

FORD'S PROFIT SHARING

"Murder in Second Degree" Which Means Old Conspiracy Charge, Against Wheatland Victims. Two Others Discharged.

TELEGRAM TO SOLIDARITY

Marysville, Calif., Jan. 31. Beck and Bagan not guilty. Ford and Suhr found guilty of murder in second degree. Arouse the working class of the nation in their behalf.

JOHN PANCIER.

(International Workers' Defense League, Publicity Dept., 602 D St., Marysville, Calif., Jan. 24.) After three and one-half days of testimony the prosecution in the joint murder trial of the first four of the Wheatland hop pickers closed its introduction of witnesses, amid a gasp of surprise from the crowded courtroom. No Burns detectives! No much advertised signed confession of Suhr! No sixteen-year-old Gleaser, with his supposed all-seeing eye against the defense—no boy when the prosecution has twice kidnapped! The publicity given to the inquisition methods of the detectives and their master, Mr. Stanwood, and the wrath of the working class aroused by that publicity, rendered the exhibition of that testimony a dangerous boomerang to the prosecution.

Deprived of the costly services of these manufacturers of evidence, the testimony against the defendants falls flat—tainted in its origin and insufficient to snuff out the life of a dog. As to the conditions on the Durst ranch, even the prosecution's evidence has proved water and toilet conditions which logically brought about typhoid and dysentery, with their consequent deaths, an illustration of one case where out of five people who went to the Durst pen camp, four contracted typhoid and one died. The prosecution's evidence has made clear too the penuriousness of the Dursts, who will pay for detectives but not for men to relieve women and children in lifting bales weighing as much as 80 pounds, into a wagon, or high pole men to bring down the vines, or for an extra wage for the extra good pick demanded.

In clearing up the evidence submitted by the prosecution, we find that two men saw Beck running away from the scene of the Durst pen camp. To be sure, one of them saw a blue automatic, not rusty. But he probably says this out of courtesy, to agree with the Durst witnesses. And neither of them saw the gun smoking, saw Beck shooting, or person or persons whom Beck is supposed to have shot. And that is all about Beck.

Bagan, who can just sign his name and can't tell his sweetest in his name from his business partner's, (he's Plasterer's Union man of Oakland) is identified as using his talents for his fellow strikers to make the Durst demands. But others of the prosecution's witnesses, against conditions unsanitary, degrading and brutal, was leader of a conspiracy to kill the officers of the Durst pen camp, saw Ford with gun or club, but a sly-eyed restaurant keeper on Durst's place, and a snake-looking individual who said he did "clerical work" and on cross-examination admits he was a hit man, testify to a mysterious signal, Hoi! Hoi! Hoi! given by Ford.

Another incident clothed in mystery, a meeting at a pump of the supposed leader of the conspiracy, by Mr. Durst's detective, and a statement sometimes quoted as, "Don't let them get me," and sometimes "Let them get me; there will be other speakers to take my place"—these incidents comprise the weighty testimony against Ford.

A Porto Rican striker, who saw helpless women and children being made the target for the guns of the power or drink-crazed Durst, and in the sheriff's posse, sprang to the rescue, and was seen by witnesses on both sides to shoot, and then to flee in dead—he can't be hanged to satisfy revenge or as an example.

But Suhr, alive and acknowledged on I. W. W., they have decided must

NEW YORK CITY NEWS OF I. W. W. AND THE I. W. W.

Thomas Flynn And John Sandgren Join In The Discussion

New York, Jan. 28. Solidarity. Noting the letter by our good fellow worker, "J. E.," in Solidarity, and his call upon a number of members of the I. W. W. and others, to write to Solidarity and state what, in the writer's opinion, is the matter with the I. W. W. in New York, and what is the remedy for the present inactivity in this great center of industry, I would say that I know or think I know, just what the matter is and just what ought to be done; but it would take greater space than I can allow myself in this letter to present my ideas on this matter, and would then, probably, only reopen the whole controversy. Perhaps time may be required to beat the wounds of the past and to develop the necessary conditions that will produce a good industrial union in this city.

The immediate cause of the dislocation of the workers of the past and the failure of the late convention to pass the per capita tax amendment which would give the district council some chance to be financed. Had the New York per capita tax amendment been passed, it would not only have given finances to conduct the district council; it would have shown a way by which all the local unions could be organized and organized.

The members of the locals of New York were proud of their district council. It had done things. Done them on nothing. What then could it do if it had the means? The council was their own body—a committee always under the direction of the locals, and realized for them the ideal of an industrial union functioning from the bottom upward.

The members set their hearts on having the district council handle stamps, supplies, etc. We did not realize the strength of this feeling until the delegate came back from Chicago and told them we were beat on all along the line. Better luck next time. But there was no next time. The delegates reported from their locals, and the organizations, locals that we had patiently and laboriously built up, melted away like snow.

Now the thing to do is to retract our steps. The district council provided for in the constitution should be allowed to function as the constitutional directors—maintain local solidarity and maintain connection between the locals and headquarters.

Tom Flynn. How can New York be organized for the I. W. W. in the question put by "J. E. in Solidarity of Jan. 24." As J. E. points out, it is first of all necessary that all those who have the best interests of the I. W. W. at heart stand united, both as to aims, principles and policy. All of us must be loyal to the policy and to the functionalities of the organization, as de-

Continued On Page Four

Henry Ford—Speed-Up King

(Special to Solidarity)

Detroit, Mich., Feb. 1. Much comment has been made on Ford's Profit Sharing Plan, either by the newspapers themselves or by prominent persons in business. But here are a few things some workers have to say, who have been interviewed.

First of all, let us consider the motive for Ford's change of heart. Only last summer Ford's plant paid less wages than any other automobile factory; worked its men harder, too. Registers are on many machines to record the number of pieces turned out by the machine tender. About 25 cents an hour was the average pay. Three years ago, 10 hours a day, later on, 9; then 9 1/4; and 9 last summer, were the working hours.

A few months ago, prior to the I. W. W.'s holding meetings at the Ford plant, thousands of men were laid off and told to come back later on. Coming back they were offered 23 cents per hour. See? Being unemployed these men couldn't go on strike, as they could if they had been informed of a cut in wages before being laid off. Clever trick! "Hurry up," was the cry from morn till night. According to a statement from a man in the employment office, which comes to me from an I. W. W. friend, an average of 700 men quit or were canned during each day.

Then the I. W. W., with Rabinowitz, Walsh, Christ, Fischer and other speakers held meetings at Ford's plant. Great crowds greeted them, many members were secured, and general unrest developed among the workers in the shop.

Unemployed workers got 600 names of I. W. W.'s, a former shopman of mine said to me the other day: "I was told by an office man in Ford's that this \$5 a day move was to avoid a possible strike this season. Let the reader judge for himself whether or not the I. W. W. has anything to do with this raise in pay and reduction in hours, taking also into consideration the statement of Ford himself that if ever there is a strike in his plant he will be liable for it."

Now to the "after": Grocery stores and butcher shops are to speak, clearing houses for information, where the women talk to one another about their husband's good fortune to work for Ford. According to this gossip, not all men received this raise, even if over 22 years of age. Three men, personally acquainted with the writer, once a foreman and the other an office man, complained and were told their cases would be "investigated." On Russian Christmas day, the priest of the Russian church went to see the general manager to get the day off for the Russians. He was told "nix." About 600 who stayed away got canned.

The number of pieces formerly turned out in 9 hours are now done in 8, with eyes watching everywhere all the time. **FORD, THE UNION LABOR HATER**

Last October, Ford was putting up an addition to his shop. The Sheldon Brick Construction Co. had the contract. This firm employs union men on all contracts throughout the country, but in Detroit they tried to employ non-union workers, for, in an open shop town one must do as the other bosses. The union threatened, but Ford told the contractors to go ahead with non-union labor, for he would give him all the help needed. Nothing doing, however, because a strike was threatened by all workers in the different cities on this firm's jobs.

A month ago the Vinton Carpenter Co. had the same trouble, and Ford again offered to surround the works with deputies, to protect scab labor. This time, however, the union couldn't make its stick and their men had to work side by side with scabs. This information comes from an active man in the carpenters' union, personally known to the writer.

Before this great raise took place in the Ford plant, the pay of the men was raised several cents an hour all around. Then a half hour for dinner was granted, on the company's time. Now some shifts get only ten minutes.

We were unable to get a report of the convention of the Brotherhood Welfare Association of the Unemployed, held in Cleveland last week. But, judging by the one or two sessions the writer was able to attend, the "hobos" are being "well taken care of" by politicians, philanthropists and various other humanitarians. Naturally enough, these people size up the hobo as a poor creature whose only vision is a "stand-by." Hence, we suppose, their apparent desire to throw some light on Ford's "ameliorative legislation." No direct action tolerated.

Battle Creek Post's "Square Deal" scouts at the claim made in Solidarity that Ford had something to do with Henry Ford's profit-sharing scheme. It says in effect that the I. W. W. refuses to give a capitalist credit for other than merenary motives. Our Detroit correspondent throws some light on Ford's "philanthropic motives" in this issue, also on how the I. W. W. influenced the situation.

"WILL FORD'S PROFIT SHARING PLAN SOLVE THE LABOR PROBLEM?"

Subject of a Lecture To Be Delivered by B. H. WILLIAMS At Huron Square Building, 737 Prospect Ave., N. E., Cleveland, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 8TH, 3:00 P. M.

Questions and Discussion to Follow Speaking. Admission Free.

Possible War, And Certain Death

BY WM. D. HAYWOOD

The drums of war are muffled and will be heard no more, so far as the United States is concerned. The United Mine Workers of America have, by resolution, declared for the general Strike against war.

The Statistician of the United Mine Workers reported 2370 men killed in the coal mines of the United States last year. These two paragraphs must be read in conjunction to appreciate the folly of leaving a situation where slaughter and milder of human beings is a daily occurrence, to resolve against a possible calamity.

By the same power that you can prevent the ravages of war, you can prevent the terrible toll of death that you pay every rests with you.

Remember the responsibility of protecting your own lives, it is the first law of Nature, let it be the first law of unionism.

Remember The Sample Copy Fund.

MILITARISM IN EUROPE

By George H. Swasey, London

Now that the United States government is planning military training camps for college students and a well known New York newspaper is printing a description, it may be of interest to know what the laborers of Europe have to say about this same benefit institution of militarism.

In 1871 the French were defeated by the Germans, and a huge war indemnity exacted from them. It took several years to pay this, years during which the laborers besides serving in the army from the age of twenty to twenty-five, were awarded for twelve and fourteen hours every day in the week for miserable wages, and were shot down by the government in every strike disturbance. The money that was paid to Germany as a result of the French defeat went into the war chest of the Emperor in Berlin, or was expended for added armament. In other words the wealth that the French workmen produced during these years was turned over to the German government to enable that State to tighten its grip upon the proletariat of Prussia. This is one economic advantage which a militaristic State, supported and maintained by conscription, has given the world. The same wealth that was produced by the French after 1871, and paid to Germany, in case of a war today between those two nations, will be employed in the wholesale butchering of both French and German workers who are forced to follow their flags wherever the whims of a few insatiable capitalists and international bankers send them. Wars and the aftermath of wars are doubtless beneficial to the State, because they remove the superfluous population, the "down and outs," and give governments a firmer foothold on the necks of the remaining human producing machines. But the workers themselves in militaristic countries have never yet seen any advantages, economic or otherwise, in war and the preparation for war, conscription and armament.

Ever since 1871 the French government has been spending more and more each year for its army and war equipment. Its excuse has been the fear of Germany. We must be prepared, it says, in case we are attacked and our territory invaded, and our territorial integrity, as soon as it felt strong enough to protect its honor it proceeded to secure a predominating influence in Morocco, and to defeat the German intentions of subsidizing that region. In putting her army to use in Africa, France has spent as much already as the amount of money she has paid to Germany forty years ago. The only difference is that in 1871 German capitalists won an advantage, whereas now French capitalists have carried the day. But whether one government wins or loses wars, the expenses are just the same. The workers pay for all war with their lives, with the destruction of their families, with the weakening of their class by the murder of fellow workers under a different flag, and with the wealth which they have produced. The capitalists reap the benefit of all wars in added markets for distribution, added fields for exploitation, and the weakening of their enemy, the proletariat. All of which further illustrates the great advantages, especially to the workers, of war and the militaristic spirit which inspires it. It makes no difference that in a militaristic State thousands and even millions of them are engaged in producing that which holds them down, and which in time of war, will kill them and mangle them as unfeelingly as a mill grinds wheat.

At present in France every man has to serve in the army for two years. The government is trying to pass a bill through the Chamber of Deputies adding another year to this compulsory service. The Confederation Generale du Travail, the C. G. T., as it is known, is doing its best to prevent the bill becoming a law. The C. G. T., which is the largest revolutionary labor organization in existence, has long carried on an anti-military campaign and has had its members arrested, imprisoned and even condemned to death as a result, but they are concentrating all their opposition to the present policy upon this latest measure. They may and may not succeed in forcing the bill to be dropped, but their action is certainly worth noticing because it shows exactly where labor stands on the question of Militarism. It gets beyond theory because it is brought face to face with reality in the shape of a strong government policy planning that by which all laborers must suffer, directly and indirectly.

The members of the C. G. T., which means the great majority of the organized workers of France, have declared war to the death upon the spirit of militarism which is the soldier who they have had enough of bodies infected with disease and ruined for life in the barracks, enough of strikers shot down by troops, enough of government scabbing by marching its soldiers into picketed establishments and forcing them to work, as it is doing today in the baker's strike in Lyons. They have no objection to conscription in language not to be mistaken that the moment war comes they will declare a general strike and will fight the State until either they or that institution of murder is exterminated. Not only are they ready to turn against the nation if war is declared, but they are doing their best to prevent the soldier from carrying the flag, which means his oppression and his death. Already they have caused mutinies in some half dozen garrisons. The leaders of these revolts have been sent to the disciplinary stations in Africa from where they never return, and the government has announced in the patriotic press that the occurrences were of no importance. At the same time, however, it sent the police to the labor exchanges and the headquarters of the C. G. T. on midnight raids, and stiffened the army punishment for every soldier who attempted to desert, and the government buys a radical newspaper when he is off duty. It is using all its secret service sense of smell in ferreting out the syndicalists in uniform and when it discovers them sends them either to the guard house or to Africa.

All this is merely strengthening the opposition of the C. G. T. They are redoubting their efforts in spreading a propaganda based on "down with the army and the government which creates it." And they are having success also. Their meetings are well attended all over the country and the police are being kept busy up by rowdy tactics. In one demonstration organized labor just without Paris in conjunction with the radical social party a hundred and fifty thousand people stood for two hours and a half under a hot sun and raised their voices to their protests against the military. At a demonstration held in the same place two weeks before two hundred thousand people were present. The workers of France know what the advantages of militarism mean. Forty years ago at the establishment of the third Republic, Gambetta said, "The church is the enemy," and immediately proceeded to educate the French away from religion and to bring in patriotism and love of the army. Today the C. G. T. after viewing the economic and social advantages of militarism, as the capitalist class has asked them to, says "the army, that is our enemy," and is not only using education but is using direct action. It has discovered that education must be followed up with practical demonstration. And it has succeeded so well that the French ministry is not so much concerned now over the danger of a war with Germany as over the danger of a war with its own slaves, the workers.

Conditions in Germany are practically the same as in France except that the opposition to militarism is less organized and effective. In England things differ greatly because that country has no conscription. The effects of militarism on the French and German workers have a very practical application to the English workers, for the reason that every indication points to the rapid arrival of compulsory military service and an armed nation in Great Britain. The most influential journals harp repeatedly on

the necessity of a huge standing army, and many persons of note are openly working for the establishment of a military service similar to that of the Continental nations. The Boy Scouts and similar organizations are spreading all over the country, thanks to the efforts of these same military fanatics and the literature which is being printed for the juvenile mind does nothing but foster the love of the Union Jack, the adoration of the army, and the hatred of the Germans.

The Englishmen who favor conscription have two stock arguments aside from the fear of Germany, with which they frighten the children and the weak—the one is the demoralizing effects of militarism and its economic use in preventing unemployment. They maintain that the only way to democratize society is to throw all its members into common barracks and let them wear the same uniform, for the inevitable result of a democratic influence and probably never will. Count Boni de Castellane, when he was in the French army, had to eat and sleep with blacksmiths and street cleaners. But after their service was completed when he met these same bed mates on the street and all interests. It is because political parties have a democratic basis and include millionaire and pauper alike that the working class in the past has secured such meagre advantages for labor. Democracy will come for the worker only when he is in very truth and in very respect the equal of every other man. And that day will only come when every man is equal. Exploited and exploiter, producer and parasite, can never form a democracy even at the point of the gun.

The other justification of conscription is that it takes care of the unemployed. It is true that in France there is a comparatively small portion unemployed while in England there are a great many such. But while conscription accounts for the lesser number of French who are apparently out of work it does not remove the unemployment question. The French soldiers do not produce. They are employed, it is true, but employed in nothing useful. Cleaning guns and mounting sentry is not production, it is waste of productive energy and goods already produced. If the French army were disbanded, what would happen to its members? A few of them would find work, and the rest would become a burden on the community and supported by the State? There is because society as it is constituted, allows them no chance to produce. As a burden on the community they would have to be supported by the community, or else less men must be withdrawn from industry and agriculture while the ex-soldier is substituted as a productive factor. In either case, with the army or without, there is a surplus of men who cannot support themselves. What difference does it make whether they are clad in uniforms and given guns with which to shoot their brothers, or if they are simply hired out as unskilled laborers? There is no difference whatever so far as the unemployment aspect goes. The men who pay the taxes support these unemployed in either case, whether their money is taken for military expenditure or unemployed relief. There is as much logic in this economic argument as there is in the hiding of goods in a warehouse or sticking his head under a cloth and saying, "Ah, my head is covered, I have vanished." The military fanatic sticks the unemployed under a bright red uniform and say to the onlookers, "Ah, you have seen what I have done to these men. Behold, there is no unemployed." The unemployed does not vanish because his head is covered with a shako.

Despite the effects of militarism which the English see in neighboring countries, and despite the indications that conscription will soon be forced on them, the British workmen is doing practically nothing against this movement. The syndicalist organization, the I. W. W. locals, and a few of the more revolutionary trade unions oppose it with all their strength, but the great bulk of the English workmen are in for protest purposes and the spread of propaganda, but not much enthusiasm has been shown. The largest of these meetings held on a Sunday afternoon in Trafalgar Square was attended by only five thousand people.

At present militarism holds sway in all Europe and is apparently about to make a conquest of England. There are few faint hopes that the American capitalist would like to have a well trained corps of murderers at his command as well as his European brothers. The workers of America must wake up to the evils of all things military and if the dragon of conscription ever appears within striking distance, break its neck. But the best way to make conscription an impossibility is to kill all its forerunners. The arraignment and above-the-law attitude of the police, the organization of Boy Scouts and other youth societies, and the blind worship of the flag and the contempt for foreigners all lead up to militarism and conscription. Militarism and conscription mean one more weapon, and that one among the most powerful of weapons, in the already overstocked arsenal of the capitalist.

TO ALL LOCALS!

Fellow-Worker John Olson, who on his way back from the 8th annual convention of the I. W. W., was run over by a car and lost his right leg, is with us again, after having spent over two months in the Lutheran Hospital, at Crookston, Wis.

In view of the fact that the expenses of his treatment run very high and only a few locals have responded so far with a contribution, we feel it incumbent on us to call once more the attention of all rebels to John Olson's case. The locals of Minneapolis will try and get fellow-workers to contribute, but we need the co-operation of all I. W. W. rebels to meet the expenses here. This fellow-worker has been and still is one of the best fighters in the movement and we cannot afford to neglect him in his hour of need. Send all contributions to John Olson, 232 Cedar Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. R. Reese, Morris Levine, Ed. Berg, Committee.

Local Union 419, Industrial Workers of the World, meets every Tuesday evening in I. W. W. Hall, 211 Fifth street, Redlands, Cal. Agricultural workers and rebels of the Southwest, pay us a visit. Large, commodious and comfortable reading room maintained. A large line of historical and scientific literature on hand for the student of working class conditions and lighter literature for the man whose time is limited.

Mail for the following is at headquarters of Local 341, Chicago: Albert Witkin, Robert E. White, Lealand McLealand, V. Brill, Desiderius Vitell, Jake Swinson, William Boon. Address: Fred Hardy, Sec'y, Room 221, 738 W. Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

Subscribe for Solidarity.

SOLIDARITY

THE BEGINNING OF THE END?

By W. H. Lewis

In a recent issue of Solidarity appeared two splendid articles by Fellow-Worker Ebert concerning Ford's so-called philanthropy.

Fellow-Worker Ebert ends his article with, "We should worry." Whether he is speaking seriously or whether it is a slang phrase, I do not know.

But as for myself, I am inclined to take the "We should worry" phrase seriously and a few of the reasons follow:

It is but natural that in the evolution of capitalism it will introduce all manner of schemes to continue its hold on the working class. Our Socialist economists have (and rightly so) told us that we may look for a sort of benevolent feudalism to be introduced by Newburg and bread before the end of capitalist society, and this move of Ford's is in line with that theory, the object of which is to continue its hold upon the workers of this class. The result of such action may postpone the social revolution, or hasten it.

IT ALL DEPENDS ON THE WORKING CLASS ITSELF. There are some of the workers who can think better on an empty stomach than a full one, while there are others who, when they find out the boss can pay them \$5.00 for their work, will not work if he can pay them \$10.00 for four hours' work. This starts them to thinking. Let us hope that the last named are in the majority, for they are the ones who will hasten the social revolution.

And again, it may be a case of the boss trying to fraternize with the slave, which will mislead many of the workers. Instead of the boss is going to change his tactics. Instead of cold lead for the workers he will try the methods of the sneak thief. He will no longer fight us openly for he is beginning to realize that such methods are unpopular with the public.

So we must be on our guard now more than ever before, for there can be no "Civic Federation" for us. Let us keep ever before our mind the first paragraph of the great preamble, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

Local 90, I. W. W., of Newark, N. J., meets every first and third Friday in each month at 176 Bruce street. All locals coming to Newark are welcome to our meetings. Address communications to Jacob Israel, Sec'y, 363 Bergen street, Newark, N. J.

Secretary of Local 327-S, would like to hear from W. E. Clark, who was secretary of this local last summer. Anybody knowing his whereabouts would oblige by notifying Secretary L. U. 327-S, I. W. W., Box 368, Kamloops, B. C.

Local 79, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, has moved to new headquarters at 431 A, Eighth avenue East. All letters, etc., should be addressed to the financial secretary, John Ferrill, at above address.

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Local 84, I. W. W., St. Louis, has re-elected the former Secretary for another six months. Headquarters at the same place. All foot loose rebels invited to visit us when coming through St. Louis. Otto Lingner, Sec'y, 1320 Franklin avenue.

Local 57, I. W. W., Philadelphia, has moved to 128 South Eighth Street.

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as the workers of the world remain organized as they are. The only way to bring about peace between the two classes is to organize them into one body. The only way to bring about peace between the two classes is to organize them into one body. The only way to bring about peace between the two classes is to organize them into one body.

That which the centering of the management of industry lessens and fewer hands make the trade union unable to cope with the competition from a state of the employer class. The trade union is a state of the employer class. The trade union is a state of the employer class. The trade union is a state of the employer class.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class should only be an organization formed in each way that this measure is in any industry, or in all industries. The only way to bring about peace between the two classes is to organize them into one body. The only way to bring about peace between the two classes is to organize them into one body.

It is the historic mission of the working class to overthrow capitalism and to establish a new order of society. The only way to bring about peace between the two classes is to organize them into one body. The only way to bring about peace between the two classes is to organize them into one body.

The Trial of a New Society

By Justus Ebert

In this book Fellow-Worker Ebert gives the best exposition of the constructive and social philosophy of the I. W. W., that has yet appeared in print. It is not a work of fiction nor of mere speculation, but a matter-of-fact, practical treatment of recent phases of the industrial, political, and social life, as revealed by the strike at Lawrence, Mass., and the trial of Ettore Giovannitti and Caruso growing out of the same strike. The book is well illustrated. Binding, 160 pages, With 8 Page Illustrations.

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The New Unionism

By Andre Tridon

"A clear statement of the philosophy and practice of Syndicalism, its history and present status all over the world." Every member of the I. W. W. should have a copy of this book for their own information and to meet the questions of others as to the status of Industrial Unionism in the different foreign countries. Endorsed and recommended by Tom Mann and War authorities of their respective countries as being historically correct.

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE NATIONAL GUILD SYSTEM

A REVIEW OF HILAIRE BELLOC'S WORK (Paper No. III)

By Frank Pease

Industrial Union type No. 1, this essentially "German" kind of an industrial union, this type is institutionalizing of the working class is too obsolete and too tyrannical even for a Catholic...

Well, we want none of their political manacles. Capitalism is pretty rotten, but there are many of us with a decided preference for it when compared with their state-owned, state-controlled mode of living...

Of the second type of Industrial Union, Mr. Belloc writes: "Of the two types of Proletarian Industrial Union—that is, the Industrial Union associations for the regulation of labor existing among men disposed of capital..."

"The examination of this type is of particular importance because it is obviously the type to which we can approach most directly in the present condition of industrial society..."

"Now it should be evident—indeed almost self-evident—that an industrial union, the members of which collectively own nothing more than their own labor, while their instruments of production and their stores of wealth are controlled by a capitalist class..."

"Let us take a concrete case. The Miners' Industrial Union is working with machinery and tools owned by a capitalist class. It has a monopoly in the labor mining which certainly no man can learn at a moment's notice..."

"It cannot be denied that in such a struggle the proletarians would be by definition defeated in the hands of their capitalist masters for the simple reason that so long as the struggle endures, strikers can eat today while the struggle endures..."

(Clothing and other Industrial Unions revolted successfully and were able to help their fellow workers in the Miners' Industrial Union. Why, then, the Miners' Industrial Union, as an association of proletarians working in conjunction with the capitalist, the Industrial Union which I have called type No. 1, is transformed into something quite different. It would have become an industrial union of type No. 2. FOR IF YOU CAN BEAT THE CAPITALIST ON ONE QUESTION, YOU CAN BEAT HIM ON ANOTHER. IF YOU MONOPOLIZE LARGE VARIABLES, YOU SAY HOW AND WHEN YOU SHALL WORK IT EQUALLY ENLIGHTENED TO SAY WHAT PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL PRODUCE YOU MAY HAVE AND NATURALLY YOU WOULD ASK FOR AS MUCH AS YOU CAN GET AND THE CAPITALIST WILL BE SQUEEZED OUT. But if the capitalist is squeezed out and the Proletarian Industrial Union steps into his shoes then it is no longer proletarian, but has become an Industrial Union possessed of the means of production; that is, it has become an Industrial Union of the third type.

"I say that an Industrial Union of type No. 2, operating in conjunction with capitalist owners, fails to satisfy the human needs for which an industrial union is organized. Those needs are the choice by the workman of the conditions of his work and the control by the workman of his own life; the escape from a sense of dependence and exploitation of their industrial life; and a sense of economic freedom.

"But long the effective control of the means of production and of the store of food, etc., are to be determined in the hands of a capitalist class, that an Industrial Union does not satisfy the human needs of the worker."

"The truth is that neither No. 1 nor No. 2, neither the industrial union, whose capital is owned by the State, nor the Industrial Union, whose capital is owned by a capitalist class, are really Industrial Unions at all. Neither is a solution of our industrial problem to be found in organizations 'Industrial Unions' in the case of both merely social and unpleasant words; while those who tell us that such industrial unions are a step to a better state of things which they proceed to describe, are merely telling us not to mind."

"It is to be seen that Mr. Belloc is not working from a premise of CLASS SOLIDARITY in the economic field as much as he is from the concepts of integral monopolies and interrelatedness of interests. The former presupposes a spiritual interrelatedness of interests; the latter, a possible development of those interests into a social system. The latter, that is, an autonomous monopoly of labor without corporate or industrial control, is the means of production. Still, his theoretic differentiations are without their necessary force. For this land possesses labor organizations which by definition, that is, in their preambles, constitutions, etc., are 'revolutionary,' but whose actual practices tend if anything to make their members more dependent on their capitalist masters."

"The political socialists, the 'practical' socialists, the 'practical' politician (this latter animal is ready at all times when the pressure befalls him to assume the mantle of a 'socialist' or any other kind of legislation) and all the 'Liberal' Whites and the 'reform' working for a State-owned economic mechanism. On the other hand, the 'practical' Federation folk and many of the higher overlords, too crafty to be organized in the only union that an organization as the 'Civic Federation,'—striving to create a 'union' of the 'business' which should be above and beyond the interference of either State or labor."

"In type No. 3, however—the proletarian group CAN own a little and are secure in it. There is no demand for our closest and sincerest attention, for there are historic examples of the danger of the Industrial Union wholly proletarian. "Even suppose that the Industrial Union wins, whether because the system was not ideally perfect, (as of course it never can be) or because men in the Foodstuffs and

changed its original color and intent, becoming perhaps the very instrument which it originally set out to destroy. Spartacus, the Church of Rome, the French Revolution, the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Independent Labor Party of England, etc., are examples of this.

I do not believe this is always to be so. To so believe is to be of doubtful, lack of faith, and to be hopeless. The program of the Social Democratic Party of Germany lies in our transformation of "officials," "administrators," or "functionaries" into workers; workers whose economic significance shall be neither more nor less than that of other workers in our society. To evolve such a type is no small task. It means an evolution in our whole mental attitude. It means a schooling of ourselves and of children to completely DIFFERENT MANNER OF VALUING MEN AND JOBS. It means a "systematizing" of economic functions in such a manner as to PROHIBIT the perpetuation of such innumerable of the types as exist today or the possibility of their appearance in the future.

Whether this is realizable or not it is difficult to determine. Certainly granting the eventual success of labor and its consequent seizure of economic control, such confrontations are not too soon for us to consider and to strive for its realization. I am by no means raising the question of "decentralization" (there must always be something to be centralized before this becomes important), but rather the problem of transferring bureaucratic functions into laboring functions. With either controlling or controlled, the distributive "ownership" this problem confronts us. The next paper will try to show how this is to be done.

NEW YORK CITY AND THE I. W. W. PATERSON NEEDS FUNDS SEATTLE, TAKE NOTICE FORD AND SUHR CONVICTED

(Continued From Page One) terminated by a majority vote. Any other course will cause dissension, friction and lack of mutual confidence. We must cooperate for the common good, and prevent its growth. Those I. W. W. men whose activity consists in constant wrangle on small matters and upon a peevish, petulant criticism of the organization, with entire forgetfulness of our aim, are consciously or unconsciously our worst enemies of our work. They block the road and frustrate the work of those who are trying to do a better job of a crime to impede and tear down what others with extreme sacrifice are constructing.

The New York I. W. W. has, according to our best information, been worried into a state of inaction by the stubborn, disruptive agitation of those who care more to force their own views or their pet theories to the forefront, irrespective of their intrinsic value. We must care for the welfare of the organization.

When the members come to the meetings and find the time taken up with such a nature, they become disappointed. They want to see effective, constructive work. They have joined. They gradually become disheartened and drop out. This cannot be allowed to continue. We must co-operate for our common aim, subordinating our personal likes and dislikes to the welfare of the whole, and trusting to the future for correction of the particular points of which we do not approve.

Having agreed to agree and pull together in the I. W. W. SOLIDARITY, the next question is how to attack the immense task on hand. If we had unlimited funds, the work would be easily solved. We would pay paid organizers to work in as many of our industries as possible, and resources are small. Whatever we undertake at the present time, it is largely based on voluntary efforts. These efforts, in order to do the most good, must be in accordance with a general plan decided upon beforehand. Otherwise there will be no systematic work and necessary force will be lacking.

It is to be hoped that a great number of the members of the I. W. W. respond to the invitation of the Marine Transport Workers and come to their hall on Monday, February 24, at 8 P. M. Then and there will be a splendid opportunity to come to a mutual understanding and devise ways and means. There are several industries which require immediate attention. One of all the Marine Transport Industry, in which we have the largest and most numerous units. Then there are J. E. points out, the needle workers, and, finally, hotel workers and many other industries. It is necessary that we get down to systematized, constructive work immediately. We have our hobbies and get into the harness. Let us make a grand effort to get the work done in the only union with a future, the I. W. W. Yours for organized action, John Sandgren

CONVENTION REPORT READY The stenographic report of the English Convention of the I. W. W. is ready for delivery. All orders on hand will be filled promptly. The book contains 164 pages, is well illustrated, printed. It includes the discussions on the various convention matters, resolutions, etc., in short, features a complete report of this interesting convention. It is necessary that we get down to systematized, constructive work immediately. We have our hobbies and get into the harness. Let us make a grand effort to get the work done in the only union with a future, the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau.

I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU

Revised List of Publications in Stock. Note the Reduced Prices on Literature Printed at New Castle

"ELEVEN BLIND LEADERS" B. H. Williams 82 page Pamphlet; 10c a copy; to Local Unions 5 1-2c.

"PATRIOTISM AND THE WORKER" Gustave Herve 82 page Pamphlet; 10c a copy; to Local Unions 5 1-2c.

"THE FARM LABORER & THE CITY WORKER" Edward McDonald 16 page Pamphlet; 5c a copy; to Local Unions 2 1-2c.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND THE I. W. W." By Vincent St. John 16 page Booklet, 2c a copy; to Local Unions 1c.

FOUR PAGE LEAFLETS

"IS THE I. W. W. ANTI-POLITICAL?" By Justus Ebert

"APPEAL TO WAGE WORKERS, Men and Women" By E. S. Nelson

"POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE I. W. W." By Vincent St. John

"UNION SCABS AND OTHERS" By Oscar Ameringer

"GETTING RECOGNITION" By A. M. Sturton

"WAR AND THE WORKERS" By Walker C. Smith

"TWO KINDS OF UNIONISM" By Edward Hammond

"THE EIGHT-HOUR WORKDAY; What it Will Mean And How To Get It" By August Walquist

Above Leaflets Sent Prepaid Upon Receipt of Price. 15c per 100; \$1.25 per 1,000

"APPEAL TO WAGE WORKERS," By E. S. Nelson. Swedish, Hungarian, Slovak; each 20c 100; \$1.60 1,000.

112 HAMILTON AVENUE CLEVELAND, O.

The Committee of Defense for Paterson prisoners finds itself under the necessity of making an appeal for funds. The revolutionists are always undertaking the impossible. We are in the habit of defending the indefensible against us we have an unholy alliance of courts, judges, laws, lawyers and money intent on landing the black jails of this commonwealth of New Jersey, any who rebel against in the terms of their lives and seek to fight their wrongs.

Construction and Marine Transport Workers Take Notice: The above locals are determined to push forward the principles of industrial unionism, here in the Seattle district, and we request the members to communicate with the Secretary of these locals. Write in, give us the conditions and everything in general where you are at in regards to the class struggle and what chance there is for the I. W. W. in your locality. Send your address and we will forward you all literature and will try to cooperate with you in the line of agitation, and organization.

On February 17th the appeal in the case of Frederick Summer Boyd, sentenced to jail for advising the workers in the Paterson mills to make their machines strike with them, will be argued in Trenton.

We are now our new quarters at 208 2nd Ave. South, upstairs, and in a very good location. All rebels must give us a visit. We are holding good hall meetings and when in the city make it a point to visit. (Construction workers' business meeting has been changed to Sunday afternoon at 1 o'clock. Marine Transport Workers' meet Wednesday evening, 7:30 o'clock. Address all communications to Harry A. LaBranch, Joint Secretary, Local Unions 382 and 252, Box 886, Seattle, Wash.

There is a healthy sentiment developing in the I. W. W. all over the country, in favor of ORGANIZATION. Forms and methods of organization are being discussed more than ever. Plans are being worked out for the formation of unions on THE spot. The bureau methods of the past are about played out. It is now time to BUILD. Get busy, militants!

Five thousand new readers for Solidarity obtained by 1,000 readers will look pretty good. Are YOU one of the 1,000? Send in \$3.00 for three yearly subs and secure a copy of "The Trial of a New Society" free.

THE \$1,000 FUND Total, Jan. 27. \$292.85 M. Michelson 2.00 M. Frank 1.25 Frank Bruhlik 1.00 E. B. M. 25.00 E. Rivo 2.00 Nick Van Luenen, collected 7.00 Wm. Beck .25 C. B. Baynard 1.50 W. H. Leary 2.00 C. Wm. Kress 4.00 J. Ebert 1.00 George Speed 1.00 W. H. Harshbarger 1.00 Tom Halero 1.05 A. Dunn 1.00 C. Miller .50 Unknown .15 John Fanksvitch .15 J. Snoots .50 F. Tannenbaum .50 F. L. Rhoda .65 C. Nicholson 1.00 W. D. Haywood .25 W. D. Haywood, collected 6.25 Total to Feb. 3. \$136.35

Those in charge of publicity in connection with defense cases, free speech for the I. W. W. world, should not fail to send weekly reports of what is done. Clippings from capitalist or labor papers are not a substitute. Write the story yourselves, from the standpoint of the organization. Persistent publicity is what counts.

Boost the thousand dollar fund. Boost the thousand dollar fund. Boost the thousand dollar fund.

Send in \$3.00 for three yearly subs and secure a copy of "The Trial of a New Society" free. Local 174, Oakland, Calif., has moved to 427 Eleventh street. M. Edwards is the secretary.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE I. W. W.

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