) to i) inclusive, of the I. W. W. constitution, relating to "Industrial Councils" will disclose the truth. The only point of dispute on this point is the clause stating that district council organizers shall be "subject to the approval of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W." That provision is purely negative. It does not permit the district council to employ an organizer, but it does not permit the organization has an objection. But it does not compel the district council to accept an organizer the council does not want, simply because he may be approved by the G. E. B. Otherwise, if not by that provision itself, the autonomy and functioning of industrial district council "for the purpose of establishing general solidarity in a given city" are clearly respected and defined by the I. W. W. constitution. So-called "centralization" has had nothing to do with the want of development of the district council in the I. W. W.

The old cook-book recipe for "cooking a rabbit" holds good here. It began: "First catch your rabbit." First get your local industrial unions, and put them in some kind of working order, before you raise the cry, "First catch your rabbit." The "French" "bourse du travail" did not come into being before the local unions realized its necessity. Even in the mind's eye of the militants who perceived its possibilities in advance of actual realization, the "bourse" did not precede but followed the development of the local unions.

Not "centralization," in the sense of interference from without and from above, but local inefficiency and crudeness as well as actual lack of organization, are responsible for the non-development of the industrial district council in the I. W. W. in those few localities where there is at present a basis for district councils. Some are nominally in existence, but function poorly or not at all, due to the state of the local unions themselves. Other localities, such as Paterson and Lawrence, have only one or two local unions, and therefore only have use for a Central Committee of the local union. Another deterrent to the district council is the presence of the "mixed" local, which not only "strangles propaganda," but also interferes in a practical sense with the workings of a council supposed to be composed of representatives of bona fide industrial unions. Unless there are enough well organized INDUSTRIAL UNIONS to enable the council to ignore the mixed local, the latter's influence will continue to operate to prevent the formation and functioning of the district council. The idea that mixed local unions, and the REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS of its members TALK revolution, needs revision. Separated as they are from the practical experience of dealing with shop affairs through their union, members of mixed locals are usually unfit to take part in the serious affairs of a district council. On the other hand, the notion that revolutionary ideas and spirit cannot develop in a purely industrial body, is disproven in France and elsewhere. Dupres is unquestionably right in his contention that the district council is of nature more revolutionary than the national craft or industrial union. The process by which and through which the CLASS idea develops in the local central body; is logical and obvious: Representatives come together in the council from the different industrial unions of the locality. Let us assume, for argument's sake, that at first they are imbued as individuals with the ideas of their respective trades only. In the council they exchange ideas; learn the relations of one industry to the others; lay plans and discuss measures in behalf of all; develop, in short, the idea of the general unity and solidarity of the working class. A strike breaks out in one industry, conducted by one local union; the council meets and devises measures by which all the other workers of the locality are brought into action in support of their striking fellow workers. In this way, through the PRACTICE of local solidarity, the idea of WORKING CLASS INTERESTS became impregnated in the minds of the slaves, and cannot be shaken by any action on the part of the employing class and its allies. Unquestionably, without this development of the district council, the REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS about, will be impossible. For that reason, to "ignore" the district council and its possible functions, would indeed be fatal to the revolutionary union movement.

But, again let us repeat: "First catch your rabbit." Develop healthy, correct, industrial UNIONS, and the district councils will follow. Without the former, the latter are impossible. Center your attention on your local union for the time being. Possibly you may discover more defects in that than you are able to discern in the general body of the I. W. W. Don't worry overmuch about the "top." Begin at the "bottom."

**NOTE—"The P. C. D. O." (Pacific Coast District Organization), referred to by Dupres as "an attempt to form a district organization such as is common in France," needs further explanation. It was not "forbidden" by the G. E. B. What the G. E. B. sat down to was an attempt by some of the promoters of the P. C. D. O. to pull that district out of the I. W. W. After asking for a "special dispensation" in the form of a contract, the I. W. W. refused to grant, some of the promoters of the district organization then threatened to "get their stamps from the printer around the corner," and thus cut off all per capita to the general organization. The G. E. B. simply interfered with this attempt to secede so rapidly, that the I. W. W. was left without the right to give the locals to form a district organization "for the purpose of establishing general solidarity in a given district" still remains.**

## WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH US

By Matilda Rabinowitz

From all quarters we hear the enemies of the I. W. W. counting our "loss." Our lukewarm sympathizers and professional friends are shaking their heads in disapprobation of our "blundering ways," and with skeptical brows beginning to tell us that we are doomed to defeat. The capitalists are waiting every move we make. They are waiting close on the numbers of our membership, the extent of our agitation, the course of our organization, and the militancy of our tactics applied to the every-day battle between worker and employer.

The capitalist press writes pointed editorials on the instability of the I. W. W. and declining power as well as of actual membership, which they tell us is indicative of our unsteady character as an organization. They give prominence to what they understand by the term "proletarianism," but mere external appearance and placing a superficial value on the uprising of the workers who have adopted the militant tactics of the I. W. W.

The Catholic Church, ever true to its policy of reaction, never loses an opportunity to attack the I. W. W. in the name of the sanctity of the God-fearing, flag-flying, American Federation of Labor.

Politicians great and small prepare plans for their platforms to curb the militant workers' law movement. They are so concerned with labor organization upon the minds and deeds of the workers. Legislation is proposed and passed which has the same time as the union is proclaimed a cure for the unrest and struggle against oppression and the workers' movement. To do something about the new and threatening revolutionary organization like the I. W. W. is the desire of every parasite and beneficiary of the present order.

All this turmoil and fear in the enemy's mind, however, does not detract against the I. W. W. only to show that this new force is seriously undermining the security of the governing class by rallying the workers around the standard of proletarian solidarity.

Essentially a fighting organization, the I. W. W. is the enemy of the enemy, and we are uncompromising and fearless. The master class recognizes the I. W. W. as a movement of the disinherited who are being organized and drilled for self-esteem and self-interest.

The uprisings in Lawrence, Little Falls, Akron, Paterson, Detroit, and elsewhere have shown us that the masters appreciate our influence and power. They have seen that the concessions made to the workers, even when apparently defeated.

In our case, after the great strike of 17,000 rubber workers was proclaimed as a failure and the I. W. W. severely criticized, the movement of the workers returned to their jobs, wages were raised in nearly every rubber factory, and the workers were applying the lessons taught to them by the I. W. W. to their every-day work, and what striking on the outside failed to do, sabotage on the inside did successfully.

The great battle in Paterson, which the capitalist press hastened to proclaim as the defeat for the I. W. W. and even our socialist friends ridiculed and misrepresented, has brought us the most brilliant results, if not commensurate with the suffering and sacrifice of those valiant thousands of workers still in the hands of the I. W. W. who are still, in some ways, unorganized. So alert and unflinching were the workers in Paterson, and so zealously do they guard against the traitors of the working class, that they have not only begun to realize, that in the I. W. W. they have encountered a fighting force, but they have also realized that they are the backbone of the working class in time of strike, but for all time.

In one of the largest mills in Paterson, the workers of which were particularly brutal against the strikers, the workers discovered only one man, who served the master class in the capacity of a paid agent of the industrial union. The workers, whom the mill owners thought they have silenced and cowed down, went to the mill manager and told him that unless these tools of the mill owners were sent out, they were ready to leave the mills again and call another strike. These tools were discharged and they find it mighty hard to get a job in any of the mills in Paterson.

In another instance the workers have called a shop meeting right in the mill and on the bosses' time, to discuss the conditions of work. The foremen and overseers protested against such bold move on the part of the workers, but the strikers and workers stuck to their guns and demonstrated that they can fight inside of the mill as well as outside. In many of the mills in Paterson the workers are now beginning to reap some of the fruits of their long struggle. In one mill the weavers have set a minimum wage of one week, and the boss had to grant it or have another strike on his hands.

These very wonderful spirit can be demonstrated by workers, who went through one of the most sacrificing battles in our history by America's proletariat, can be, indeed, understand why the I. W. W. which is able to instill a sense of class conscious solidarity, is so feared, hated and persecuted by the capitalist class and its apologists.

In Lawrence and surrounding mills, the workers are now on a strike. The elements, talk of the I. W. W. with awe, and from the enemy's camp come the following remarks: "The I. W. W. is out to plan a general strike for the eight day hour."

Whenever the Industrial Workers of the World have come, they have changed and are changing the established order of things so rapidly, that to make the masters quake with fear and apprehension.

The capitalists are ever watchful and alert in devising new ways and

means to break our influence upon the working class. The mill begin to profit to appeal to prejudice, to patriotism, to religious and racial differences, and along with these methods they are ever ready to use the old, the gun, the bayonet and the organized force of institutions which they control.

In the case of this hydra-headed monster, with his many sided avenues of attack we can ill afford to lose any time away from the real struggle. We cannot permit ourselves to waste our energies in petty, insignificant, personal quarrels. We must be ready to never before was there so much to do for us as there now is. We must have clear eyes and called upon such an extent to make good our professions of solidarity by going against the enemies of the I. W. W. never before were the enemies of industrial freedom so closely allied and so bitterly contented as they are now.

The time when the I. W. W. meant a mixed local and theoretical hairsplitting is gone by. Now we must make good. We must concentrate upon agitation and organization. Everywhere there are opportunities for us to turn the spirit of discontent and indignation of the workers into a magnificent proletarian onslaught that history has ever known.

Let us remember, that the I. W. W. can never again win the respect or the adherence of the struggling masses, unless we are able to show that the I. W. W. must make good its profession of solidarity by going against the enemies of the I. W. W. who will only sap our energy and weaken our power.

Thousands are waiting to be educated and organized into fighting battalions. This is our most important task. How are we to do it? Can we back up our words with deeds? Will our workers have any interest in our plans of action? Let's put some of our theories into practice. Let's go out and organize ourselves and attack imaginary foes, while the real enemies are waiting for us. Let's organize ourselves anew for the complete overthrow of wage slavery.

## Don't Overlook These Fellow Workers

Edmonton, Alberta, Nov. 5.

**Solidarity.** The press committee of Local 82, Edmonton, desire on behalf of the above listed fellow workers to draw attention to the fact that the case of Fellow Workers Coglianda and Bruno, who have been convicted in the movement of the Mass, for a period of two years, and will still five to serve, has been almost entirely ignored by the organization press, with the result that appeals for aid on behalf of these fellow workers have not been publically noted.

We, the members of the above listed local, regret the omission that overlooks the part of the press is to be deplored, and we think such neglect of obscure Italian fellow workers will do nothing to create sympathy in a racial sense.

We hope that this communication and the object of it will be given publicity.

JAMES H. MANNING,  
FOR  
RODAN.

The case of these two Lawrence fellow workers was dealt with some time ago in *Solidarity*. Since then it has been overlooked. We suggest that the case be reviewed before the membership, is for the various defense committees to send in short reports on the case. We do not wish to neglect any case, as far as publicity is concerned. We think workers should know that the defense fund is for the purpose of handling all these cases.—Editor *Solidarity*.

## 50,000 Steel Workers Idle

Steel manufacturers interviewed by a representative of the Wall Street Journal stated that there is no improvement in the situation; if anything, they expect the number of unemployed to be a week ago. However, the mills may be helped out by seasonal work in the next two weeks. One independent company reports that its recovery is being hastened by the fact that its capacity, and that buying is on a purely hand-to-mouth basis. Prices are sagging, and the margin of profit on steel continues to contract. It is estimated that in the various steel districts throughout the country, close to fifty thousand men have either been thrown out of employment, or have had their working hours reduced. The army of the unemployed is growing, an evidence of which is found in the conditions of work existing on a basis of approximately 70 per cent of capacity in the last part of the year; it is believed that operations will be below 60 per cent.

## I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have no interests in common. The only interest that the two have in common is to wage war against each other. The only way the workers can win is to organize themselves into a strong union, and to fight for their rights. The only way the employers can win is to keep the workers divided and weak. The only way the workers can win is to organize themselves into a strong union, and to fight for their rights. The only way the employers can win is to keep the workers divided and weak. The only way the workers can win is to organize themselves into a strong union, and to fight for their rights. The only way the employers can win is to keep the workers divided and weak.

# ROBERTS THE HERO

**GUSTAVE HERVE DISAP- PEARING**  
 France.—Gustave Herve is disap- pointed. Strongly disappointed. But let us begin at the beginning. Herve is a great French leader and political writer. His anti- militarist propaganda has won him a great deal of fame and importance. It was for this reason that he saw the light.

The German election took place. The Social Democratic Party polled 4,300,000. It elected 110 representatives. It is a country, then, with the economic organizations which count 2,400,000 members, and a strongly centralized "moves" "langsam und gelassen," slowly and deliberately.

"Vollra" here is the key to the social problem, exclaimed Herve, and with the impulsive French- man and a highbrow he proceeded to proclaim his new faith and to call for the reorganization of the Confederation of Labor should sit at the head and be directing his more spontaneous strikes, you "punitive" "enfant terrible." Stop your knocking and beating, your enraging the beast, the state. Get out the talk about sabotage and direct action. It is a country, then, with the economic organizations of federation and a membership of 4,300,000. It is a country, then, with the economic organizations of federation and a membership of 4,300,000.

Great is the German weapon, and Herve, its self-appointed French prophet.

All went well until the German party knocked its big head against the electoral system of the Prussian Landtag (state legislature). The comrades went to the streets and fought it badly. The stubborn Junker class refused to give it.

Under the present system, declares Herve mournfully, the Prussian comrades, regardless of their admirable qualities, are not in a position to vote for 107 representatives without arriving anywhere. What then? How to get the most coveted electoral suffrage?

Insurrection, the only means yet discovered to force the doors that will not open; insurrection, military like in Portugal and China? Insurrection and the German comrades! (The latter examination marks credit to Herve.) Insurrection in a country where the 20th century one comes across schoolmasters in its intimate conversation behind closed doors, with rise and pay reverence at every mention of "our emperor," as a spring was lodged in their hearts, and this will be accomplished without the friends burning their chairs flying and the political system offers the only means to transform capitalism into a higher social or- ganism.

"Race suicide" with a vengeance. Every child unborn means a voter lost for the next election. Our social war be transformed into child-bearing race between the possessors and the dispossessed. From the economic viewpoint of a worker, the political system offers a higher standard of living, a curtailment of supply, a better class of education, a more rapid development. But soldiers and voters before everything—get to it, Mr. Fortinbrun. Mr. Wrenn and Mr. Frank. Ask Teddy.

## THE SOCIALIST SUICIDE PARTY

By Morrison I. Swift

The Socialist Party of Massachusetts polled only 6887 votes at the election for Governor just past. This is a record for the Socialist party of nearly one-fourth. The always small Socialist Labor vote fell from 22,000 to 12,000. The total Socialist ballot less was within 4 votes of 2800. In this count a few towns were still unreported.

## Song Books

Order to close out the last of the Song Books. The General Organization offers them at the locals at the following price:

\$ 4.00 per 100  
 \$35.00 per 1,000

Order payable to Cash upon

# THE TRIAL OF A NEW SOCIETY

By Justus Ebert

In consequence there has been a steady shrinkage as spirit of the age is usually selfish business, in which breadth of mind, openness of mind, willingness to bestow, grow, and the principle of freedom, are sacrificed. All these food qualities have appeared in the Socialist party.

1. It has grown respectable. Instead of being attacked and breaking up some of the most stupid and narrow prejudices of the middle and upper classes, it has become an accepted middle class aristocracy. It has kept silent or pretended to accept the views of the ruling classes. This is at the bottom of its antagonism to the I. W. U. and its kindred country, the American Federation of Labor. The I. W. U. was founded by the middle class and the aristocratic section of labor by going at problems with such enthusiasm that it has ordinary rules to the winds. The I. W. U. were the more radical and the more honest.

2. In so doing the Socialist party has placed itself dead in the path of the Social growth. It has met with the reactionary wing of labor against the progressive wing. The area of freedom of labor is vital and necessary, whereas the Socialist party is sympathetic with craft unions and the Industrial Unionist organization. One great union is necessary to reach Socialism—the Socialist party has practically repudiated the area of freedom of labor. Thus it is actually, though blindly, opposing the growth of Socialism.

3. The effect of the foregoing influences is to make the Socialist party practically a bourgeois party. It drives out the proletarian consciousness and increases the relative weight of the bourgeois consciousness. There is nothing in the party now which is in itself a vital and in- cendiary object. It has become "good" and "conventional" in the eyes of its own people. Most of its higher enthusiasm, in- 4. This hostility to practical in- dustry is a foe of new ideas, as well as of the proletarian conscious- ness, which it is in fact shut through with its unwelcome and its con- servative ideas. Through the in- dustry it carries with it a vast bulk of material objects, such as physics, which is enough to discour- age any one who has not two lives upon his back to devote to the point of this thing.

5. This Socialist metaphysics means the party doctrine views right as a religious creed, which you must subscribe to and obey. A responsibility still ritual of the past and tactics grows out of it, if you are not a member of the party. Some of the best work- ers in the party have been econom- ized here in Massachusetts, in- cause they dared to do more than party rules in some minor matters. The party method produces a ritual, in- egalitarian Socialist consciousness which is presently being a Catholic's religious consciousness.

6. Finally, in its passion for votes, the party has sacrificed every issue it can escape, if it thinks that facing such issues would mean the party does so in the name of a better society, if it cannot see how it will help the proletariat, it strikes them. This policy makes the Socialist party a policy of a better society, if it cannot see how it will help the proletariat, it strikes them. This policy makes the Socialist party a policy of a better society, if it cannot see how it will help the proletariat, it strikes them.

But in spite of all the blows it has received from the Catholic ecclesiastical machine, the Socialist party does not come out into the open and accept the Catholic chal- lenge and analyze the claims which the Roman church makes for itself as the friends of the common people. The interests of the clergy are opposed to those of the laity, and there be a perfectly good-natured but frank examination and exposure of the claims everywhere. The party is opposed to economic equality and are therefore in the way of the workers. This ought to be taught to the public until the rank and file of the party are able to dis- send their churches or communicate their clergy.

This decay of the Socialist vote is very interesting and instructive. George H. Wrenn, the Socialist candi- date for governor, was allowed by his party to make public attacks upon the I. W. U. during his cam- paign. These attacks were pub- lished in the daily papers and did the most to bring the I. W. U. and Mr. Wrenn and Mr. Frank and the Socialist Party have been such more bitter and virulent in their onslaught up- on the I. W. U. as any other party was the Roman Catholic Common Cause society, in their respective States. The Boston Common cause this summer. While the I. W. U. and Mr. Wrenn and Mr. Frank are equally to hate the I. W. U., the Catholic expresses his hatred gently and politely, while the Socialist party has re- ceived their punishment at the polls.

The temper of the Socialist Labor Party is such as to ensure progressive atrophy and drying up, so that we need not waste time con- sidering it. At this time the inter- esting question is whether the Socialist Party is going the same way, at least in states where its policy is like that in Massachusetts.

This party is reaping what it has sown. It has become a party of politicians. I do not believe that rank and file have become officers, leaders, or nomination applicants, that is reserved for many of the leaders; the rank and file are self- interested and are not interested. Leaders have turned the Socialist movement into a political machine and have reserved the spoils for themselves. This is done or approved must bear on

# The New Unionism

By Andro Tridon

"A clear statement of the philosophy and practice of syndicalism, its history and present status all over the world. The work of the I. W. U. should have a copy of this book for every member. It is a work of in- formation and to the most satisfac- tory of others as to the status of Industrial Unionism in the different foreign countries. Endorsed and recommended by Tom Mann and other authorities of their respective countries as being historically correct."

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# HELP POLISH PAPER FUNCTIONS OF AN EDITOR

To all Local Unions, members of the I. W. U.; and to all true, red hearted contributors to the Earth for the Workers:  
 Fellow Workers: I am writing to you to direct this appeal to you. The Polish organ of the cause before you, the justice of its cause it hopes you will support it to keep it in the field.

This paper is now in the second year of its existence, started by 2 Polish I. W. U. branches in Chicago, which with less than 50 members have contributed over \$500. A good portion of this was expended in equipping a plant. It has needed all over this entire country for a genuine exponent of industrial unionism in this country in the Polish language.

We are doing all in our power to keep the paper. The editor de- votes his evenings to write up the manuscript for the printer. 12 hours daily and part of Sun- days to the paper. The editor's night, turning off the edition, as it is only a hand cylinder press. The editor and members receive not a single cent for their work, but have contributed to the pay- ment of the paper. That's all right. We are not complaining. We will do any sacrifice necessary to keep the paper. It is our duty to the cause.

The supply houses don't give this cause; in fact, their interest is purely pecuniary. The linotype men have contributed to the cause. We will do any sacrifice necessary to keep the paper. It is our duty to the cause.

The editor of Solidarity asks our readers to compare the above requir- ements with the one from the same local which forms the basis for the "Mr. Block" cartoon in this issue. If you can discover any reason why the editor should apologize for his conduct of this paper, we should like to know what it is.

1. We should be pleased to learn from your editor of any reason why the editor should apologize for his conduct of this paper, we should like to know what it is.

2. Please look over the files of Solidarity for the past year and compare the number of "editorial columns" devoted to "discussing in- ternal matters" with the number "confined to the criticism of the cap- italist system." The number of the principles of the I. W. U., and see if your statement, "almost exclusively" is not applicable to the other way.

3. How is the editor of Solidarity going to get the members of the I. W. U. from organizing as they are now? The number of or- ganizations are written? If he were to do this, the I. W. U. COMMITTEE would not the members thank him for it after being convinced?

4. If you do not supply a room for "all official communications from the several locals," as well as for the publication of such orders with "any idea under discussion in the I. W. U.," and waste time passing resolutions to that effect, but get busy with means for supporting the cause. That will relieve the pressure of "too much copy" at this end, and min- imize the I. W. U. "Judge, Jury and executioner" of

Stockton, Calif., Nov. 10, 1918.  
 Fellow Workers:  
 At the regular business meeting of Local 78, I. W. U., on Nov. 9, 1918, it was moved, seconded and carried, that a circular be drawn up, sent to all the local unions through the I. W. U. press, on the editorial attitude of "Solidarity" inasmuch as the I. W. U. is now a faction of the I. W. U. against our idea of the principles of the organization.

This means that all of the organ- ization must contribute to the support of this created faction. To maintain that the business of the editor confines him to the criticism of the capitalist system and the propagation of the principles of the I. W. U., not the creating of internal disputes by adopting either side in such disputes. For months past the editorial columns of "Solidarity" have been used almost exclusively, in discussing internal mat- ters, and present on the I. W. U. side of the controversy. This attitude presents clearly to us the fact of internal disputes by adopting either side in such disputes.

Also, that the columns of all I. W. U. papers be used for the purpose of the use of all official communica- tions from the several locals, when- ever such communications are for publication, and that in the future the editor refrain from acting as a judge, jury and executioner, on any idea under discussion in the organization.

JAMES ROHN,  
 WM. HORNE,  
 Press Com. Local 73, I. W. U.

The editor of Solidarity asks our readers to compare the above requir- ements with the one from the same local which forms the basis for the "Mr. Block" cartoon in this issue. If you can discover any reason why the editor should apologize for his conduct of this paper, we should like to know what it is.

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All orders for extra bundles of Soli- darity or for increase in the regular bundle orders, must positively reach the office by Wednesday morning at the latest. Otherwise we cannot guar- antee delivery. Local executives and others will please paste this up on the

Local 26, Denver, Colo., has moved from 1909 Lawrence St. to 2323 Lawrence, Room 87, King Block. All com- munications should be addressed to Pat Noonan, Sec'y.

To all Butchers and Packing house workers, of Cleveland, Local 148, I. W. U., meets the 1st and 3rd Sunday morn- ings 10 o'clock, at the City Club, 126 East Clark Ave.

