

# THE COAL STRIKE

## Starving Miners Battle For Better Conditions Against All The Forces of Capitalist Society.

(Special to Solidarity.)  
Rush Run, Pa. Sept. 29. Union men have been thrown into prison on fake charges; rebellious Eastern Ohio coal miners on strike have been prosecuted and persecuted by the despotic authority of barons of Jefferson county, with its most brutal deputy sheriff. Robber coal operators, with their craft union and business supporters, are at the bottom of this persecution.

For what are these miners being persecuted? For being active in the seven months long hunger coal strike (still on) trying to compel the coal barons to respect the Ohio "Run of Mine" law and give us a living wage annually, 47 cents per ton for machine, cutting, hand drilling, shooting and loading clean merchantable coal.

For believing that when one strikes, all should strike, and therefore not favoring when a strike is on, the protection of the coal company's mine property, and especially at the present time, when the coal operators have declared war against the miners and don't care about miners' property—their wives and children.

For being advocates of the One Big Industrial Union. (Please note that this coal strike has been a strike of the strong. We are U. M. W. of A.)

The official union which has fooled the strikers so often in the past, that the officials are now afraid among the striking miners. No strike benefits are forthcoming; there should be \$2 per week, thousands of strikers assembled, waiting no offers of any kind. Again: "What is the most radical answer?" "Well, there must be something radically wrong; strike on and on, and on, and on, and on, and on."

Local 16, U. M. W. of A. calls fellow worker J. E. Ector arrested for striking meetings. Ector arrested for striking meetings. Miners welcome him cheerfully. One, two, three more men on O. K. —more and more strikers keep coming to our meetings.

The rotten permit granted to shelve at its foundations. Its upholders awoke to the danger; they were promptly formed. Hundreds of hungry miners walked peacefully to the mining place in the coal town of Dillonvale, Ohio 18th. An attack was made upon them by the law and order men, but it failed. Meeting opened in front of the mine, given by the gang of citizens, business men, ex-supervisor, gunman, etc., supported by city police, who were with their dirty work. A riot takes place, yet they fail again to break up the meeting. Salute fellow Worker Ector for his splendid work in securing order and going on with the meeting.

After the meeting Ector is arrested—mut of \$2000 given for trial set June 23. On that date Ector's case is dismissed, but he is re-arrested, but is given and trial set for June 25. Date arrived. The authorities thought they had caught an enterprising man; they found their mistake—they met an intelligent and brave man. Ector was bound over to the grand jury on a \$1000 bond.

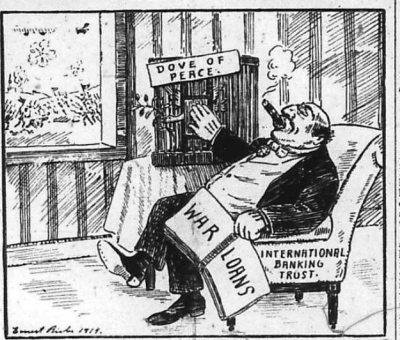
It must be noted that during the above procedure, thousands of striking miners, their wives and children, were with us the time. Open air mass meetings were held nearly every day, followed by great protest demonstrations, with one, two, sometimes three brass bands going along. This kind of thing was not done on not only at Dillonvale, but at other places in Jefferson and Belmont counties.

The city of Bellisle, Ohio, was the second center of our meetings. June 20th there were more than 10,000 people, assembled from surrounding mining camps, most of them marching to some more than ten miles to Bellisle. Never before have the coal towns of Dillonvale, Bellisle, Maynard and others witnessed such large assemblies.

Fellow Worker Ector left for New York. The work here went on peacefully, but the news from the other side were still on the job. A call was made for the state militia help us. The coal bosses with their supporters did all they could to start something.

On July 15 a riot took place at

# "NOT YET. IT STILL PAYS"



## THE NINTH N. W. CONVENTION

The Ninth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World convened in Hungarian Hall, 1917 Evergreen Avenue, Chicago, Ill., at 9:30 A.M., September 21st, 1914.

Twenty-five delegates were present. After the reading of the list of delegates, Fellow Worker G. H. Perry was elected temporary chairman, and a Credentials Committee nominated.

Convention adjourned until next morning. Also not so many delegates were present as at last year's gathering, those present seemed to be animated by a keen interest in the future of the organization. It was also noticeable that they were all typical specimens of the working-class man and woman, with some contempt for empty boasting and a marked preference for action.

The second day, after the report of the Credentials Committee, Fellow Worker G. E. B. Member was elected permanent chairman. The Constitution, Preamble and Ways and Means Committee were elected. Then followed the report of the PUBLISHING BUREAU. These reports were all handed over to their respective committees.

As the above mentioned documents will be considered by the convention when reported upon by the committees, in order to save repetition, the substance will then be given to our readers.

The Hungarian Hall is a fine building, the property of the organization, and of ample size. The pool-room provides a means of relaxation for the delegates during their leisure. Visitors have been few during the first two days.

Wednesday morning, Sept. 23rd, saw much larger numbers of visitors who turned up to witness the proceedings than hitherto. A photograph was taken of the delegates. Another suggestion in the Gen. Organizer's report which was unanimously rejected: there was evidently no overweening desire for newspaper fame among those assembled.

A resolution which met with instant and general approval was one to send telegrams to all those who are at present in jail in the name of labor.

A long discussion followed the fitting of the Credentials Committee on Resolution No. 2, submitted by Local 16, U. M. W. of A., Philadelphia. The Committee did not vote on the resolution, which was to be submitted to the convention. It should be split three ways by Local Industrial Unions, where there is a district committee, and by the Gen. Headquarters, there is to be a N. W. U. and five to the District Council.

Del. Baker of Philadelphia, M. T. U., proposed the resolution. He explained the need of organization in Philadelphia and the necessity of sufficient funds being raised by organizers. G. E. B. Member Little said the local advocating the split: "The time did not resist that they should not be the only place on the W. W. man." In many other localities and industry, the masses of workers, needing organization, Fellow Workers Nat. U. M. W. of A. and Herman, of 175, New York, both

# THE ANSWER IS BECAUSE THERE IS A REAL UNION IN BUTTE, AND IT MUST BE CRUSHED BY THE MASTERS.



## The Answer Is Because There Is a Real Union In Butte, and It Must Be Crushed By The Masters.

By Harrison George.  
Reader, have you ever seen the miners streaming up a hill, their long enameled-wear dinner pails in hand; or watched them stream down again, thronging Park, Main and the other streets that comprise the real section of the copper city?

Further up the hill and far-ranging around it's crest tower the shaft-heads, buttressed by walled-in grimy mine buildings and flanked by huge piles of waste. Night and day this mountain alternately swallows and vomits forth the toilers which through its modern city below makes possible its paved streets, its tall structures an wide show-windows filled with commodities from the world markets.

Today one still sees the same night, the busy streets, the men, the mines and smoke cloud floating over them. But, something standing on the corner, he catches the eye and fills the soul of one with a feeling of being a part of it. The "something" is "yellow-leg," a militia man, guardian of law and order, upholder of the flag, defender of the faith in private property, a sort of cross between a ruler and a rattle-drummer.

Behold the "Ruler of Butte!" And there he sits in the enclosure and secreted about the city, hundreds of gunmen, imported by the Amalgamated Copper Co. to keep the peace. Today one still sees the same night, the busy streets, the men, the mines and smoke cloud floating over them. But, something standing on the corner, he catches the eye and fills the soul of one with a feeling of being a part of it.

When the W. F. M. committed suicide in Butte, and the funeral procession presided by Moyer was followed by the rufes fired over the grave by the miners June 22nd; the people of Butte satiated down to hum-drum life again and all was as in the old days. The violence was born among the Butte miners that was no fake union, pie-crad creation of the copper trust.

For two months it grew in power and numbers. It formulated methods for the protection of miners, for the "adjustments," something the Mine Law Trust could not do. It is its collective might and bold orders that they could and couldn't and they were W. F. M. and the operators who controlled the miners heretofore through terror.

For two months the copper company...

## FIGHT BREAKS OUT IN DES MOINES

(Special to Solidarity.)  
Des Moines, Iowa, Sept. 27. The expected happened last night. Fellow Workers "Sco" Findlay, Charles Austin, Mark Thompson, Jerome Baker, and Guy Storm (alias Billy Sully) were arrested without a permit and obstructing.

Five men arrested meant five trips for the electric chair. The street was filled with a mob of a thousand people for several hours, and several of the scoundrel fraternity were also picked for their mouths open too long and with too much loudness.

The five arrested means almost the sum total of our available organizing forces have the help of all footloose rebs at once. Don't be slow, boys. Don the crowd make a corral your net "rest" and hurry to the "City of Certainties." The plates will be certain to be taken off your backs if you all make a bee-line this way.

These five men who can't come, rest, eat and smoke, and send your money to the rebs in the fight with the rods and grab the blind. Owing to the fact that Des Moines has no large industries, we have no chance to organize on the job. It must be done through an active organizing campaign. The workers must be organized. Several limited today and others are only waiting for pay.

Come on now, fellow workers! The Des Moines of the plates before it gets red. Signed by seven fellow workers of the Free Speech Committee.

## GUGGENHEIM SEES BIG BOOM FOR U. S.

William Guggenheim, the noted mining expert and economist, in an interview for the newspaper, declared the war in Europe should make New York City the financial center of the world.

"The war should be called Europe's Economic War," he said. "It was the result of a financial war which is strongest financially will win. The effect upon the American economy. It should make New York City the financial center of the world."

"A period of re-adjustment, decrease in prices of securities, and curtailment of industrial and social expenditures, however, must be expected first before the United States can benefit from the war."

"The war was born of trade rivalry. It is not a racial or social rivalry. In our American cities, peace and order are the watchwords of the German who would stir up race hatred for their own dynastic ends."

"Let us remember that it has been estimated that Europe holds five billion dollars of American bonds and bonds—railroad, industrial and municipal securities."

"The United States will be compelled to buy back a large part of these securities before the war is over. It is a matter of time. This chance of opportunity should not be attempted through the market. This chance of opportunity should be properly supported."

John F. Miller is the new secretary of Local 40 I. W. M. Address, Box 962, Minneapolis, Minn.

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# SOLIDARITY

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INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF  
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R. H. WILLIAMS

Managing Editor

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#### GENERAL OFFICERS

Vincent St. John, Gen. Sec'y-Treas. J. W. Kelly, F. H. Little, J. M. Foss,  
Wm. D. Hayward, Gen. Organizer Ewald Koettgen, C. H. Edwards

## QUICK ACTION NECESSARY!

### SOLIDARITY IS ONCE MORE IN DANGER!

The financial slump, expected in June and July did not arrive until the middle of August. We were congratulating ourselves at the end of July with one of the best month's receipts in the history of the institution. Then the slump started, simultaneously with the opening of the European war, and receipts have been going down with increased rapidity to date. We have passed the DANGER LINE, and are strictly up against it. Bundle orders have declined materially, following the best average year of our existence; literature sales have declined to a low minimum, after also having been the best ever; and individual subs. more than usual, this time of year, seem hard to get.

**THIS SITUATION, which we believe is temporary, MUST NEVERTHELESS BE MET AT ONCE!** Our only resource is the THOUSAND DOLLAR FUND. That fund has reached only \$600 since it was started in January. The amount is not large, but it saved our life the first of the year; and its completion in the next few weeks will do so again.

**BUT YOU REBELLS MUST ACT, AND ACT PROMPTLY.** We cannot meet paper and linotype bills, rent and other necessary expenses, to say nothing of the meager wages paid the four men necessary to run the shop, and save our credit—UNLESS YOU COME TO THE RESCUE AT ONCE!

Any delay is dangerous! Act immediately, and send in your contributions, **IF YOU WISH SOLIDARITY TO CONTINUE!** Use your imagination on what will happen should SOLIDARITY and the Literature Bureau go out of existence. Then get busy!

## A Distinction Among Capitalists

Financial "experts," writing some two weeks ago for New York papers, stated that if Germany secured another war loan, she would have to raise it in Germany, as outside bankers were indisposed to aid the Kaiser any longer on the war any longer. In other words, the international bankers were with the allies and against Germany. This "expert" opinion was a few days later confirmed by the report that Germany had raised a billion dollar war loan through private subscription from the German people. The bankers were thus unexpectedly rebuked for their desertion of one set of capitalists in favor of another.

This brings up for observation a suggestive subject, pertaining to the distinction between the employing capitalist and the labor financier. We are not accustomed to this distinction, in labor circles; we are in the habit of lumping all capitalists together, without perceiving any distinctions. But the "role of the banker" or "financial capitalist" is somewhat different, as is likewise his psychology, from that of the "employing capitalist." The former is often dubbed a "pirate," which appellation is as fitting as any we can think of just now. The banker or financier is not in direct contact with industry. His function is that of a speculator or gambler in the stocks, bonds, mortgages and other "securities" needful with which to "float" industrial enterprises. We can imagine an "employing capitalist" conceiving some great engineering enterprise, for example, like the Panama Canal, and working out the details through personal observation guided by acquired technical knowledge. We can imagine this great enterprise as an absorbing passion of this particular type of capitalist, with whom profit and labor-exploitation are means to the end only. The brain of such a capitalist is that of an organizer, a builder, a creator. But we cannot imagine any such creative vision in a mere "banker." We can only imagine the latter's viewing this proposed creation of some great engineering work with an eye single to "six per cent" or more if possible. His "acquisitive" faculty only is aroused to activity; he does not grow enthusiastic over the wonderful conquest of nature difficult by science. Before he advances the necessary "capital" he must be made to see that the "dream" is "practical" and that its realization can be turned into dividends. Otherwise the world and all its achievements may go to the bottom of the sea. The "financier" is interested only in his pound of flesh.

And often enough, through the machinations of the "bankers," the world of enterprise seems headed for the sea-bottom, all right. For instance, a J. P. Morgan may engineer a \$35,000,000 "loan" against the New Haven Railroad, by inflating worthless stocks, and then allow the rolling stock of the New Haven to deteriorate to the extent of "putting the road on the bum," leaving to "capitalists with a vision" the task of putting it on its feet again—necessitating increased traffic rates and more intense exploitation of the slaves to rebuild the road—if indeed some other Morgan doesn't put it on the bum again before the job is completed. Thus we see the "bankers" stirring up the mud from the bottom of the pond, and "fishing in the troubled waters" of speculation in wealth-creation or wealth-destruction is equally in order for a "financial genius."

This brings us to the European war. It is doubtful if any "creative capitalist" outside of creators of war materials viewed the possibility of war other than with alarm. They must have perceived beforehand the suicidal industrial possibilities of such a conflict. They must have felt as if their forty years' work of "building" had been in vain. They could have no delight in seeing the work of their "brain and enterprise" ruthlessly

(trampled into the dust by the war demon. Not so the "banker," however. His piratical vision evidently beheld an additional "six per cent" accruing to him from war-debts. He saw floating before his eyes more bond issues, more securities, representing more blood-tribute upon the useful enterprises that must needs come back to life following the war. He saw little to lose meantime, (unlike old-time pirates he did not even need to risk his own precious life), and much to gain in the future. "His surplus acquisitions at the gaming-table could be disposed of to advantage in extending the future "scope of operations" of the "game."

Possibly, however, these financial pirates have made some slight mistake in their calculations. They probably figured on a short war. "Germany must be licked, after she has inflicted just enough damage upon our allies. We will finance Germany for a couple of months, and then turn our financial guns against her." That is how it appeared, in view of this "war loan" talk. But now Germany raises a loan of a billion dollars by subscription from her "patriotic citizens," which may keep her machine in order for some months longer. The "vaunting ambition" of "our bankers" may "overreach itself" and result in an unexpected loss of swag. Some "treasure ships" may go down in the storm before the pirates have a chance to reach and overhaul them. There may possibly be a limit even to "financial genius." With all Germany apparently in a desperate state of mind, this speculation of financiers in wealth-destruction through a world-war may reduce the "interest rate" from "six per cent" to something near zero. Or, possibly, the bankers may call off their dogs in time to prevent disaster to themselves and allow German industry and commerce to limp back to life. In any event, the "role of the banker" spells world-wide wealth-destruction with a view to future dividends for the financiers only. Only an industrially united working class can put an end to this game forever.

## Merchants & Manufacturer's Ass'n.

### Versus A. F. of L. Craft Unionism

In Stockton the M. M. & E.,—it's misery and starvation. Which do you want, slavery or industrial freedom? If slavery, you will surely get it through your obsolete A. F. of L. craft union. If industrial freedom, join the I. W. W. The I. W. W. bases its existence on the philosophy that the working class should take up by itself to extract and operate the machinery of production. Therefore, being able to build and operate a machine, the working class considers itself able to handle what profit may accrue from the machine. The M. M. & E. takes the stand that, having the might, legal right, or the divine right of God, or whatever else it may be, they should receive all that is produced by the workers.

The walking delegate of the M. M. & E. visited Fresno last week in their endeavor to organize the merchants and employers of labor in this town to get into the industrial strife with their help. The local press has gone into hysterics over it, and following are some extracts from editorials appearing in the Fresno Morning Republican:

"The M. M. & E. claims to have won in Stockton, to the extent of having established the non-union shop in Stockton. They claim and earnestly believe that the one way and the only way in which the labor question can be finally settled, is by the complete domination of the organized employing class over a disorganized laboring class."

Craft union workers of California, take notice. Is your organization able to withstand an attack like this?

Can it raise funds to supply you with the sinews of war while you peacefully picket the shop and have yourself sent to jail? You know in your own heart that it cannot win in this way over the M. M. & E., which have the treasury of the national M. M. & E. to back them up. Your efforts against them will be like a flea trying to kill a lion; they will only push you aside like the lion pushes aside the flea.

Again in another editorial of the Fresno Republican you find: "Each side believes that there is not enough for both, and that it must take all, and if both are right then there is nothing to do but let them fight it out between the M. M. & E. and the I. W. W. One means slavery, the other means industrial freedom."

Worker, stop and think a little and ponder over the above before we go any further. Remember, this appeared in a capitalist sheet, not in an industrial union paper.

"Each believes that there is not enough for both." Workers, there is not enough for both and you know it as well as anybody. You work from eight to ten hours a day for from \$2.25 to \$4.00 a day, while he a parasite wears out the seat of his pants laughing over the fool that you are.

You, the worker, produce all wealth; he the parasite takes all.

You, the worker, live in a shack, while he the parasite lives in a mansion.

You, the worker, starve, while he the parasite lives in luxury.

Where do you come in?

What is your fair day's work for a fair day's pay? Analyze it and

let me know what it is. I'll tell you its misery and starvation.

Which do you want, slavery or industrial freedom? If slavery, you will surely get it through your obsolete A. F. of L. craft union. If industrial freedom, join the I. W. W. The I. W. W. bases its existence on the philosophy that the working class should take up by itself to extract and operate the machinery of production. Therefore, being able to build and operate a machine, the working class considers itself able to handle what profit may accrue from the machine. The M. M. & E. takes the stand that, having the might, legal right, or the divine right of God, or whatever else it may be, they should receive all that is produced by the workers.

Surely the capitalist mind is queer; he desires nothing and yet wants to take all, while the worker who produces all should get nothing.

Workers, is there room for both? You know there is not.

Of what use is the capitalist to society, a mankind that produces nothing yet wants all!

Workers, of what use is an organization to you that wants a fair day's work for a fair day's pay? What is a fair day's work? What is a fair day's pay? Define it for me; I cannot. There does a fair day's pay exist in which you produce all and get nothing?

There is only one solution and that is the abolition of the wage system. With it goes the abolition of capitalism and its wrongs. With it come your rights, your happiness and your homes.

All craft union men of Fresno and other cities of California, the M. M. & E. is coming to your towns one at a time and will drive your organizations to ruins. How can you resist unless you stand the constant drain of funds against the M. M. & E.? Your Internationals have no help for you. If they assess the workers of other states for your battles here they will lose their membership and the official's pie-card will slip from their grasp.

There is one way to meet the M. M. & E. in battle and only one. That is in an industrial union organized in such a way that it will consider an injury to one worker an injury to all workers; that it will not consider it necessary to notify the boss before going on strike; and last and most important of all, will not consider it necessary to walk off a job or out of a factory to strike, but stay on the job and carry on the strike while you work, on every piece of work you do.

Workers, if you have an union of this class. There will be no necessity of organizing another, for its membership does all of its own dictating in all of its fights.

Join the only INDUSTRIAL UNION for the class conscious worker to join.

Craft union men get busy. Organize your might. Join the I. W. W. Abolish your craft lines and you will be better able to meet your masters in whatever form of organization they may devise on the industrial field, where your battles are fought.

E. S. CAREY.

## Internationalism And War

There is much speculation as to the probable results of the war in Europe. It is generally conceded and every day brings out the fact more clearly, that the European war is primarily an economic war, with semi-feudalism and its attendant militarism as a secondary factor. Furthermore it is becoming ever more apparent that on the economic resources of the nations involved will the termination of the war depend; so that the war is economic in means as well as in origin.

After the war, what then? Will the economic principles that caused it remain inactive? Will there be no more struggles for markets? No more "expansion"? No more international commerce, finance, travel, communication, etc., with their tendencies to destroy national boundaries? Before the war men thought in terms of world-industry and labored in that industry. Now, with the war raging fiercely and their one thought is to get back to this condition as the normal one. They want to plan, contract, produce and transport with reference to distant countries and distant peoples. They deplore the strife that makes this impossible, deride it as uncivilized and barbarous, and otherwise labor, as did the international bankers, to bring the war to an end. Here we have a condition that promises much. With international capitalists laboring for peace for most of international proletarianism may we not behold them laboring for the same object and with the same reasons more strenuously when the war is over? When the war is over nationalism, as an interruptive factor, in international profit-making, is likely to be combated and broken down, more than it is palling waste of capital which it imposes on all capitalist countries. Already do financiers express the belief that the European war, because of its costliness, will result in dismemberment thus turning the vast areas that are now spent non-productively into productive industry. We may rest assured that they will use all their influence to bring such a condition of affairs to pass, as being most conducive to their profit.

With such prospects for a renewal of world-industry and a toning down of nationalism, what can be said of a world-proletariat? If this proletariat was already in process of development before the war, is it not likely to flourish still more strongly after the war, especially when, on second thought, the workers realize more keenly than ever before the cost of the war to them, their class, and their ideals? And may we not believe that internationalism, as a working class manifestation, will exist more markedly after than before the war? Those who boast that working class internationalism has expired, have made that claim at a time when capitalist internationalism has expired. When that goes the other will follow.

Of course, the war will not only have international but also national effects. There can be no doubt that the reason for American capitalism's alignment with England is the great indebtedness to the latter. Both English and French capital have contributed to the upbuilding of this country. Especially has England been the great lender to America. These facts are manifesting themselves in the domestic ultra-financial preparation for the liquidation of American securities, which has already begun. From 3 to 5 billions of dollars are involved. Already do financial experts advise American shareholders to prepare for depreciation and re-adjustment; in other words, for "a shake down" and "a freeze out," to use the vernacular of the day. The same gentlemen suggest thrift and economy to others than shareholders, namely, the working class; in fact, food substitutes of all kinds and courses in cheap food-buying and cooking are offered for sale and advocated throughout the country. The latter is, to all intents and purposes, a means of making possible the enormous task of the ultra-financiers.

It is not likely that this moulding process will proceed peacefully, in fact, the middle class is already up in arms against it, as in middle class reverses due to the war. The working class in its tactics of the financiers. They are clamoring against the hoarding of reserves by the banks; a process which is severest where the South, for instance. This clamor has led to federal action, which does not touch the biggest banks nor leave the general policy very much altered. The working class is beginning to feel the pinch, too. During the first six months of this year, over 50,000 families were evicted in New York city. The indications are that the second six months will see twice that number put out of "house and home," unless a new and more radical movement helps them there. One of the leading morning papers declares that next to food the housing problem is the greatest that confronts the metropolis at the present time.

It is not likely that these tendencies to depreciate, i. e., confiscate, the wealth of the middle class will proceed without disorders of various kinds ensuing. A food riot has already occurred in Providence, R. I. With the advent of winter and more unemployment other cities will be heard from in the same key. In fact, the outlook is not of the best.

Under the circumstances, discontent and unrest will widely prevail. These will insure a ready hearing for I. W. W. propaganda and organization; and enable us to bring the workers of this country abreast of the international proletarian movement. In a word, the European war is making for American revolution. The latter is now going on, silently but most profoundly.

J. E.

## THE ADVANCING PROLETARIAT

Our new pamphlet just issued, entitled "The Advancing Proletariat," by Albert E. Woodruff, is having a large sale. We have received many approval by those who have read it. Quite a few have written to us, stating that it is in the opinion of the best pamphlet yet published.

The pamphlet, "The Advancing Proletariat" and "Proletarian Organization" are particularly good. The splendid design on the cover of the pamphlet an interesting touch which makes the sale of it easy when shown.

Everyone knows the time. Get the new issue of the I. W. W. Song Book. Just out. Price 10 cents. Order from I. W. W. Publishing Bureau.

## To The Rescue

Toledo, Ohio.  
To the readers of Solidarity:  
We had better wake up and build a powerful I. W. W. press or very soon we will be a hell of a fix, worse than the one that Europe is at the present time. Get busy boys. On for the \$1,000 fund! And a Six Page Solidarity. Here is a boost.  
Nestor Dondoglio, Local 85, Chicago.

Try spending an hour in the evening to secure a new yearly sub.

Watch Your Number

EACH subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the paper or wrapper enclosing SOLIDARITY. For instance, if that number you see is 247, that means your sub-expired last week, and you should re-subscribe at once. THIS IS NUMBER . . . 247

# COLLAPSE OF THE "INTERNATIONAL"

From "The Spur", London, Eng.

The Socialists of Europe have been tried the workers of the world in the present capitalist death conflict. The Syndicalists of France have united with the Social Democrats of Germany to deluge Europe with proletarian blood. Disciples of Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue, have made good the insistent 1893 boast of the Parti Ouvrier Francais that they would defend the French Republic against the neighboring monarchies, against any Government which endangered European peace. France once attacked was to have more ardent defenders than the Socialists of the Parti Ouvrier! Two years before this patriotic outburst was made at Paris, Wilhelm Liebknecht declared at Barmen that if Germany were attacked, and to repulse an aggressor, Social Democrats were ready to defend their country. More recently, Bebel declared in the Reichstag, that, in this event, he gave his word for it, all Social Democrats from the youngest to the oldest would be ready to take a rifle upon their shoulders, and march upon the enemy. This is what has happened actually—with, may be, a few honorable exceptions.

Once Gustave Herve ridiculed the idea of Bebel, on the one side, and Jaures, on the other, each with a rifle, making common cause with their respective national exploiters, and dying on the battlefield, one for the German country, the other for the French country. To-day, despite his falling eyesight, and forty-three years, Herve, at his own request, has gone to the front to defend his fatherland. The much impetioned opponent of patriot Socialism is himself a patriot Socialist.

Not long since Jaures, was permitted to proclaim, in the Chamber of Deputies, his affection for democratic Germany, and to call to its upholders, "Vive l'Allemagne." Wendell replied in the Reichstag, to democratic France with, "Vive la France." The two orators exchanged the greetings of seven million followers. Those seven million are divided into opposing murder camps, disciplined and directed by their capitalist enemies. Every man among these seven million sorrowed at Jaures' death, when a madman killed him at the beginning of the present war. Over four million, were pledged to kill him, had he lived and taken the field, as they are pledged to kill their comrade, Herve. All belong to the International, the failure and shame of which is upon them.

In 1912, Karl Liebknecht captured Potsdam, the Kaiser's seat, for the red republic. Liebknecht is imprisoned if not executed. His electors are shedding their blood in defense of the black eagle.

During "red week" of March 1913, the German Social Democratic Party gained 148,108 new members, most of whom are now serving the Kaiser. It secured 32,298 new subscribers, none of whom have hesitated to rally to the German flag. It held 41,969 agitation meetings, which offered no menace to the ruling patriotism. It made house to house canvass in 4,288 cities and towns, besides distributing 6,759,820 and selling 1,582,010 books and pamphlets. Every man canvassed, every recipient of a free leaflet, every purchaser of a book or pamphlet, is either serving, preparing to serve, or wishing to serve the murder lords of his country.

When the present war broke out, two waiters, who had been stalwart comrades for years in London, were called to the colors. One was a German and the other French. They shook hands and wished each other luck, when parting at the railway station for their respective fatherlands—we mean step-mothers! What an eloquent acknowledgment, indeed, of imbecile, impotent good-will! In what did it differ from the attitude of Herr Haase, when announcing, in the Reichstag, that the Social Democratic Party would vote the war-credit, and their French brothers worked for peace, and added, "We find ourselves in war, and menaced with foreign invasion of our soil. It is no longer a

question of the cause of the war, but of studying the means of defending our frontiers." On this account, the French and English parties also voted their country's respective war-credit. In each country, the workers believing their organization to be more radical than that of the workers in other countries, united with their governments, to conserve imaginary liberties, and so to destroy all labor organization. So much will appear if we consider the effect of the Balkan war of 1912 upon the workers and their organization in five of the countries engaged in the present war—

1.—AUSTRIA: Severe poverty and unemployment. Of the 30,000 members secured by the Central Federation of Austrian International Trade Unions, in the first half of 1912, only 14,984 remained at the end of the year. 8,476 Old members left the organizations.

2.—BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: Placed under martial law, May to August, 1913. All Trade Union organizations dissolved.

3.—SERBIA: Trade Union membership fell off. Ten strikes interrupted. Trade Union strikes suspended. Fear entertained that masses of newly acquired territories—who lived in most indescribable misery—would flood labor market in their search for bread, and render the Serbian workers' position more difficult and more arduous.

4.—HUNGARY: Economic life crippled. Thousands without bread. Distress terrible to witness by the beginning of 1913.

5.—BULGARIA: July 1st, immediately before hostilities, Trade Union membership, over 4,845. Considerably higher on the day of mobilization. War ended all that. Membership abandoned during that, since the entire male population from 20 to 46 were on the battlefield. Entire Central Administration of Trade Unions there. Federation Secretary, Sider Teodorov, taken to hospital wounded. Remained there all and June, 1913.

6.—RUSSIA: Economic life of people at a standstill, Trade Club buildings closed or made into military depots. No freedom of press, no right of meeting. The total number of trades-unionsists in these countries were 670,701, and some of whom, like Teodorov, claimed to have broad Socialist tendencies. All were affiliated through the International Federation of Trade Unions, but not one raised a single objection to the despotism of their Government. So long as the Servian Government with the Bulgarian Administration, 8,837 Servian trade unionists fought shoulder to shoulder with 10,000 Bulgarian ones. When King Peter of Servia proclaimed his "brothers and allies" of Bulgaria as enemies, the 8,337 attacked the 10,000. Such is the outlook of Trade Unions.

The total number of trades-unionists concerned in the present conflict is 8,558,363, all affiliated—with the exception of Russia—to one International Federation. On the side of the five allies we have 4,575,728; on that of the German alliance, 3,979,635. These figures are made up as follows:

THE FIVE ALLIES.	
Great Britain	5,028,173
France	1,004,413
Russia	240,000
Belgium	231,805
Servia	8,837
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,575,728</b>

THE GERMAN ALLIANCE.	
Germany	3,817,271
Austria	584,811
Hungary	111,996
Bosnia	5,587
Bulgaria	10,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,979,555</b>

If these opposing armies have some things to gain from the conflict, some rights in their respective countries to defend or protect against invasion, how comes it that they are linked up in an international organization, and speak of capitalism as the common enemy? Why did not each

unionist set the splendid example of choosing death at the hands of the brutal rulers of his country rather than march against comrades of his class? Had not Servia on the one side, and Austria, Hungary, Bosnia and Bulgaria on the other, had enough experience of war, for 3,337 unionists of the one country to declare to fight the combined 662,864 unionists of the four? What induced the 1,906,413 organized workers of France to march obediently on their affiliated 3,817,271 brothers of Germany? What had the latter to protect against the former? Since we know so well the conditions obtaining in this island we will omit Great Britain from the discussion, and merely set out the labor conditions, obtaining in the other conflicting nations—

THE ALLIES

FRANCE: 1. Anti-Militarist agitation suppressed continually. Police officer appears on Socialist meeting platform. No right of street meeting. Strike overcomes by declaration of martial law. All engaged to murder strikers during industrial unrest. Political demonstrations charged down by cavalry. 2. Under the Millerand-Berry Law. All young people under twenty years of age, who engage in anti-militarist or political propaganda, or strike meetings, are sent, first, to three months imprisonment, or receive an equivalent sentence. They are sent, on coming up for military service, to join regiments in Africa, reserved for those "expelled" from the army. This amounts to virtual imprisonment and exile. It means that armed assaults, burglary, and hooliganism, are less punishable than Socialist and Trade Union propaganda.

RUSSIA: Trade Union organization suppressed continually. Political demonstrators—from nihilists to Liberal Reformers—hanged, tortured and imprisoned. Trusting, unarmed, poverty-stricken peasants, who sought to petition the Czar, were murdered in St. Petersburg, on bloody Sunday, January 22, 1905. In the very day, when the Czar first interfered in the Austro-Hungarian quarrel with Servia, troops were firing on workers in St. Petersburg. 100,000 men were on strike. Barricades were thrown up in the streets. The Nicholas Railway and train service were both held up. Five workers were killed, and eight wounded in one conflict. Fighting continued until midnight all over the city, and other casualties were reported. Porcelain works were closed down, telegraph poles destroyed and wires cut.

BELGIUM: Movement as in England. Many strikes. Powerful Trade Union Press. Opposed to a vigorous and strongly centralized society of capitalists.

SERBIA: One generation of workers after another go miserably to the ground. Prior to the Balkan War breaking out, the Servian employers mercilessly attacked the Trade Union organizations. Since then continual doses of martial law have played havoc with them. The Metal-Workers' Federation conducted a number of strikes in 1912, biggest being in Belgrade. It lasted six weeks, the employers striking 23,970 on that time, to defeat the strikers. The Trade Unions of State shoemakers suffered vigorous financial opposition, and political persecution. Factories are modern, and fitted out with the newest and most scientific plants, but without any hygienic institutions. Mechanical registers are attached to the electric looms for the purpose of recording the amount of work produced, but there is no ordinary ventilation. Great unemployment prevailed at the beginning of 1913.

THE ALLIANCE.

GERMANY: 1. As in France. 2. Overtures made in 1912 to the Government, by the Conservative Party, to limit further the rights of combination on the part of the workers. Strike-breakers to be protected, and Trade Union organizations to be prohibited from picketing. Under the special regulations of paragraph 153 of the Industrial Law, for minor offenses usually punishable with a

small fine, a striker is sent to a long term of imprisonment.

AUSTRIA: Conditions as in Belgium or England. Considerable social-political legislation, including Sunday rest laws, and workers' insurance acts.

HUNGARY: Prior to the outbreak of the Balkan war, the employers bitterly attacked the workers' organizations. Universal suffrage agitation sidetracked by a Franchise Reform swindle. Out of 500,000 industrial workers eligible for organization 100,000 were organized.

Miners have ridden. No stranger allowed to speak to them. Every mine occupied by police, whose first duty is to see that no education is conveyed to the workers. Meetings are permitted only by the will of judges in the pay of the mining companies. All notices of intended meetings are ignored by them, and the workers handing in such notices are dismissed as "dangerous agitators." Educational matter addressed to miners is returned to senders by the post-office, which refuses to deliver it.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: All struggles for the right of combination meet with brutal opposition from the Austrian military power. The average wage of the worker is 3s. 4d. per day, but the bulk of them earn less than 1s. 8d. The hours per day of those engaged in industrial pursuits, are as follows: 50,000, ten to eleven; 8,600, nine; and 1,480, eight to eight-and-a-half.

BULGARIA: See Austria. Boasts a Central Democratic Party, which entertains hopes of establishing a federalist Balkan Republic, as a step towards Socialism.

The workers of the above countries allowed their rifles to force the rifles into their slavish hands—to use in defense of what? Their rights? Before the war broke out they enjoyed none. Now, even their power to assert any has been broken. Well did they know that, who let loose the dogs of war. Had the workers given no heed to the national drapings of their chains, but decided, if fight they must, to fight for their abolition, Kaiserism would have been slain in Berlin, and Czarism in Republican, but social republican, Paris. Now every battle in which the workers participate, however it may affect governing class interests, rivets the more firmly the chains that bind the victors and the vanquished—in so far as they belong to the working class.

One remedy presented—one way of ending the conspiracy of patriotic folly: the social revolution. Each worker shirked its application because every worker lacked Socialist convictions. Not one believed the class war to be a fact, having international and even anti-national political and social consequences. Therefore the Austrian wage-slaves refused to revolt against the Imperial pretensions of their rulers; the Bosnian proletariat against the same Vienna despots; the Servian against the Belgrade assassins. Yes; all the talk about the powerful revolutionary movement in Russia is so much lying, and the Trade-unions of France, Germany, and England are jingo sheep, devoted to their devourers—the capitalist shepherds.

What then is the remedy? This—for capitalist war as for capitalist peace, nihilism of theory and of action; the mental repudiation of reform, the final appeal to class-action, to the fundamental social violence of the revolution. Our task is to point the way.

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FRANK CADY, Sec'y.  
Portland I. W. W.  
P. S.—This week's issue, No. 89, will not come out. The reason is the lack of funds to pay printer.  
Any member having a copy of the Industrial Worker for the year 1912, containing words and music of the song, "Freedom, Tolaers," is requested to forward the same to the General Office, Chicago, Ill.

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