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ONE BIG UNION

ILLUSTRATED BY THE BOOK BINDING INDUSTRY

One glance at the bookbinding industry will convince any casual observer that the same has undergone some radical changes. One need only walk in any edition bindery and one could not fail to find that hardly a year goes by but some new machine is introduced which displaces both men and skill, thus increasing the ranks of the unemployed and also reducing skill to a minimum.

With the advent of the case making machine, the rounder and backer and casing in machine, hundreds, aye, thousands of men have been thrown out of employment. Upon a little investigation one will readily see that, aside from the fact that books are produced today in larger quantities with the aid of machines, that it takes less skill to produce them, that the skillful mechanic is rapidly becoming a thing of the past.

In former times a bookbinder was supposed to know the making of a book from the sewing bench to the finishing table, while at present the bookbinder is simply reduced to the function of an operator of a case making machine. Very few bookbinders are completing a book from A to Z nowadays. They either are casemakers or headband liners, etc.

One may think that the blank book branch has not suffered any changes. The blank book branch has also undergone some considerable changes. Aside from the division of labor which is taking place, the loose leaf system is rapidly displacing the blank book. It is nothing out of the ordinary to find metal workers and machinists employed side by side with bookbinders. Of course the writer will admit that in some small shops the same method is pursued in the making of a book, that the same tools are in use which were in use 55 years ago.

But we are dealing with the changes that have taken place in the bookbinding industry as a whole. Out of about 28,000 bookbinders employed in the bookbinding industry, only about 7,000 belong to organized labor. One would conclude that the three-fourths unorganized are not class conscious enough to join their fellow workers' unions; but such is not the case. If given an opportunity they may take advantage of same, but as an organized body would not accept them, though we hear of trying to get 100 per cent organization. We keep them out. The old contention is still in vogue (not skillful), regardless of the fact that machinery and the loose leaf system are practically eliminating skill. Yet we shut our eyes and

keep out the unskilled (?) mechanic.

The veracity of these statements could be proven by any constitution and by laws of any local union of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. Of course, the employers join the chorus, declaring "that nothing but skilled labor will do."

The above stands good only in times of peace. Should a strike take place, then the employer has a few skilled mechanics and fills up the balance with unskilled help, and thus succeeds in breaking the strike, while the skilled mechanics on strike are rejoicing over the fact that the employer is unable to secure competent help.

The writer witnessed a case where 40 members of a local union (skilled mechanic) went out on strike. Their places were immediately filled by unskilled mechanics, with the aid of four skilled bookbinders. (That was a loose leaf shop exclusively.) Needless to say that this strike was lost. That defeat could have been turned to victory had the machinists and metal workers employed therein joined the bookbinders in their fight. The bookbinders were defeated and the other crafts were served notice that they will meet like fate should they attempt to strike for better conditions.

The bookbinders were alone in that fight, while the employers had the backing of the entire Manufacturing Association, who were using every weapon conceivable to defeat the bookbinders. They were not rendered slender by jurisdiction squabbles, and they had one aim in view, to keep the bookbinders in subjection. Unlike the bookbinders, the master bookbinders have one organization which controls all the branches comprising the making of a book. The member of the above organization, no matter what he is manufacturing, be it blank book or loose leaf devices, etc., belongs to one and the same organization; in other words, it's an industrial organization.

When the Bookbinders' Union is fighting an employer it is fighting the Employers' Association (the Typothetae). All the forces of this organization are marshaled against it, while it is a common occurrence to see one local striking while another local is staying at work (technically scabbing).

To cite the case of L. U. No. 2 of Philadelphia, Pa., working, while L. U. No. 161 was striking. (L. U. No. 161 vs. Henry Bartel Co., Jan. 10, 1911) Or, to cite the New York case, L. U. No. 43

(Continued On Page Four)

BEARING LIGHTLY ON AUGER

Following Gompers' challenge to the borers' quoted in last week's *Solidarity*, the socialist delegates to the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor issued the below statement of their attitude on the matter of "capturing the A. F. of L.":

For several days past the press has contained stories to the effect that the socialists are here to capture the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Among the delegates and others interested in the American labor movement, there are many who are anxious to know whether the socialists, as an organized contingent, intend to reply to the attack of President Samuel Gompers, which is said to be a challenge.

The first fact that should be known is that the socialists, who are delegates, are here in the capacity of trade union representatives. In other words they are here as trade unionists.

When the same delegates attend a Socialist convention they are Socialist trade unionists. We would not capture the convention, and would not if we could.

The Socialist Party's repeated declarations, both national and international, recognize that the trade unions and Socialist Party occupy distinct and separate spheres of action. The special field of the first is the shop and industrial questions. The latter has to do with the political activities of the working class, and stands for its ultimate emancipation.

As to accepting the alleged challenge in Gompers' annual report, that is up to the working class to review and pass upon. We are eminently satisfied with the advanced program upon the subject as registered in the recent elections, and feel that this is an earnest forecast of things to come.

However, we know that the public can no longer be persuaded to dismiss the subject of socialism by reference to "rainbows," "utopias," "dreamers," etc. That is the discarded argument of the past generation. It is antiquated.

The socialists have introduced no socialist resolutions; therefore, there will be no lineup in the convention on socialist principles.

The rank and file of the trade unions, by daily contact, understand the true position of the Socialist Party, and know that its members are always to be depended upon for support in any crisis in the trade union movement.

It is a fact that a large proportion of the increased dues-paying membership in the Socialist Party, amounting to a gain of 42,000 within the past year, making a total dues-paying membership in the Socialist Party of over 100,000, is made up of active trade unionists.

CHARLES H. MOYER,
J. MAHLON BARNES,
J. LE ENGDAHL,
Committee.

HAYWOOD TO SPEAK

Wm. D. Haywood will speak under the auspices of the I. W. W., at Nixon Theatre, New Castle, Nov. 26, at 2:30 p. m. His subject will be "The Coming Victory of Labor" and it is expected that Big Bill will pour out some hot shot for the One Big Union idea.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will act as chairman and also speak at this meeting.

NEW HEADQUARTERS IN MINNEAPOLIS.

Until further notice the address of the Minneapolis locals will be at Room 3, Webb Block, 10 Third St. S. All communications should be directed to the Secretary Locals 64 and 147. Swedish branch meets every Sunday afternoon, 2:30, at above address. All members should attend. Sec'y Joint Locals.

Send for a sample copy of "The I. W. W. History." Ten cents.

A. F. OF L. CLINGS TO C. F.

Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 21.—President Gompers and other labor leaders of the A. F. of L. may continue to associate with Andy Carnegie, August Belmont and other "enemies of organized labor" as members of the National Civic Federation. The convention late today defeated the resolution "respectfully requesting" its officers to resign from the Civic Federation.

John Mitchell told the convention that it was a "packed" convention of the United Mine Workers at Columbus, O., last spring that compelled him to give up his \$6,000 job with Civic Federation. He said that at the proper time he would furnish proofs that delegates bearing fraudulent credentials were sent there to destroy him at a time when he "was bound hand and foot" in the Supreme Court of the United States, defending himself against enemies of organized labor.

After a day of stormy debate, during which the Socialists rallied to the support of the miners' delegation, the convention refused its endorsement by a vote of 11,849 to 4,559. As a result, Gompers and 14 other labor leaders will continue as members of the executive board of the Civic Federation.

Thomas L. Lewis, president of the mine workers at the time of the Columbus convention, tried to obtain the floor to answer Mitchell's charges. Failing in this, he later issued the following statement:

"The charge made by Mitchell that the last International convention of the United Mine Workers was packed is absolutely untrue and he will be required at the next convention to prove his statements or be

branded as conveying to the A. F. of L. information that is incorrect. The resolution condemning the Civic Federation came from the Illinois, anthracite and Iowa mining districts and was inspired by the bitter feeling among coal miners in those districts against mine owners who are members of the National Civic Federation."

President Gompers bitterly assailed the Socialists in a speech in defense of the Civic Federation.

Delegate Duncan McDonald of the Mine Workers opened the fight with an assault upon the Civic Federation when the resolutions committee reported adversely on the miners' resolution.

Lewis related several instances in which the Federation had been instrumental in settling strikes to advantage of the men: President Hays of the Glass Blowers; President Lynch, of Typographical Union, and President Mahon, of the Street Car Men's Union, also testified to instances in which the Federation had brought employer and employee together.

John H. Walker, candidate for President of the United Mine Workers, supported Mitchell's charge that the last convention was packed. He said \$10,000 had been put up to bring into the convention delegates with fraudulent credentials for the purpose of driving Mitchell out of the union.

Lewis declared that Walker was would be forced to prove his statements.

A roll call was demanded on the resolution by McDonald. The mine workers supported it solidly, including Mitchell and Walker, who thus proved themselves faithful to their instructions.

Big Miners Strike Possible

Philadelphia dispatches state that the anthracite miners have been very early and active in their preparations for the contest over the wage and other questions which will have to be settled on the expiration of the present contract on April 1 next. For several months the labor leaders have actively canvassed the coal regions and they have announced the terms on which they will work after the present contract expires.

The anthracite operators have not done much as yet. Some of them have asserted the impossibility of complying with the miners' demands and have advised consumers of coal to lay in stocks in anticipation of a strike and the closing of the mines.

The most potent and eloquent fact in the situation is the construction of stockades about the collieries by some of the leading producing companies to protect the properties from damage in event of a strike. All over the coal regions the works are being enclosed by high and strong fences, surrounded by barbed wire. Such precautions have not been taken in the mining regions so early in any contest in the history of anthracite trade.

Evidently the miners are preparing for a great struggle and it is equally apparent the operators do not intend to be caught napping. Every sign points to the expectation on the part of both parties that there will be a great contest. Unusually large quantities of coal are being mined. It is plain that the third party in interest, the consuming public, is stocking up coal.

The usual end of a contest between labor and capital is a compromise and no doubt the present dispute will end as others have, but users of coal who remember the last struggle in a presidential year, in 1900, do not suppose to be caught napping as they were then. With about 10 per cent of the miners as members of the labor union in good standing John Mitchell in that year was able to make such use of the political situation as to force a settlement

with the operators on practically his own terms. It is believed that the labor leaders will use similar tactics next year and this prospect makes the outlook more serious and uncertain than it would otherwise be. The proposal of the labor leaders to abandon the strike commission award, which has been the basis of the agreement for the last 10 years, is another reason for the serious view that is taken as to the 1912 struggle.

THOMPSON IN NEW ENGLAND

National Organizer James P. Thompson is in New England under the auspices of the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers, and is making a tour of the locals of the National Union. We propose to keep him in New England about two months. He has spent a week each in Lawrence and Lowell, and according to reports from the former city, Thompson was very well received, addressing large and enthusiastic crowds of textile workers.

Thompson's dates are as follows: Lawrence, Mass., Nov. 20 to 26. Providence, R. I., November 27 to December 3. New Bedford, Mass., Dec. 4 to 11. Patuxent, Md., J., no definite. Pa., no definite. He is the National Union to make arrangements with other locals west of Philadelphia to have Thompson speak at the various places enroute to Chicago. Any locals desiring the services of the organizer from January 1 will kindly write him in care of the undersigned.

WM. YATES,
Box 149, Acushnet, Mass.

LOCAL 179.
All mail for Local 179 should be sent direct to Local 179, care of I. W. W. headquarters, 219 E. 14th St., New York City, instead of to individual members.
MORRIS MRSHT

How to Lose Strikes

You think that you know all about losing strikes. You have practiced the game all your lives, and finally imagine that you have nothing more to learn. Yet you haven't quite reached perfection, because you win occasionally, but if you take the following hints you may succeed in losing every time:

You must divide yourself in a greater number of unions. There are millions of workers in the United Kingdom, but only about 1,100 trade unions.

You must squabble a little more amongst yourselves. The different unions could fight each other even more than at present.

You must seal on any workers not belonging to your particular union. They will be in honor bound to return the compliment when you strike.

You must make more fat jobs for officials. Your well-paid officials are responsible for most of your defeats, and if you want to be beaten every time you should

add to their number.

You must regard agreements with your employers as sacred contracts, not to be broken through on any consideration.

You must give notice before coming out on strike. The longer the better—for your masters. It gives them time to get blacklegs.

You must respect the sacred rights of property. When you come out on strike you should leave the machinery in perfect working order; it is more convenient for the blacklegs. While out on strike you should behave like gentlemen.

Finally, you must always obey your leaders; help to maintain law and order; trust implicitly in the politicians (more especially in the respectable labor members); take the advice of the capitalist press; and, above all, you must learn to think imperially.

—The Industrialist, London, Eng.

How about getting some of those three months sub cards?

SOLIDARITY

EASTERN ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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General Officers: Vincent St. John, General Sec'y-Treas.; W. E. Trautmann, General Organizer

Executive Board: J. J. Ector, Chair; C. H. Axtell, Sec'y

WATCH FOR YOUR NUMBER. Each subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the wrapper

TO CORRESPONDENTS. All correspondents who send copies of their articles to both the Industrial Worker and Solidarity

AS TO LITERATURE. Quite a number of St. John's pamphlet, "The I. W. W. History, Structure and Methods" went out the past week

Loggers and Lumber Workers' Local Union. Business meeting Sunday, Dec. 10, 8:00 p.m.

NEWS AND VIEWS

wish to expedite matters, contributions to a literature fund will be in order. About \$100 will be needed.

The "Manifesto to Lumber Workers" in last week's Solidarity has been put in leaflet form, the price being 25 cents per hundred; \$2.00 a thousand.

Send cash with all orders to the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau, Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

DON'T HAVE TO LEAVE C. F.

The Atlanta convention decided on November 21 by the overwhelming vote of 11,849 to 4,559 that Gompers and other leading officials of the A. F. of L. who are also members of the National Civic Federation, need not sever their connection with the latter body.

For some time the so-called radicals in the craft unions have been trying to prove that the main trouble was "Gompers and the Civic Federation."

One Big Union view on the principle "NOTHING IN COMMON" between miners and timbermen is the only thing that will destroy the Civic Federation's influence as well as that of the A. F. of L. officialdom.

This idea, of industrial unity and of eternal war upon the exploiters, is upheld only by the I. W. W. Get in line!

THE I. W. W. MUST WIN

Recent files to hand convey to us in unmistakable terms the fact that the I. W. W. movement in America (as in most other countries) is rapidly increasing in membership and dimensions.

And yet we have men in the labor movement in New Zealand who are continually maligning and endeavoring to belittle the I. W. W. movement, and sneering at those who are persistently advocating its principles.

Keep on with the One Big Union propaganda! Let revolution be our watchword! On with the I. W. W.!

Loggers and Lumber Workers' Local Union. Business meeting Sunday, Dec. 10, 8:00 p.m.

The New York Call of Nov. 18 has the following news item:

"A. F. OF L. AT HIGH WATER MARK BY A. F. OF L. NEWS LETTER. Washington, Nov. 11.—The increase in membership of the American Federation of Labor during the fiscal year 1911, with addition of 51,300 members, which came with the affiliation of the Western Federation of Miners, forced an average paid up and reported membership up to 1,756,785.

According to these figures, the A. F. of L. is seven years behind the working class growth of this country, numerically speaking. Its "high water mark" is an indication of low vitality and recuperative powers—a sign of degeneracy.

Talking about A. F. of L. membership, we wonder what is meant by "reported membership?" Evidently this is membership according to report.

The newspaper reports indicate that April, 1912, will be a month of thractic coal strikes. According to the same sources, the anthracite coal commission's wages have resulted in increasing the miners' wages by \$28,000,000.

The Italian capitalists are waging war against Turkey in the name of civilization. What they really are after is more territory for industrial and commercial exploitation.

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poet sings: "Feeling is deeper than all thought; and thought is deeper than all expression." And so with changes in society. They are deeper even than feeling, thought and expression.

The municipal street cleaners' strike in New York City has created quite a stir. This stir is due, not so much to the character of the men engaged in the strike, or the armed forces employed, nor even the many sensational incidents occurring, but to the principles involved.

This is the winter of working class discontent; and, by the same token, the summer of working class agitation. When workmen are out of a job they wonder why.

Referring to hard times, it is worth noting that, despite them, the I. W. W. is gradually increasing its membership and influence. This is a reflection of its strength of its tenacity and deep rootedness.

Say, did you notice that, beginning on January 1, the I. W. W. is going to issue a German weekly paper called "Der Weckruf!" (The Awakening Call)?

I am in substantial accord with the views and observations of Fellow Worker Foster, conveyed in his communication under the caption "As to My Candidate," and am heartily glad he has presented this matter for discussion at this time.

Until about a year ago I attributed the torism in the A. F. of L. to the influence of its executive officers and about 200 other officials among the higher up, but I know now that it is mainly due to the bread-and-butter activities of the paid-up officials in the local unions who fear they would be ousted by any change.

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means celebrated for propaganda still I have found by canvassing membership miserably that the one big union, but the particular of our tactics has been to discount them; that is, to date, and a singular thing in this connection which supports Foster's contention is that when I win over a craft union and he joins the I. W. W. we destroy his effectiveness as a propagandist in his own craft.

I have in mind a specific instance: The craft unions devote "leadership" and "following," inevitably. Now, in Portland, Ore., Foley, a business agent of the Plasterers' Union, built up his organization to the highest point of craft union efficiency and membership added, to a man, they would have followed him to hell SO LONG AS HE WAS WITH THEM, and could have "lied" every one to take out an I. W. W. card, but at exactly this critical point he resigned and quit them entirely, making them a very frank and manly address that they had now gone as far as they possibly could under the old dope, and that as for himself he was giving up his \$40-dollar-a-week cink and joining the Industrial Workers of the World.

In my view the I. W. W. is in exactly the predicament of the fellow who expects to carry out of the nest a new born calf every morning until it grew up. There came a morning, such as we have now when he couldn't bring the critter.

It is practically certain that the wage earners among the socialists adhere to the principle of syndicalism but the tactics which Foster very soundly criticizes leaves them to the mercy of the political dopesters.

BRUCE ROGERS, Seattle, Wash.

OPPORTUNIST POLICY

"Gelegenheits Politik"

I wish to say a few words on "shall the I. W. W. members join the conservative unions?" My answer is not and emphatically so, because the present I. W. W. is a

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INTERNATIONALISM IN GERMANY

By Robert Michels.

(A paper read at a conference on Syndicalism and Socialism in Paris, France, April 5, 1907. Translated from the French by S. G. Rich.)

Yesterday the newspapers announced that Mr. Tittoni, prime minister of the Italian kingdom, and Herr von Balow, chancellor of the German empire, came together in an international conference. To-morrow the few sheets that will mention our meeting of tonight will relate that another international conference, more humble and less pretentious, has been held at Paris by Labriola (Italian), Michels (of Germany), Kříščevský (of Russia) and Griffuelles and Lagardelle (of France), all of them plain citizens. As between these two occurrences, it is probably not this one, the most novel of them, that will appear of the most importance. "We are doing nothing here at all like the evil work of diplomacy, and we have not come here to throw another

we inquire into that wretched caldron. We are looking into some recent tendencies which reveal the trend of international socialist thought, and which are aimed to make the revolt of the working class against capitalist exploitation, the world over, more effective.

There is, indeed, nothing in this revolutionary internationalism at all like the diplomatic meetings of the bourgeois gentlemen of our respective countries. They get together in the name of their respective capitalist class either to join forces against the capitalists of other countries or to deceive one another. In fact, the bourgeoisie is between two fires—on one hand it has to fight the rival bourgeois of other lands; on the other, its workers. The working class has a simpler struggle, for all its blows are aimed at capitalism. It is world-wide; and it is pitting its international against its masters' yellow streaked international.

This is why I am glad to speak tonight, along with my comrades from other countries, before some members of the French working class—that working class which is the live model of eternal youth, and whose enthusiasm for ideals as well as its active quest of them, are again pointing the way for the world's workers. And I may as well tell you at once what is, in my estimation, the thing above all to be admired in the new form of socialism brought in by French syndicalism. It is to have found, if I may so speak, the final expression of the socialist aim, clear and unaltered, which does not go to the other extreme of appearing to everybody as merely an everyday "pure and simple" workmen's movement. Its importance lies in the imposing union of principle and class. It relies solely upon that class which, by the help of the dynamic forces of its own class egoism, its overwhelming numbers, and the supreme law of economic necessity, can become able to put through the plans so predominant in modern socialism. But it considers its first task, in addition to be that of awakening the masses to their class mission. Syndicalism, as we now see it, is not merely of the working class, but also socialist and revolutionary.

Happy as I am to greet the growth of the new socialism in France, I must confess that I see unfortunately few symptoms of such a re-birth in Germany, my own country. Today it is no title of nobility to be a German. No longer does the fact of being born in German territory give one the right to carry one's head high. The days of Goethe and Schiller, and of the philosophers; the days of Kant, in particular, who vibrated in response to the note of our despotic revolution, are indeed gone. Among us there remain no only necessary measures and subservient thought which have not the remotest suspicion of what it means to be free and independent. I have no high pride and so I say to you that since Russia is revolting has commenced to throw off the despotic yoke,

Germany has passed to the tail end of the procession of civilized countries. We are not even ruled by the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, who are the type of the capitalist class. We groan under the yoke of country squires half barbarians, survival of a pre-capitalist and feudal regime—indeed Germany of today is still very much like France in olden times, if the necessary allowances for time and place are made.

And so, in spite of its three and a half millions of Socialist votes, Germany hangs over Europe like a perpetual threat of war or of reaction. Over there we live under a police rule that would be intolerable to men who care at all for liberty. Even the most milk and water reformers, even those who outwardly show a resignation worthy of Tolstoi in spite of the blows our government has given to the working class and to socialism; even these exist illegally and against the will of officialdom. You know how the Poles have been treated in Prussian Poland; how socialist professors are not allowed in the universities; how students may not show any sympathy towards our virtues, under penalty of expulsion from the schools; how religion is forced into education, and so forth.

Against this oppressing Germany, we others have risen in revolt, in the name of Germany oppressed, in the name of socialist and working class Germany. The bourgeoisie of our land throws our anti-patriotism at us as a reproach; but we can answer that our socialist action is in a way really "patriotic" as we want to clear our land of remnants of the past.

But right here the difficulty of our task shows itself. Unlike you, we have no revolutionary syndicalism to propagate and nourish the unconquainable feeling and desire for liberty. We are without it because we have not the thing which brought it into existence; namely, democracy. Remember carefully that I am not fooling myself about the virtues of bourgeois democracy. But, if syndicalism is ever to develop wholeheartedly among us, it will be necessary that all the political liberties shall have been conquered, so that the working class, no longer busied with side-issues, can organize for revolution on a class basis.

It is true that we hardly seem to be traveling toward political liberties. The recent defeats of the Social Democratic party have shown its incapacity to do anything in this direction on the restricted parliamentary field. And this shows a sort of internal contradiction in the party. This party, which has numbers and is strongly organized, does not take up revolutionary tactics, such as the GENERAL STRIKE, just because the general strike is essentially a working-class idea and the party is afraid of scaring off the people at large, who aspire for democracy. This complaint explains the party's timidity, its love for huge numbers of votes, and its aversion towards all direct action which might more or less resemble revolutionary syndicalism.

But there is something that paralyzes the Social Democratic party more than this first complaint; something that keeps it from all manly actions or heroic deeds. As I have so often repeated in my articles in the "Movement Socialist" it is that bureaucratic, hierarchic, ponderous organization of which the German working men have so high an opinion, but which every Socialist ought to thoroughly despise. It is true that this organization is strong. In a country where initiative is not of any account, but where everybody is wonderfully well trained in discipline, where the great masses of men are parts of great and mechanical and rigid organizations, where everything is made military and bureaucratic, the workmen have followed the same route and organized in the same manner as the other classes.

This explains why the only thing worthy of comparison with the Socialist and union bureaucracies, in point of perfection and complexity, is the official bureaucracy. Modern Germany is the model which is copied in all its components parts; in particular and especially, there is the same finished regularity, the same intense toil for the object to which the toll is attached, the same faithfulness, the same discipline. Indeed, everybody knows how our working-class organization has become, as it was bound to, an end in itself, a machine being perfected in order that it may be perfect and not because of any work it can do. Meddling with this centralized and clumsy organization is, in the eyes of the German Socialists and workmen a crime. Poor souls! They do not see that on this basis the organization of the State will always be more powerful than this, no matter how much time they devote to building it up or how much care they take in strengthening it. You can see that there is hardly any

place for syndicalism, under any such circumstances, nor for direct action or the general strike. On the one hand entanglements with democracy; on the other love of the organization for the organization as such and for pure and simple parliamentary tactics. These are not exactly favorable for various methods of revolutionary working-class action; not to mention that the "highly cultivated" character of our masses, who are very fond of spicing the "good manners" of the peaceful bourgeoisie, can hardly produce a psychology of moral revolt and the feeling of brutal opposition between the classes.

Meanwhile, there being as yet no real revolutionary syndicalist movement in Germany, the Social-Democratic Party is in the midst of a difficult and dangerous crisis. Which way should we take, is what they are asking. Ought the party openly and avowedly go for pure and simple reformism? But German life is not ripe for so clear a conception; one that, while supported by the whole Socialist indietment of capitalism, is not rational from the plain democratic viewpoint. An evolutionary political theory has no place amid an absolutism like that of the Caesars. Ought the party audaciously come out for the revolution? But it is too much the slave of its prejudices for its "glorious tactics." Or will it continue forever as it is: a socialism of mere words and cowardice, of sonorous phrases and of the most mediocre action; a ephemeral and differing from day to day and district to district, without coherent ideas or practice? If such is the case, the Social-Democratic Party will be permanently unequal to its task, and will never bring democracy into German life. Does not so large a work demand other work besides the election of members of parliament more or less socialistic, and accumulation of working-class nickels in coffers that are every day becoming more overfilled? The Social Democratic Party's actual tactics, indecisive, circumspet, eminently law-abiding and parliamentary, can only prolong the ruling system's life, and stop the play of the new forces.

Therein lies the crisis. It is the impossibility of measuring up to its task that has brought the Social-Democratic Party into the blind alley where it now stands, hesitating what to do. As things are, there is no sign of any immediate exit. But, you may ask, if there is no syndicalism in Germany, are there not at least syndicalists? Oh, yes, they do exist; but they are very few as against the 1,300,000 workmen who are members of the conservative reformist unions. Against these what can the fifteen or twenty thousand "localists" do who follow more or less closely the example of your Confederation Générale du Travail? Or the young men who have brought up the new ideas in the Social-Democratic Party? Why, these are but the embryos of movements, hardly noticeable as yet without any effectual influence on the organized masses, and, when with the Socialist Party, merely tolerated. Their action is especially limited because in Germany the leaders of the Socialist and labor movement, Rebel and his colleagues, enjoy the workmen's unlimited confidence. The working class supports them passively and obeys them blindly. Of course, I don't want to speak of it; them; a life such as Bebel's forbids that. But, with that reservation, I am in duty bound to speak out and say that their authority is bad, for it is leading German Socialism to its ruin.

What, then, is the immediate task of the syndicalists in Germany? Possibly the example of our comrades in Italy, who are agitating within the Socialist Party because it offers the best field, will seem best to us. But no matter. What we must do at once is to set to work in opposing and destroying the traditional errors. We must not let pass a single chance to show the German working class the error of parliamentarism and of the doctrines which it has taken up. We must all the time repeat to the working class that the revolutionary class struggle, besides assuring practical and immediate results more quickly than political compromise, will give it that revolutionary idealism which alone can lead it to victory. Such is our duty to the other German syndicalists. It is inspired by your brave actions, comrades of France, that we shall be able to proclaim loudly in Germany as anywhere that Socialism can be restored to vitality only by syndicalism.

Translator's Note.

At such a time as the present, when many parts of the Socialist party are tending so strongly in the direction of middle class reform, the article by a well known Socialist in Germany, the first head of political socialism, will give color to us here. I have sent it to Solidarity because I be-

(Continued On Page Four)

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 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 the 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 wage 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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INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

(From the "Bulletin International.")

The Labor Struggle in England.

Numerous meetings have been held in nearly all the railway centers in order to discuss the findings of the royal commission on the recent railway strike. In all these meetings the insufficiency of the concessions recommended in the report of the commission has been pointed out and especially the refusal to recognize frankly the unions has been widely discussed. At Glasgow, Chester, Leeds, Bradford, Nottingham, Cardiff, Crewe, etc., unanimous resolutions were passed against the whole of the findings of the commission.

The railway companies have announced a revision of wages, giving an increase, especially to the lower grades of workers. The Great Western Railway has promised a yearly advance of one shilling a week over a period of four to nine years. This means a yearly increase of £32,000 in wages of the Great Western Railway. It is anticipated that other companies with a terminus in London will follow suit. The railway men generally consider the concession of the companies as an attempt to divide the workers and employes of the railway, and as a means to distract attention from the recognition of the unions. A meeting of the executives of the four large railway unions, held last week in London, was far from unanimous on the report of the commission. Several leaders who first had condemned the report have changed their opinion and are using their influence to prevent a strike. But all the strike committees which were formed during the recent strike have received orders to be ready to resume their functions the moment they receive notice. This has provoked great uneasiness in official circles. If the leaders now try to put down the movement, it is only the same as they did at the beginning of the strike this summer, when they preached patience and calm. But their authority is not greater at present, and it may happen that they will again be set aside.

From a letter of our friend Tom Mann we quote the following passage: "As he is on the spot, he is certainly competent to judge: "I do not think we are likely to have a national struggle with the miners yet. The officials will be able to check it, I think, but it will come later. Neither are we likely to have an immediate struggle on a big scale with the railway men, as the companies are making concessions to the men, but the work of perfecting the organizations is going on continuously, and a great change for the better has taken place. We never before had such a rapid growth in unionism as during the last four months, and it will prove durable. TOM MANN. Liverpool, Oct. 28, 1911."

The Situation in Spain.

The sentiment which urges the workers to help each other in their partial fights with the bourgeoisie and for their class revendications, was the cause of a suspension of work at Malaga and Bilbao; afterwards in the west, especially in California, where the S. P. is anti I. W. W. However, here in the east the thing can be done, and it is to our interest to do so. These are my personal views; do not hold Solidarity responsible for them.—S. G. R.

SYNDICALISM AND SOCIALISM IN GERMANY

(Continued From Page Three)

here it is of most use to us I. W. W. people. I am firmly convinced that our best policy is not to fight the political parties, but to follow the example of the Italians mentioned by Michaels, and agitate within. Not by preaching anti-politicalism, though there is nothing in industrial unionism to prevent an anti-political man being a good and useful industrial unionist. But we must realize that within the Socialist parties are the people most ready to accept and use our ideas. We must realize that if we do not control the parties they will hurt us in two ways. They will be used against us, and will side-track working class energy. If all we I. W. W. could get into the Socialist parties and agitate from within, we could control them in six months; put out the bourgeois leaders and methods, and restore their usefulness. I consider this usefulness to consist simply in education and in preventing the use of the state against us. They are being accomplished much, if anything, else. It is the Socialist parties so as to avoid public row old S. P. versus S. L. P. quarrel; and it looks as though the S. L. P. will soon die out. And I realize the diff-

AGAINST OLD AGE PENSIONS

Old age pensions are of no material benefit to the working class. Remedial legislation of this kind has been and will be used by the capitalist class to keep the workers from revolting. That the inmates of penal institutions should be excluded from the benefits of any working class measure is past our comprehension. It is an undisputed fact that 95 per cent of the convicts in this country are offenders only against private property interests. It is the purpose of socialism to abolish private property in the means of life, and not to condemn those who refuse to recognize its sacredness. The workers have a right to live.

To advocate socialism is an offense in the mind and eye of the capitalist class. In some communities it has been made a misdemeanor to carry on propaganda of socialism on the streets. If it is a misdemeanor to advocate socialism, it can, by the ruling class, be made a felony. And all who persist in working for the cause would not be eligible for the old age pension.

The Illinois Central railroad, among other capitalist institutions, provides a pension for employes who have been with the company for a period of 25 years. Eligibility for the pension, under capitalist institutions, does not date from the time a man takes out his citizen's papers, but from the time he becomes a worker in through companies. It must be conceded then that there are some capitalists of industry who are broader and have a more liberal conception of humanity's needs than are to be found embodied in the pending old age pension act.

The effect of such measures as pensions has been clearly demonstrated in the strike that is now being waged by the System Federation against the Harriman lines. Employes of the company who have lived unnecessarily for years at small wages have now been threatened with having their pensions cut off if they take part in the strike for better conditions.

Pensions by governments create serfs. Pensions by capitalists make unwilling slaves. In either instance they must violate some natural principle. Give to the worker the full product of his toil and his pension is assured.

There can be no merit to old age pensions, but if there were, the age limit is such that it will not apply to the working class. The average age of the American worker is 35 years. But a small percentage will live to attain the age of 60. The beneficiaries will come from that class of persons who have never contributed to society by nerve-racking and blood-sapping toil.

W. M. D. HAYWOOD.

—International Socialist Review.

ONE BIG UNION

(Continued From Page One)

on strike against the Trow Publishing Co., while Locals No. 1, 11 and 22 stayed at work. (Jan. 25, 1911).

Furthermore, it is nothing unusual to see bookbinders at work, while printers and pressmen are on strike, or vice versa. Of course, the bookbinders may think they are justified in working while some other branch is on strike, by virtue of the fact that they have a contract with the employer, and the printers may feel justified in staying at work for the same reason as enumerated above, but it couldn't be denied that the contract of one local or one craft is used as a club against the other local or craft. We may be imbued with the idea that the printers' fight is not ours, and they may think likewise, but that does not alter the situation. One thing is an established fact, that an employer first gets rid of one craft union until he succeeds in getting rid of all one by one and is running a non-union shop. One could easily deduct from the above that "an injury to one is an injury to all." Aside from a technical expediency let's view it from an economic standpoint. We have in New York City seven locals affiliated with the I. B. O. F. C., each having its officers and offices and business agent. Let us consider the expenses involved to keep up seven separate locals, with their separate meeting halls, separate offices and the salaries for their business agents. Supposing we had only one solid local instead of seven. The result would be, first, of all the jurisdictional feuds would be eliminated and, second, we could keep two energetic, well paid organizers on the field to organize the unorganized and the unskilled (?) employed in the sample card and photo album shops.

To conclude, we must admit that we are not abreast with the times. The very fact that the I. W. W. is a union of your industry or a mixed (recruiting) union already 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 in 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 55 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. Better still, write to the General Secretary for a Charter Application Blank. Get no less than TWENTY signatures thereon, of bonafide 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. Do it now. The address of the General Secretary of the I. W. W. is VINCENT ST. JOHN, 518 Cambridge Bldg., Chicago, Ill. The idea of One Big Union is bound to become a reality soon. Help it along by getting readers of Solidarity.

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The I. W. W. is now located in a new and up to date headquarters with a seating capacity of about 300, at 327 East 6th Street, Los Angeles, Calif. Everybody welcome who comes this way.

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Until further notice, all communications to Local 247 should be addressed to Jas. J. Stark, Fin. Sec'y., 1616 N. 7th St., Superior, Wis.

CHANGE IN STOCKTON.

Local 75 of Stockton, Calif., has recently moved to new and larger headquarters at 236 S. California Street.

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