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CONVENTION REPORT

MONDAY, SEVENTH DAY.

The proposition of reducing the per capita tax, which has been so much discussed for the past two years in the West, was one of the most important matters disposed of during this busy day. After a long discussion, several propositions to reduce the per capita, to increase it, and to refer the various proposals to the general membership, were all voted down, and the per capita tax left as it is.

Other important matters settled were the propositions of starting a sort of "rogues gallery" card index system to keep tab on all the fakirs and disrupters made and outside of the I. W. W., so that the games of these slicksters can be nipped in the bud when they try them on the organization; and the decision to move the national headquarters to some smaller town.

The principal argument used in favor of this latter proposition was that the general office could better protect itself in a small town than in a large city, where in case of a big labor revolt the first thing likely to be attacked by the enemy would be the general office and its records. In a small place, on the contrary, other forces besides the local I. W. W. itself, could be gathered together in time of need for purposes of protection; while at the same time it would be easier to foresee an impending raid or attack on the effects of the organization. No particular city has yet been specified as a place for the new headquarters.

A considerable stir was caused by a motion to cut out the "The Editors of the Song Book" several of the I. W. W. songs, including "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum." After a battle royal, in which Secretary St. John delivered a fine eulogy of the famous "bum song," an amendment to the motion carried to leave the song book as it is.

TUESDAY, EIGHTH DAY.

Of the many propositions handed this day, there were four of particular interest:

1. Motion to have propositions placed on referendum ballot which have a one-third minority vote in convention. This was amended to a three-sevenths minority, but was voted down.

2. A motion to strike out date of May 1, 1912 in eight hour agitation, was carried. On invitation Fellow Worker J. P. Thompson spoke on this matter and pointed out the impossibility of making a success of the agitation in its present form on such short notice. He recommended that a systematic course of educational propaganda on the eight hour day proposition be carried on by strikers; and, when the advantages of the shorter workday are generally known and the wage left for us to set a date for its conquest. This course of tactics was endorsed by the convention in striking out the date.

3. A motion to limit to five the number of votes any one delegate may carry was lost. This motion arose over the fact that the delegate of the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers was permitted to carry 19 votes, thus virtually giving him the balance of power on any important question.

4. The practice of writing personal letters attacking, without proof, other members, which has had an unpleasant development of late in the I. W. W., was severely condemned by the convention and members requested to refrain from it.

WEDNESDAY, NINTH DAY.

After a morning of routine work the convention adjourned on the 9th day in honor of the Haymarket martyrs, who were murdered by the capitalists class for their devotion to the working class. A visit was paid to their grave, over which has been erected a beautiful monument inscribed with August Spies' prophetic utterance,

which has already been fulfilled: "The day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today." No speech making or demonstration was held.

THURSDAY, TENTH DAY.

The per capita tax proposition was again resurrected by Delegate Johnson who moved the matter be settled by referendum. After a very lengthy discussion the motion was again voted down.

The convention then proceeded to the nomination and election of officers. The following nominees go on the referendum ballot for general officers and editors of the official organs:

General Secretary—Vincent St. John, Thomas Whitehead.
General Organizer—Wm. E. Trautmann, James P. Thompson.

Editor Solidarity—B. H. Williams.
Editor Industrial Worker—Walker C. Smith, W. Z. Foster, F. W. Heslewood.
The following were elected members of the General Executive Board: Gros. Speed, J. J. Eitor, Thomas Halero, F. H. Little; the fifth member, the G. E. B. representing the National Union of Textile Workers to be named by them.

A motion was made and carried, that the Industrial Workers of the World go on record as inviting all members and supporters to go on a general strike on the day the McNamara trial is held.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, the Brotherhood of Timber Workers has been having continual struggles with the capitalist class, and has succeeded to some extent in teaching the spirit of revolt to some of the workers of the South, and
"Whereas, the aforesaid Brotherhood, through its delegates to this convention, has expressed an interest in the principles of industrial unionism and an interest in the welfare of our organization; therefore be it

"Resolved, that we, the delegates of the Sixth annual convention of the I. W. W. here assembled express fraternal greetings to the Brotherhood, and wish that they will meet with nothing but success in helping to free the workers from wage slavery; and be it further

"Resolved, that we will give them in this work."

George Speed in a few words urged the delegates from the West and the Pacific Coast to emphasize everywhere the necessity of organizing the loggers and lumbermen in that district.

After these matters were disposed of, the convention adjourned by making the historic hall—in which the old American Railway Union was formed and later disbanded—ring with the strains of "The Red Flag" and "The International."

One of the most noteworthy features of this convention has been the general getting acquainted which took place—not only of men with men but also of men with measures. Many came with war in their eyes, unquestionably determined to fight at the drop of the hat, who have had their ideas greatly modified in the long and educational discussions the convention occasioned, and are returning to their various spheres of action with much more liberal views. This general and healthy exchange of ideas, if no other reason for its holding, is a full justification for the convention.

Old timers who have attended all the I. W. W. conventions pronounce this the most successful one the organization has yet held.

W. Z. FOSTER.

Order some three months sub cards!

"NEW INTERNATIONAL"

G. E. B. of the I. W. W. Explains the Situation to the Working Class.

(Special to Solidarity.)

Chicago, Sept. 29.
Following the Sixth-convention, the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. met and among other matters took action on Resolution No. 9, referred to the Board by the convention, and urging that the I. W. W. take the initiative toward the formation of a new "International Industrial Union Alliance."

The G. E. B. drew up the following statement with reference to the matter:

In the proposition of taking the initiative in organizing an International Association of Workers, organized on the industrial field, the Industrial Workers of the World recognizes the growing tendency for closer concentration of all workers throughout the world. By this concentrated power it is hoped to make the struggles of the workers in the places of production for a larger share of the product of labor more effective and more lasting in results.

This tendency for working class solidarity meets the strong and well organized opposition of a bureaucratic administration in the so-called-socialist trades union movement of all countries of continental Europe, except France, and the capitalist class controlled craft unions of Great Britain and the North American countries.

In this opposition to the revolutionary tenets of industrial unionism, the bureaucratic functionaries of the socialist trades unions and the capitalist controlled leaders of craft unions meet on common ground; the first, to preserve the predominance of middle class sponsors, under the assumption of socialist political party guardianship; the second, to carry out the mandates of the capitalist class in their combined efforts to stifle the revolutionary expression of discontent by an aroused working class.

To shatter this fragments these combinations—an unholy alliance of modern days—the workers every where must be shown their position in the industrial field, and the methods through which they can emancipate themselves from servitude to the masters of the game.

This knowledge and information, for the safeguarding of all the elements combined with diverse objects, is being withheld from the workers, lest the prostituting influence of middle class politicians and capitalist controlled labor lieutenants upon the labor movement be destroyed.

We are, for these reasons, not surprised to see a convention of 24 persons, claiming to represent an institution called the "International Trades Union Secretariat," pass a resolution almost unanimously, upon the motion of James Duncan representing at that convention the National Civic Federation and the American Federation of Labor, by which the most outrageous denial of free interchange of opinions and views is attempted.

International Consensus.

The fact that the convention of the "International Trades Union Secretaries" held in Budapest in August 1911, passed a resolution, by which the Industrial Workers of the World is denied the right to send out letters and documents to the trades unions of continental Europe except these communications are first sanctioned by an attachment to the National Civic Federation (that is, the General Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor), shows conclusively that the capitalists and all other opponents of working class solidarity in the places of production are alarmed at the growing spirit of industrial revolt, and that they fear the consequences that correct organization and proper education would develop in the shaping of the world's affairs.

We are aware of the monstrous forces

(Continued on Page Four.)

WHY STRIKERS WERE DEFEATED IN G. R. FACTS ABOUT I. W. W.

Editor Solidarity:

A week or so after the furniture workers' strike was declared off, I. W. W. Local Union No. 202 issued and distributed a circular by Fellow Worker Trautmann, bearing the caption, "Why This Defeat?" These were distributed throughout Grand Rapids, especially on Labor Day. The circular was a concise resume of the strike, showing why the defeat and how to do away with such defeats. The labor leaders were referred to as "belligerents."

A slave by the name of Martin Douma took offense at the statements contained in the circular, especially the term "belligerents" leaders, and sent the below letter to No. 202. The writer was instructed to answer Fellow Slave Douma, and it was also voted that Solidarity and the Industrial Worker be requested to publish both letters. The writer mailed literature to the slave, consisting of two Industrial Workers, one Solidarity, one "Why Strikes Are Lost, How to Win" and two leaflets, "Union Scabs and Others" and "War and the Workers." A few days later the literature was returned—all of it with the exception of the Industrial Workers bearing the Typographical Union label stickers—stating that the paper, leaflets and book did not bear the Allied Printing label. If this was the only reason for the return of the literature, I wonder why the slave returned the Industrial Worker, which bears the label? I wonder, also, if the slave observes the union label in all things? However, time and economic necessity will develop this slave; just as thousands of others will be developed.

T. F. G. Dougherty.

Grand Rapids, Mich., Sept. 4, 1911. (Would Be) Industrial Workers of the World:

You ask: "Why This Defeat?" Answer: Just through such knocking as you had printed in your circular, that was

CONDITIONS IN KOKOMO

(Special to Solidarity.)

Kokomo, Ind., Oct. 1.
During the latter part of June a strike occurred at the Kokomo Electric Co. The strike started as the result of the agitation of a few live rebels. It was a failure on account of the strikers being unable to tie up the whole shop. The molders and other skilled workers remained on the job. All of the unskilled workers, with the exception of a few S. P. members, came out. As a result of this strike, Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 2 of the I. W. W. was organized. The local started with about 40 charter members, most of whom were electric shop strikers. The local is growing, but slowly, because of the fear of the slaves of losing their \$1.50 per day jobs. We have at this time about 50 members.

Now, a few words as to conditions here. The Kokomo Electric Co. employs about 200 people, of whom about 50 are girls. The men, that is the unskilled portion of them, receive \$1.50 per day; the skilled workers from \$1.75 to \$2 per day. The girls make about \$3 per week. Some of these girls are mere children from 11 to 18 years old. These receive from \$2 to \$2.50 per week. The cost of existence in this town is higher than in many of the large industrial centers, but the slaves are about the most docile and contented that I have ever come in contact with. Some of them are not only contented with their \$1.50 per day, but they go out of their way to act as stool pigeons for the bosses. There are two automobile shops here in

handed out to-day.

"You talk about the belly-swelled leaders. Well, you must have one or more that is looking for a soft snap, because that is always behind such (would be) reformers.

You say One Big Union. Why then name two—the Industrial Workers of the World and the "Furniture Workers' Industrial Union No. — of Grand Rapids?" Answer: Just to throw some of our brothers off the track.

Wishing you all the d— luck in organizing, I remain,

MARTIN DOUMA,

Local 119.

485 City.

Grand Rapids, Mich., Sept. 20, 1911.

Mr. Martin Douma, City:
Fellow Worker: Your communication dated September 4 was received by Furniture Workers' Union No. 202 of the Industrial Workers of the World, and at the regular business meeting held Monday, Sept. 18, the writer was instructed to reply to you.

You say the defeat of the "organized" furniture workers was brought about by "just such knocking as yours." (The I. W. W.) I think this is a mistake, due to a lack of knowledge of the true facts in the case. The furniture workers' strike in any way. If criticizing the craft or trade union form of "organization" is "knocking," then the I. W. W. knocks, and will continue to knock until the dues-paying members wake up and take notice of the fact that their "organizations" are out of date and unable to cope with present industrial conditions. If "criticizing and showing up the so-called 'labor leaders'" in their true light is "knocking," then we will keep on knocking until we have knocked these "great" men off the backs of the workers. When a strike comprising 4,000 or more workers can be defeated

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which conditions are about the same as in the electric shop, and a rubber works in which they are worse, if possible. The masters in Kokomo are the worst kind of slave drivers.

What is needed here is a good solid organization which will give this town a good dose of direct action tactics, and the I. W. W. is on the job here at present to line up the slaves for that purpose. We are holding two street meetings a week which are well attended. Frank Morris and myself are doing the soap box work. I open the meetings, Morris doing the heavy work. We hope in a short time to develop an organization which will give this rate town an eye opener in the way of working class action.

JOS. O'CONNOR.

NEW PAMPHLET OUT

"Why Strikes Are Lost," the new pamphlet, is selling rapidly. Send press and ready for delivery. Send in your orders at once, with the cash. Price 5 cents per copy; in quantities to Local Unions, 2 cents per copy.

NOTICE, EASTERN LOCALS

Joseph Eitor, on his return to New York City, Chicago convention, will be speaking dates. Those wishing Eitor's services will please write to Vincent St. John, Room 518, 160 N. 5th Ave., Chicago, Ill.

There is indeed a reason for building up the I. W. W. press. Send in your bunch of subs today.

SOLIDARITY

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 W. E. Trautman, General Organizer

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
 J. J. Ector, Chas. Scurlow, C. H. Axelson,
 Francis Miller, George Speed.

WATCH FOR YOUR NUMBER.

Each subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the wrapper enclosing SOLIDARITY. For instance 95. That means that your sub expired last week, and you should renew. This is NUMBER 94.

A PUZZLING POSITION

Charles Edward Russell, well known magazine writer and recent candidate for governor of New York on the Socialist Party ticket, has created quite a stir in the socialist political camp by his article in the September International Socialist Review, entitled, "What Comes of Playing The Game?"

Russell, who bases his article on conditions shored by him in Australia where the Party is in power, opens his attack on the "game" as follows:
 "A proletarian movement can have no part, however slight, in the game of politics. The moment it takes a seat at the grimy board is the moment it dies within. After that it may for a time maintain a semblance of life and motion, but in truth it is only a corpse."

Taken to task for this and other similar statements in his article, by Morris Hillquit in the New York Call, Russell replies as follows:
 "I do believe in political action. But I don't believe in compromise, trucking, trading, thimble-rigging, dealing, ducking and dodging."

Russell's position is a bit puzzling. "Political action," in the commonly accepted "party" sense, means all and more of the things enumerated by him, and which he declares he "don't believe in." A political party cannot avoid "playing the game of politics." At a time in social evolution when economic conditions have given birth to a new idea in politics, a group of ideas, and as long as the movement thus remains in a purely propaganda stage, it may set its face like flint against "compromise," it may lay down rigid rules against "trucking, trading, etc.," it may denounce as a devil's art, "the game of politics" (and it is that, all right). But the moment that propaganda group becomes metamorphosed into a POLITICAL PARTY, with men in office, and more desiring to get in, then the old idealistic dogmas become a sort of whistling to keep up courage. The nature of the beast compels it to "truckle, compromise, trade, thimble-rig," and do other like things, in order, "to have himself put in," "to stay in," and to promote the various "forms of practical politics." Russell himself shows all this in his vigorous indictment of the Australian Labor Party. That of course is because the "rules of the game" have been prescribed by the minority class in society whose interest it is to play the game of politics with all its variations as a most ef-

fective means to keep the majority class in subjection. A proletarian therefore that conceives the possibility of revolution through a political party, will inevitably be drawn into the quicksands of the "compromising, trucking, dealing, ducking and dodging" political game. And, we may ask, how can the working class hope to beat the masters at their own game, according to the rules laid down by the masters themselves? Let the "gamesters" answer.

But we do not have to wait for their answer; although as a matter of probability the proletariat may limit on the experiment by placing some "politicians" at the grimy board. It is already getting a taste of "cheap dwellings for non-fighting homeguards" in Milwaukee, and of pension fills for "superannuated citizens" in the United States Congress. Many more such evidences of "practical politics" will probably be forthcoming in the immediate future. Still, we do not have to wait for such delectable morsels to fall from the hands of "our" politicians. A new conception of POLITICAL POWER is gaining ground throughout the world. Or rather, it is the modern materialization of the old definition of Karl Marx, viz.: "Political power, properly so-called, is but the organized power of one class for oppressing another class." Armed with this understanding, the working class need not blunder into the political trap set for them so adroitly by their masters. The proletariat is a majority class. It does all the useful work of society. Its power unquestionably lies in its ability to produce all the things that society needs for existence and well being, and to stop their production when necessary in the workers' interest. Industrial organization, then—ONE BIG LABOR UNION—is the key to the coercive power of the working class over the capitalist class. Through industrial organization the workers enter the field with weapons of their own choosing, which they alone may learn to wield with skill and precision. Here they are trained to depend upon their own individual and collective efforts at the precise point of contact with the enemy—in the workshops—and not to wait eternally for some savior or politician to lead them out of the jungles. Here the workers may learn to value at their actual worth the concessions they themselves have wrung from unwilling masters. In short, here is the clear struggle, which Marx defines as a "political struggle" materialized in CAPTION. At this point "the substance surpasses the phrase."

And this industrial union will not only acquire political or coercive power for the slaves. It is not alone built for the every day struggle. Unlike the "political party" which is born of class society, conforms to class society, and will die with the death of class society, the industrial union derives its power and inspiration from the fact that it looks beyond capitalism to the founding of a society without economic classes. This two-fold character of the organization, by which on the economic organization was of extraction one found it wages a war, and at the same time constructs the new society within the shell of the old—justifies its claim to being the REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

It is this what Charles Edward Russell, had in mind when he said: "I believe in political action, but I don't believe in compromise, trucking, trading, thimble-rigging, dealing, ducking and dodging." If not, the fragrance of his flowery phrases will only be wasted on the desert air.

THE EAST AND THE WEST

"The East is the East; and the West is the West,
 And never the twain shall meet."
 Thus Kipling begins and ends a bit of jingoism that rhymes well, but does not reason out in the light of current history, which shows that capitalist development in the end breaks down all geographical and racial barriers that may for a period separate one people from another. Still, there is this much of suggestion in Kipling's lines: that inasmuch as environment molds men, the differences that arise and persist among them are due to the influences of their respective environments. This thought came very forcibly to the mind of the writer while attending the sixth annual convention of the I. W. W.
 At every convention of our organization with which the writer has been familiar, more or less rivalry or misunderstanding has been manifest between delegates from

the East and the West. One hears such statements as this: "The East is being neglected; all the organizers and active speakers are on the Pacific coast." On the other hand the story goes: "It is a shame the way the West is being treated; all the money for organizing, etc., seems to be spent in the East, and with no apparent results for the organization."
 Then there are differences of opinion between the two sections, as to methods of propaganda and organization and the line of tactics that goes with them. The West goes to the extreme on "direct action." At the Sixth convention nearly all proposed constitutional changes—such as to abolish conventions, by which alone a general understanding is possible as a basis for legislation; to do away with the D. E. B., whose function it is to preserve the balance between all parts of the organization—and other similar proposals came from the West.

There are of course several reasons for this, all centering around the common one—differences in environment of the two sections. The West is still an "open country." Localities are far apart. Industries, though trifled, are underdeveloped. Workers are comparatively few in numbers, and are constantly shifting from one section to another. As a consequence, the individual becomes more readily distinguished from the mass, and a tendency to individualism develops among a comparatively large number of workers. Carried a little farther along this line, "the local union" becomes more important in the eyes of many than the general organization, which some have come to look upon as outside of "their" organization, and as a hindrance to their development, and therefore something that ought perhaps to be done away with. What the "local" wants, the organization as a whole should and must have. If the "general organization" doesn't accept our dictum let us "abolish parts of it" or "take away its power," in the interests of our local or group of locals. This point of view is not due to a desire to disrupt; but rather to the individual and local spirit which is a logical outcome of the Western environment. The Sixth convention did more than anything else to dispel these "local" illusions, as far as the delegates were concerned.

On the other hand, the East is a veritable beehive of industry highly developed and centralized. The individual worker is lost in the mass of slaves. Only when the mass moves, does the individual find his courage. The Eastern worker sees his employer as a gigantic trust, with centralized administration; he demands a similar organization among the slaves. He sees no chance for quick and effective action through the unwieldy method of "legislating by referendum." Without the individualistic spirit himself, the Eastern worker recognized the value of individual initiative in executing the mandates and requirements of the organization.

The Sixth convention tended toward harmonizing these two points of view, both of which contain elements of truth of vital importance to the future of the revolutionary union. While recognizing the need of local initiative and freedom of action, at the same time the convention recognized the equal necessity of preserving the INTEGRAL organization, through a proper understanding and adjustment of the relations of one part to another—of the individual to the local, of the local to the general administration; and vice versa. Thus, by preserving the balance in its legislative work, the Sixth convention showed conclusively that the I. W. W. understands the problem it is striving to solve.

"The East is the East, and the West is the West." But the twain have met on common ground; and the I. W. W. moves forward toward its goal!

THE SOCIALIST LABOR MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

By W. Z. Foster.

(Continued from No. 93)

Conservation of the Unions.

The Socialist unions are not revolutionary—except as all labor unions are revolutionary by bearing in themselves the embryo of the future society—and their leaders make no claims that they are such. Their avowed objects, according to their preambles, are essentially the same as those of conservative unions: the world over, they look after the "moral and material welfare" of their members, strive

for "a high standard of living as possible" for them, etc. As Carl Legien, President General-Commissioner, says: "It is not the task of the union to realize the goal of socialism." This task is unofficially recognized to be that of the Social Democratic party.

In Germany the labor unions were early recognized as excellent voting machines. The "Progressive Party" had such good success in organizing and so utilizing them that the S. D. party in self defense was forced to do likewise. The "scientific" leaders of the latter party, however, openly despised the labor unions. They considered the workers organized in them to be the most reactionary part of the working class, because their organizations were but remnants of the old antedated guilds. In 1893 Carl Legien at a S. D. party convention proposed that all members of the party be recommended to join the unions. He was laughed at, insulted, and convicted of being "young." Bebel told him that the end of unionism was near, as the unions were powerless before such combinations as the Krupp Co. Liebknecht said an over-valuation of labor unions was to be strictly avoided, because the capitalists couldn't be whipped on their own ground. The young president of the new "General-Kommission" quit the convention disgraced for his presumption in asking that the unions as training schools for the S. D. party be given a little assistance.

The original contempt of the politicians for the unions has gradually developed into a fear of them. The thought that they may awaken to a sense of their economic power and slip from the grasp of their present political masters is ever present danger to the latter.

So healthy is their fear of the general strike idea, that at the union convention in Cologne 1905 they faltered, and passed a motion through which prohibits even the discussion of this "anarchistic" idea in all the affiliated unions.

In order that the unions may preserve the necessary quiet while they are being milked for the advantage of the political movement, they are constantly told that the sphere of their activity is naturally very limited, that against modern capitalist-combinations they are powerless, that the bourgeoisie is a sleeping tiger that needs only to be awakened for it to devour all the labor unions, etc. It is one of the regular functions of the German socialist-politicians to tell the workers what they can't do by direct action. The union movement that is robbed of the necessary revolutionary aggressiveness and thrown on a conservative defensive basis. It has no self confidence, and falls an easy victim to the mutual benefit schemes, strong bureaucracies and contracts which its interested leaders foist upon it. These institutions, which have no place in revolutionary fighting unions, are very prominent features of the German labor movement.

(* This campaign sometimes goes too far. In his recent pamphlet "Der Wegzug Macht" Kautsky stated in effect that the unions had outlived their usefulness. In response Legien, who deludes the workers into believing that their "sick and death benefit electrical machines" are successful labor unions, unmercifully cracked and insulted Kautsky in his pamphlet "Stülpnabeit oder Positive Erfolg." Kautsky crawled into his hole and drew it in after him.)

"As Strong as Gibraltar."

The "benefit" schemes run the gamut from the "near necessary" to the ridiculous. Some of them are strike, sick, death, invalid, accident, employed, employer, travel, funeral and shipwreck funds for prospective married candidates, etc. Their variety of these benefit funds, the height of the benefits and the lowness of the dues, are the best of these so-called fighting organizations. In seeking new members they issue long circular statements, comparing their favorable insurance rates with those of private insurance companies. One to reading them has difficulty to realize that they emanate from organizations whose chief task should be to fight. And not only do these insurance companies enter into heavy competition with private insurance companies, but also with each other. With the lure of more favorable rates, they steal each other's members regardless of what industries they may properly belong to. This is the chief cause of the jurisdictional quarrels which are continually raging. It has also led to many fusions of unions, the smaller ones being literally compelled out of existence. A new reason for forming "industrial" unions. At the last congress 1908 this practice was sharply condemned in the above mentioned craft union resolution. A curious and instructive product of this prostituting of labor unions to other ends than those to which they are properly adapted is the "Factory Worker." As well as losing its character as a fighting organization this union is also losing the ne-

cessary fighting character of an industrial worker. It is growing like a weed, no reason why it should be a union of the most useful are the most reliable in any competition. As the principles are practically unchangeable, these unions, such as an eye, means impositions. In 1905 they were ambitious. At the last congress proposed that all organizations of workers be obliged to fuse into one—and again they wish to form an industrial union out of the "Textile Workers," "Leather Workers" and "Flax Workers." These would certainly be "classy" industrial unions. In 1905 they wanted the proposition dissolved to organize all workers into one union, i. e. without any industrial lines. This confusion is a natural result of turning labor unions into insurance societies.

Centralization and Bureaucracy.

Like all other socialist organizations, "Die Gewerkschaften Deutschlands" are law-abiding. When they must fight they do so on lines laid down by their bosses. Sabotage, and other "resistance," "non-violence" and other "disrespectable" methods are unworthy of these powerful (?) organizations. The old fashioned sternness-to-deathism is their only weapon. In such a strike attitude leaving the "indispensable" workers at work to protect their masters' property from "unnecessary" laws, the balance try to starve the boss into submission by cutting their "dimes against his dollars." This antique method simply burns up money in strike benefits. The unions measure their fighting capacities by the size of their strike funds.

The gathering and "guarding" of these funds aided by the German workers' insane conception of "discipline," which in these means blind obedience to the order of their leaders—has built up a centralized bureaucratic system, that has effectively paralyzed the movement as far as vigorous fighting is concerned, and which is unparalleled in the world labor movement. Each national union collects its own funds, of all kinds. These are placed in the national treasuries, over which the central committees have no control, except at congress as dictators. Their principal duties are to prevent strikes. The local unions are handed over to them bound hand and foot. To draw strike benefits their strikes must be approved by these committees. As the local unions can charge only certain fixed dues and are allowed to retain only running expenses out of their dues, and are forbidden to issue calls for funds, their ability to effectively strike depends on the good will of the central committees. Often these committees have the power to appoint officers of the local unions. If local unions, in spite of these checks, rebels and strikes, violate disciplinary measures, COMBINATIONS are used, by a special COMBINATIONS places are worked, by the Worker Year.

With this iron LABS PER YEAR the fusion of the two papers are groups possess a death, readers, in the labor movement, the central bureaucracy even stronger and makes strikes more difficult to precipitate, it being manifest that the central committee of, say, the "German Workers' Union" must be so sympathetic to the grievances of the seamen as would the central committee of the latter's former independent organization. The bringing of such vast masses of workers under the control of a few men makes decidedly for "peace." The socialist leaders are beginning to realize this, and their opposition to the formation of "industrial" unions is disappearing. This enslaving of the local unions, concludes the Bourgeois de Travail, effective districts or formations of France are the most revolutionary organizations of the working class has yet developed. The German district councils composed of unions incapable of common action are only a joke compared to the French bourgeois which are genuine fighting combinations of unions, of all industries. Such houses are impossible in the German form of unions. The first requirement for the formation of the federative or syndicalistic form of organization, in which each local union retains its own autonomy—and funds, furnishing the central organization only running expenses.

In his recent book, "Parliamentarism and Democracy," Kautsky, "the theoretician of the Social Democratic," sounds a note of warning against the outrageous tyranny of the central committee. He fears the milking machine is becoming too highly developed. Scared by the recent praiseworthy revolt of the English workers against their traitorous leaders, he advocates radical changes in the management of the socialist unions. He don't favor giving the ignorant and impetuous workers a referendum; their problems are too complicated to solve. He would institute a sort of representative government in the unions, which would at once set as a check on the foolish enthusiasm of the workers, and be capable of solving their problems. What a commentary on the "progressives" of the German socialist unions when their intellectual leaders are so frightened by schemes to forward the interests of which have already taken place in the ridiculed English unions.

(To be Continued.)

Join the I. W. W. and FIGHT for better conditions.

INDUSTRIALISM BY JUSTUS EBERT

Series of Descriptive Articles Written Especially for Solidarity.

ARTICLE FIVE

RETAILING AND BANKING

Included From No. 93.)

Consolidated Retailing.

There are many other evidences of the tendency to consolidated retailing, besides those specified above. But these are still subject to the elements of speculation and are also unable to develop their own banking power.

The department stores either conduct factories of their own or they control the products of certain factories in their own interests exclusively. They are also banks to a limited extent. In this way, they secure a greater degree of self-sufficiency and self-reliance than was formerly the fact. Such is the case with Macy's, Wanamaker's, Gimbels Bros., Siegel Cooper Co., etc.

The department stores are also likely to be owned and controlled by big jobbing companies, acting in close co-operation with many factories and mills, and backed by the leading financial interests of the country. The best representative of this kind of corporation is the United Dry Goods Co., capitalized at \$50,000,000. This company embraces about a dozen of the largest department stores in the country; the H. B. Claflin Co. and J. P. Morgan & Co., who are the fiscal backers and agents.

In either of the foregoing types of retail distribution, there is an almost continuous process from factory to consumer. The day when a big department store or jobbing house can stand practically alone is gone. The recent absorption of the Telf-Weller Co., a \$3,000,000 jobbing corporation, and of the Lord & Taylor Co., a \$3,000,000 department store, by the Department Store Trust, described above, should leave no doubt on that score. Both were "behind the times." Others are rapidly getting there.

The mail order houses, so-called, are another noteworthy development in consolidated retailing. A corporation like the Sears, Roebuck & Co., owns credit and the promise to pay cash which it embodies.

Credit is not only a promise to pay cash money, but also an instrument for the transfer of capital. Credit enables the capitalists to get control of a country's productive capital and devote it to the purchase of all the things needed in the furtherance of their enterprises; the cash payment for the use of this credit to come ultimately out of the profits of the enterprises thus created. Credit does not create anything. It is an agent of production for the profit of those in command of it. Credit is based on confidence—confidence in conditions to make profits certain and abundant; confidence in the ability of the borrower's property to satisfy the loans made, in lieu of cash payments. Capitalist manipulation destroys confidence and credit, by creating or accentuating bad conditions, like the run on the Knickerbocker Trust Co. in the panic of 1907. Rain and flood-fication follow. Frederick Engels, in the Communist Manifesto, defines speculation as a means by which capitalists mutually take away one another's wealth. Credit is fast becoming a similar medium.

The banks, by concentrating all the available capital, make the continued extension of credit possible. Through such extension they gain control of industry. It gives them powers of investigation and regulation that lead to the complete domination of those in control of them. Through this insight the banks keep informed of the conditions of corporations, markets, and stock appreciation. These they either promote or depress, as the interests of their controllers warrant. And thus again do the latter use credit and the financial resources back of it to the material undoing of every enterprise by their own.

Banks, not only concentrate all the available capital, but tend to concentrate themselves. Chains of banks and groups of banks now act together in place of the single bank of former periods. These tend to create a central bank, with Morgan as the dominant leader. America is in the control of a financial oligarchy. (6).

This too despite the fact that we were once told that it required a grocer, his wife and kids to run a grocery; just as we are now told that it requires a farmer, his wife and children to conduct a farm. The analogy is bad—for the small farmer.

How Banks Function.

As was stated above, banks facilitate commerce and all that is part and parcel of it.

The banks deal or trade in money, checks, drafts, promissory notes, bonds, mortgages and other printed or written obligations for the payment of money or its equivalent.

Banks make "collections" for customers. These lodge with the banks, checks, notes, drafts, and other obligations payable at cities and other places away from the banks. They are sent to other banks. The latter get payment for them and return the funds collected to the bank which sent for them. A slight charge, or discount, which is divided among the banks involved, is deducted; after which the proceeds thus realized are turned over to the owners of the "collection items." The transaction is ended.

Buying and selling "exchange" is another bank function; it is intimately connected with "collection." This consists in remitting funds from one part of the country to the other, as needed. "Foreign exchange" is the remitting of funds from one country to another.

By means of clearing houses, central banks and governmental agencies, the banks solve the problem of transfer of ownership in the widely diversified goods of widely separated localities.

The chief function of banking is the lending or loaning of funds, called also "the granting of accommodations," or "of credit." Credit is a promise to pay cash money. Cash money serves to settle the final balances between individuals, industrial groups, banks and cities. Thus, "the balance of trade" between this country and Europe is settled by means of gold imports or exports; the metal serving as cash money in the transaction. Most of the world's exchanges are affected by credit and the promise to pay cash which it embodies.

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The Basis of Banking Power.

The question may be asked, how comes G. Nelson's A. B. C. of Banks and Banking; Johnson, Money and Credit, chapter on Nature and Uses of Credit; Financial Capital, N. Y. Call, Oct. 2, 1910.

the power of Morgan to be so great? He knows nothing of industry in its actual operation and tendencies; yet he dominates it?

Ludwig Santal, the well known statistician and economist, answers these questions well, when he says, referring to the trust movement:

"We may further observe that this is in its essence a financial movement. The very nature of it requires that it should be led and shaped by financiers who make no distinction between industries, have no preference for one or the other, and view all in the light of their exchange value, expressed in money, leaving to technical men in their employ all technical considerations of the manufacturing and commercial order as to their respective use values." (7).

In other words, paid subordinates actually operate modern industrialism. In fact, the tendency of the latter is to deprive the great capitalist of every one of his former functions. Invention, superintendence, initiative and enterprise, are the work of paid employes; experts employed at salaries and operating through committees and commissions appointed for the purposes specified. Even the accumulation of capital, which Carnegie once held justified the taking of profit by the capitalist, is now no longer a capitalist but a social function; being accomplished by society through the medium of banks and fiduciary institutions, like the insurance companies. It is only by securing control of the wage labor and savings of the millions that Morgan is possible.

Some people do not perceive that the basis of the banking power is social labor. Here, for instance, is a writer, who signs himself "Rex," believed to be a well known insurance auditor, who declares:

"We hear much about the 'basic industries,' meaning steel, mining, etc. A glance over the field will show us that financial capital is in the saddle. The life blood of business is credit. Cash money is the basis of credit. These monsters (the big industrial life insurance companies) have cash money, all these premiums are in cash. The ability to expand this cash into credit, is what makes these financial buccaners struggle so mightily to own these companies." (8).

This criticism is faulty, in that it overlooks the horse under the saddle in which financial capital sits. When he gets balky and throws the rider, "the life blood of business" stops flowing. The writer noticed this in 1897, when, as an industrial life insurance agent, he found it impossible to collect premiums during strikes. He noticed it also, on a larger scale, during the recent English railway strikes. So, after all, those "basic industries" are not to be sneered at. Stop them and you stop the production of wealth and the accumulation of capital.

Labor is beginning to see that on its back rides the financial capitalist. Labor is beginning to see the immense dependence of society on itself. It is getting ready to throw the financial capitalist off its back. Of that, current history leaves no doubt.

A revolution is on WITHIN industry. Capital combines to resist it; labor unites to hasten its peaceful culmination. It will be a vast revolution; as vast as modern industrialism itself. It will be a brief revolution, as brief as modern industrialism itself. When it is over there will be no saddle and no horse. There will be a greater humanity, united in subjugating the forces of nature in the common interests of all.

[The next article will be entitled, "Combinations of Capital." This will be followed by "Unions of Labor."]

7. Socialist Almanac, chapter on The Trusts.

8. The Social Significance of Industrial Insurance, N. Y. Call, May 29, 1911.

"THE IRON HEEL" ON LABOR'S NECK

Don't fail to read article six in Ebert's series on Modern Industrialism. It is entitled "Combinations of Capital," and describes the methods by which labor organization has been crushed by the trusts. "The Iron Heel" is on the neck of labor; to what extent is not generally known. This article gives the facts; it also suggests the remedy. Subscribe for Solidarity in order to get this article. Get your friends and fellow workers to subscribe also.

ST. LOUIS I. W. W.

Local 84, I. W. W. St. Louis, Mo. has just moved into larger and better headquarters at 1214 Franklin Ave., "right in the heart of the slave market." All wage workers welcome at our headquarters. Wm. YOUNG, Fin. Sec'y.

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trades unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution.

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"Appeal to Wage Workers, Men and Women." By E. S. Nelson. Four-page Leaflet; 15 cents a hundred \$1.25 per thousand.

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"War and the Workers." By Walker C. Smith. Four-page leaflet; 20 cents a hundred; \$1.50 per thousand.

"Why the A. F. L. Cannot Become an Industrial Union." By St. John. Four-Page Leaflet, 20 cents a hundred; \$1.50 per thousand.

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JAY FOX, Editor Lake Bay, Washington

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Interview with H. S. Mobely, chairman press committee, St. Louis Farmers' Union convention, in New York Call, Mar. 9, 1910.
5. N. Y. Journal of Commerce, 1910.

WHY STRIKERS WERE DEFEATED

(Continued from Page One)

ed by "knocking" there must be something woefully wrong with the "organization." No, fellow worker, it was not "knocking" that defeated you. YOU WERE DEFEATED BEFORE YOU STRUCK; it was a foregone conclusion, and was due to your form of organization and the tactics employed. The furniture workers were NOT ORGANIZED; a certain portion of them were DIVIDED into several separate and distinct trade unions, having no connection with each other, the main body being under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, which "organization" looked with contempt upon all the others; and all of the "organizations" were a unit in ridiculing the unskilled and unorganized workers. Then there were other workers in the factories who did not strike, such as engineers, firemen, electricians, brass polishers, etc., belonging to unions wholly distinct from the five main divisions of furniture workers. Then there were the "union" millroad workers who banded in ranks to take your places and hauled out scab jobs; the teamsters also remained on the job. Your bosses had notice a year in advance what you were doing and had plenty of time to prepare. They sunk all their differences for the time being and presented a solid organization against you, the common enemy, who were divided, and thereby conquered. Your leaders told you that the strike could and would be financed for a year if necessary; in fact they lied to you from the beginning. In the very first "settlement" you gave away your most important demand—that was the abolition of piece-work—and each succeeding settlement was worse than the previous one. When your leaders here got the information from the leaders in Indianapolis that the strike pay would stop they began to prepare to "stand down under;" they did not stand by you, but slunk away one by one, like rats from a rotten ship. Did not the "great" MacFarland give it out through the newspapers before his departure for "England" that the strike would be settled by Aug. 15? Where did Mac get the information? I have been (—am at the present time) a member of the Party since for twenty-one years, and I know that the strength of the Party in the September International is playing Review, entitled, "What Comes of Playing the Game."

Russell, who bases his article on conditions observed by him in August, officers to decide the issue. I know that the strength of the Party in the September International is playing Review, entitled, "What Comes of Playing the Game."

the offices in the union. They are NOT "reformers." We know that it is just as futile to reform the trade union as it is to reform any other capitalist institution; we are neither reformers nor utopians. WE ARE REVOLUTIONARIES. The craft unions are becoming honeycombed with revolutionary industrial unionism; but if not one member of a craft union became a revolutionary industrialist that would not stay the development of the I. W. W. If every craft unionist in the country were organized in all the craft unions they would even comprise but a small portion of the workers in the United States. There are Thirty Millions of workers in this country. At present there organized in the existing trade unions, affiliated and not affiliated with the A. F. of L., LESS than three million workers, and this includes the members of the international unions residing in Canada. The I. W. W. is organizing on lines in harmony with industrial development and takes in ALL WORKERS, and as the I. W. W. develops all existing organizations of workers will be absorbed into this revolutionary organization. The craft union will be "reformed" by going out of existence.

If the two general officers (the general secretary and the general organizer) and the few "paid" organizers of the I. W. W. desire to develop some belly swelling jobs in the I. W. W. they will have to put a stop to the revolutionary education that is going on among the workers—and they cannot do that. This is an organization that is controlled by the GENERAL MEMBERSHIP, not by leaders. Every member is an initiator and organizer and our officers have got to deliver the goods the way we want them to take orders from us and not we from them. Read our literature and you will readily perceive why "leaders" (or Bleeders either) will never dominate the revolutionary I. W. W. The I. W. W. is not connected in any way with any political party. Its one business is to organize ALL WORKERS on the job for the purpose of immediate betterment of all workers, with the ultimate object of the whole works. Do YOU want the goods?

Furniture Workers' Industrial Union No. 202 is a subdivision of the One Big Union known as the Industrial Workers of the World, just as the local union you are a member of is a subdivision of the international union of which it is a part. If the furniture workers of this city were organized in the I. W. W. that would mean with ALL cabinetmakers, cabinetmakers, machine hands, wood carvers, upholsterers, finishers, packers, trimmers, polishers, engineers, fitters, men, electricians, bookkeepers, all the clerks, teamsters, so-called "skilled" workers, in fact every worker about the factories and Furniture Stores and Warehouse would be organized in the Furniture Workers' Local of the I. W. W. All of the factories, furniture stores and warehouses would constitute the local union and each factory, furniture store and warehouse would be a branch of that local. Then this local, with other like locals in the woodworking industry, would form the industrial department of woodworkers, industrial department of local industrial workers. It is of councils, national unions, industrial departments, industrial departments, all welded together and forming the big union of all the workers known as the Industrial Workers of the World, with the universal transfer system without extra cost, low initiation fee, and low dues. This form of organization, together with our tactics, means solidarity and victory for the workers. We say that an injury to one worker is an injury to all workers. We say there is nothing but war between the employing class and the working class. We say that the producer should belong to the product and we are organizing for the purpose of generating the power to take that which we produce. We ask all workers to read our literature and study our principles, to think for themselves and not be dominated by "leaders." We ask YOU to be true to YOUR interests, to be loyal to YOUR CLASS, by joining the organization, the Union of YOUR CLASS and help us in the Fight For Economic Freedom and Security in the Means of Life. Come to 74 North Market St., Tuesday night, and hear Fellow Worker Flynn, organizer for the I. W. W.

We thank you for your letter and hope you will read the literature I am sending you under separate cover. Will be pleased to hear from you or meet you personally. Yours for the Working Class; The Industrial Workers of the World. T. F. G. DOUGHERTY.

Agitate for the 8-hour day! Order literature and scab cards.

ARE YOU WITH US?

Fresno, Calif., Oct. 1.

On September 26, 1911, about 35 men cutting corn on the Louis Merrill ranch, 3 1/2 miles from Coalinga, organized and demanded 75¢ per day and better board. These moderate demands were turned down by the boss. Thereupon the bunch quit, to a man.

Contrary to the accepted notion that the Mexicans won't stick and that "you can't do anything with them," it gives us great pleasure to state that the majority of the men were Mexicans (some of them only four days from Mexico) and insisted the hardest in their demands.

The new arrivals from Mexico tell us that in that country they had to work nine days to buy a cheap hat.

Prior to the strike the wages were \$1.30 per day and the very poorest kind of board, many of the men often going hungry to work.

Owing to the prevailing high prices everywhere for the necessities of life, and especially in Coalinga, \$1.50 per day is not enough to provide decent living conditions; when it is remembered that only during short periods of the year there is work enough to go around.

These Mexicans are setting a good example of solidarity for you "American Farmers" to gather. All classes of conscious workers should back them up in their fight. By following up this policy to the end, you will soon find that the Mexicans are your friends and that you should organize with them into one Big Industrial Union, and fight the boss and not among yourselves.

An injury to one is an injury to all. This is your fight. Of course it goes without saying that the I. W. W. is prepared to back the Mexicans in their present and future struggles for better conditions at any time or place, whether in the fertile valley of the San Joaquin or in the mountain fastnesses, or the blood-soaked plains of Baraboo, Mexico.

We ask all true-hearted workmen to stay away from the Merrill Ranch until the aforesaid demands are granted.

If it takes four days for peons from Mexico to learn how to fight for better conditions, how long should it take you Americans to get next?

Yours for Industrial Freedom, Fresno Local Union No. 66, Industrial Workers of the World. Box 200.

"NEW INTERNATIONAL"

(Continued From Page One)

arrayed against the revolutionary industrial unionists everywhere. And we cannot hope to rally a sufficiently strong force and strength to successfully cope with the combined elements of opposition unless we reach the workers first and make them conversant with all the facts, and also the aims and objects of the industrial union movement.

All call for the formation of an "International Alliance" would find at present a large portion of the working class lined up in hostile array, because of lack of knowledge and information on the matter.

To impart this required knowledge and information is the urgent need now, before the consolidation of forces built upon the rockbed of knowledge and correct understanding can be accomplished. We must reach our fellow workers in other countries through the press and literature at our command. No real international alliance representative of the workers' aspirations and aims can be perfected until the workers have thrown off the guardianship of bureaucratic leaders and capitalist labor lieutenants.

To the end of accomplishing this, the Industrial Workers of the World speak to the working class, organized or unorganized, in every country upon the globe, to ignore and to repudiate the outrageous mandate of censorship decreed by the "International Trades Union Secretaries" and to express themselves in no uncertain way for the formation of a real international alliance of workers, represented in the program of delegates selected on the program of the industrial union organizations, in recognition of the fact that these are the most powerful instruments of the workers in their war against the oppressors, and the only medium by which production will be carried on by the toilers when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

CLEVELAND, OHIO. Local 55, I. W. W., has changed its meeting place. We meet the 2nd and 4th Wednesdays of each month at 1950 W. 25th St., at 8 o'clock. Sec'y.

NEW EDITION HAYWOOD'S "GENERAL STRIKE" An Address delivered for the defense of a member of the Rank and File against Capitalist Aggression. Strong arguments for INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION—the Power that makes good the motto, "An Injury to One Worker is an Injury to All Workers." Gives many illustrations of the General Strike as a Working Class Weapon in different capitalist countries. FIVE CENTS PER COPY: \$3.00 PER HUNDRED Address all orders to: CHAS. LINFANTE, 212 E. 12th St., New York City Sec'y. BUCCAFORNI DEFFENSE COMMITTEE.

MEXICAN REVOLUTION Revolution on the Same, by the Sixth Annual Convention of the I. W. W.

Whereas, The interests of all workers are identical, whether upon this or the opposite side of the Rio Grande; and,

Whereas, The economic oppression that called forth the Mexican revolution continues to exist even though Diaz has been overthrown; and,

Whereas, Certain misdeeds of the working class movement in the United States have seen fit to cast slurs upon those Mexican revolutionists who have remained in arms against their oppressors; therefore be it

Resolved, That the I. W. W. in convention assembled, hereby endorses the continuation of the revolt along the lines of direct action while most heartily deploring the seeds of discussion sown by those who place position above principles, and we pledge ourselves to aid the cause of our Mexican fellow workers by every available means; and, be it further

Resolved, That the following telegram be forwarded to the men now held as prisoners of war in Los Angeles, Mosby, Laffin and Reed:

The Sixth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World pledges itself financially, morally and if necessary physically in your defense and in the continued support of the Mexican revolution. (Signed) INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

HOW TO JOIN THE I. W. W. Any wage worker, wishing to become a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, may proceed in the following manner:

1. If you live in a locality where there is a union of your industry or a mixed (regular) union and in existence, apply to the secretary of that local union. He will furnish you with an application blank containing the Preamble to the I. W. W. Constitution and the two questions which each candidate for admission must answer fitly the affirmative. The questions are as follows:

"Do you agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization?" "Will you diligently study its principles and make yourself acquainted with its purposes?"

The initiation fee is fixed by the Local Union, but cannot be more than \$5.00 in any instance, and is usually \$1.00 or less. The monthly dues cannot exceed \$1.00 and are in most locals from 35 to 50 cents. If there is no Local Union of the I. W. W. in your vicinity, you may become a Member-at-Large by making application to the General Secretary, whose address is given below. You will be required to answer affirmatively the two above questions, and pay an initiation fee of \$2.00. The monthly dues are \$1.00 for Members-at-Large.

3. Better still, write to the General Secretary for a Charter Application-Blank. Get no less than TWENTY signatures of bona-fide wage workers in any one industry (for a Local Industrial Union) or in several industries (for a Local Recruiting or mixed Union) and send the charter application with the names to the General Secretary, with the \$10.00 charter fee. Supplies, constitutions and instructions will then be sent you, and you can proceed to organize the local.

Join the I. W. W. now. The address of the General Secretary of the I. W. W. is VINCENT ST. JOHN, 518 Cambridge Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

VICTORIA, B. C. The I. W. W. has two new locals here in Victoria, B. C. We have a hall at 1230 Langley St. Teamster's local meets first and third Fridays of each month; and Recruiting local on every Monday at 8 p. m. Members coming this way are invited to call and see us. J. WEIR, Sec'y.

SYNDIKALISTEN The Official Organ of SVERIGES ARBETARENS CENTRAL ORGANIZATION The revolutionary union of Sweden. Address: G. SJOSTRON Vastergatan 2, Lund, Sweden.

"Emancipation" Official Organ of the Franco-Belgium Federation I. W. W. 3 months 15c, 6 months 30c, one year 60c. Make remittance payable to AUG. DETOLLENAERE, Secretary, 6 Mason St., LAWRENCE, MASS.

TO CANADIAN READERS By arrangement with the management of the Industrial Worker, Solidarity is now pleased to announce a special COMBINATION RATE for you point officers. If a local union in it of TWO DOZ rebels and 100 in other words, a COMBINATION now offered to the rate as the regular subscription price in the United States. We pay the extra postage on combination rates sent to Canadian addresses.

Here is a chance to boost the Canadian sub list of both I. W. W. papers, that should not be missed by any active worker in that country. Roll up a big list for Canada. Do it now.

ADDRESS WANTED The mother of Arthur P. Crowe, who left home in Philadelphia, Pa., 4 years ago, wants to hear from him. He is now 18 years of age—probably large and heavy set; dark hair and blue eyes. Fellow workers having any clue to his whereabouts will do a great favor both to him and his mother, by calling his attention to this or notifying her through his brother, Fellow Worker William M. Crowe, Local 11, Philadelphia, Pa., 1305 Arch St.

CHICAGO I. W. W. Local 85, branch 2 (English) meets every Friday night at 185 West Madison St., (near Fifth Ave., Chicago). Willbur M. Wolfe, Pres.; Karl Rathje, Rec.-Cor. Sec'y, 881 La Salle Ave.; Tillie Meyer, Fin. Sec'y, 612 N. State St.

PORTLAND, OREGON I. W. W. Portland I. W. W. headquarters and Free Reading Room, 309 Davis St. Business meeting, Sunday at 3 p. m. Stereopticon views and lecture every Sunday night at 8 o'clock.

NEW HEADQUARTERS IN MINNEAPOLIS. Until further notice the address of the Minneapolis locals will be at Room 5, Webb Block, 10 Third St. S. All communications should be directed to the above address.

JEAN E. SPIELMAN, Sec'y.

MOVED IN LOS ANGELES. The I. W. W. has just moved into new and up to date headquarters with a seating capacity of about 300, at 227 East 6th Street, Los Angeles, Calif. Everybody welcome who comes this way.

PERIOR, WIS. Until further notice, all communications to Local 247 should be addressed to J. L. Corbin, Fin. Sec'y, 1616 N. 6th St., Superior, Wis.