EMANCIPATION

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SECEDING GARMENT WORKERS

Hold Convention and Prove Themselves To Be Like Old Organization.

Vote Down Important Resolutions Providing For Real Industrial Unionism, And Opposing War And Protocols—The I. W. W. Garment Workers.

In his review of the work of the A. F. of L. convention, published in Solidarity shortly after its close, Joseph J. Ettor told how the seceders from the United Garment Workers were denied recognition by that body. In a subsequent issue, Ettor reproduced an interview printed in a Baltimore newspaper, with Sydney Hillman, the president of the seceders, in which Hillman favored the protocol and otherwise showed that the new organization was no different than the old. These were but events that cast their shadows before, as the readers of Solidarity will now see.

Denied recognition in the A. F. of L., the new "socialist" organization sought it, reluctantly, so they said, in the capitalist courts. They sought to have themselves declared the United Garment Workers of America, and, to that end brought suit. The suit was never completed; for, having received an intimation that the judge's decision would be unfavorable to their cause, the seceders settled the suit out of court. They drew up a compromise by which they agreed to waive all rights to the name, label, records, funds, etc., of the United Garment Workers of America; in return for which they were permitted to hold a convention under that name in order to affect a title and organization of their own. This convention was held at Webster Hall, New York city, on Saturday, Dec. 26, and Monday, Dec. 28. It was rushed through after the manner of a machine-controlled political convention, and proved the claim already made that it was in no longer any real respect different from the old organization. It is dominated by the conservative socialist element of the old organization who have no other object than that of control. This the proceedings of the convention made evident.

One hundred and thirty delegates were present. Two of these were fraternal delegates from the Journeymen Tailors' Union. The main object of the convention was to secure a new name and organization in amalgamation with the Journeymen Tailors. This amalgamation is to be effected on the following agreement, appearing in "The Tailor," the organ of the Journeyman's Union, of December 8:

"AGREEMENT.

"First, this organization shall be known as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

"Second, the officers shall consist of General president, general secretary, general treasurer, general auditor and eleven general executive board members, three of whom must be from the Tailors' Industrial Union.

"Third, the G. E. B. shall organize the industry into departments when conditions warrant. Such departments shall have full control of their own funds and shall have the right to make such laws to govern their department as they see fit, providing such laws do not conflict with the general laws.

"Fourth, per capita tax payable to general office shall be no less than 25 cents per month for each member in good standing.

"Fifth, method of election of general officers to be left until after the amalgamation. Then for the general membership to decide by referendum."

This agreement speaks for itself. It was owing to this agreement that the two fraternal delegates from the Journeymen's Union (known also as the Tailors' Industrial Union) were present. They were loudly welcomed, but after that ceremony, were little heard from or consulted; the Hillman garment workers obliterated them completely, thus showing their true spirit.

The adoption of the above agreement carries with it the returning to the old name of Journeyman Tailors' and the use of the old label. In this way the Hillman faction will get a new name, a new organization, a new label and funds from the Journeymen.

The idea is that with the two organizations united, they would be in a strong position to compel recognition for the seceders from the A. F. of L.; while the Journeyman Tailors would gain organizing aid and maintain its own existence. As is well known, the recent convention of the A. F. of L. denied the Journeymen Tailors the right to use the name Tailors' Industrial Union and warned them to return to their old name and tendencies. What is not as well known is the fact that the recognized A. F. of L. United Garment Workers combats the industrial union tendencies of the Journeyman Tailors, scabbing them out of existence in strikes, wherever opportunity offers, and otherwise holding the authority of the A. F. of L. over their heads in a threatening manner. When the Journeymen Tailors were taking a referendum vote on the above amalgamation proposition, Rickert, president of the A. F. of L. United Garment Workers, sent a letter to them, notifying them that the Garment Workers with whom they were voting to amalgamate were not recognized by the A. F. of L. The notification had a great effect, as a large minority vote was polled against the amalgamation. As it is, the treatment of the fraternal delegates by the seceders convention, and other events since transpired, are likely to cause the amalgamation to be voted down by the Journeymen tailors.

The convention betrayed its kinship to the old organization in its numerous acts. Important resolutions revealing true industrial union and

Continued On Page Four.

PROVIDENCE UNEMPLOYMENT

Discussed in Four-Cornered Debate.—I. W. W. Makes Good Impression.

(Special to Solidarity)
Providence, R. I., Jan. 4.

There were nearly 400 in the People's Forum, a single tax institution, last evening to hear the four-cornered debate on the question of unemployed. It was a subject of interest to not only a large number of those present, but also to thousands throughout the city at the present time. 25,000 are unemployed in the city; the pollce census gives the number as 15,000. The various phases of the situation were exhaustively dwelt upon. The speakers were John F. Willand, an independent, Frank Morris, of the I. W. W., David S. Fraser, single taxer, and John H. Cook, anarchist.

Willand discussed the steps that have already been taken and decried their effectiveness, but did not offer anything feasable as a substitute.

Morris said that the solution of the problem is in the hands of the workers themselves and that they could not expect anything from society as their jobs were the only connecting link they had with society and as soon as that was severed they had become outcasts, for whom there is no legal remedy; and that, consequently the methods of the unemployed must of necessity be anti-social and illegal. He suggested that those who were unemployed should band together with the men now at work and arrangements be made by which all could work part of the time instead of a few working all of the time, as at present, and the others not working at all. He was also of the opinion that we are not so much concerned with the causes of unemployment as with the fact that a condition exists that must be remedied.

Morris and subsequent speakers attacked the municipal employment bureau as a method by which capital held the laboring man in subjection and kept his wages down.

The application of the single tax was David S. Fraser's panacea for rectifying the wrongs of the present social system. He recited instances where it had been adopted and had resulted in an unprecedented building expansion with consequent employment for all. But he failed to show that the reaction from such expansion, or boom, as in Vancouver, B. C., was itself one of the causes of unemployment.

John H. Cook was not so much concerned with the means by which the present unemployed are to get jobs as he was to prove the fallacy of the idea of labor. He cited a few instances to show that under some circumstances labor is not as dignified as one might suppose and that if the employers could be put to manual labor they would see the fallacy of it.

Before the speakers were allowed to answer their critics a number of five-minute speeches were made from the floor.

PROPAGANDA IN LOS ANGELES

(Special to Solidarity)
Los Angeles, Cal., Jan. 1

A few lines regarding conditions in Los. Notwithstanding the fact that we received a setback through the action of our former secretary in making away with about $60 of our finds, notice of which was sent to the different locals, we are pleased to report the League as being in fine shape. We have over 200 paid up members now as against 23 we had two months ago, and others coming at the rate of 15 to 20 a week. We have again been compelled to move into a larger hall; this is two moves we have made in two months, owing to our rapid growth.

Our new hall at 208 Sab Pedro St. was opened on Christmas eve with a smoker and entertainment, which was a big success. The hall was crowded and so well pleased was the crowd that we had hard work to get them out at one o'clock in the morning. The affair was handled in a masterly manner by the committee in charge, headed by Fellow Worker Ahlert, assisted by the wandering Jew, Phil Engle, also by H. Larson, Frank Nimmo, Jack Marra, and M. O'Donnell. Engle was master of ceremonies. The hit of the evening was the I. W. W. quartette, composed of Fellow Workers Chas. Clasen, E. E. Hess, O'Neil and Wilson, in I. W. W. and popular songs. The program closed with all hands singing "Joe Hill in Jail."

Our street meetings are well attended; these are ably handled by Fellow Workers Troy, Gordon, Menke, Wright and Engle. We are holding from three to five meetings a day; in addition to these we hold propaganda meetings in the hall, which also draw full houses. Up to date these meetings have been addressed by our own members. The subjects in my next: "Mistakes We Have Made in the Past," "Objects and Aims of the I. W. W.," and other like subjects, which have been ably handled by the various speakers. Now we have arranged with the well known attorney, Fred Moore, for a course of six lectures, starting Sunday, Jan. 10.

PRESS COMMITTEE,
Propaganda League.

WHY NOT "MOOCH" SAN DIEGO?

(Special to Solidarity)
Oakland, Calif., Jan. 2.

Michael Hoy was kicked to death; Joe, Mikolasek was riddled with bullets; hundreds of men were clubbed, some are cripples; women beaten on the streets in San Diego, during 1914. To celebrate the New Year, San Diego opened her world's fair last Friday. Are these things to be unavenged?

This is a year of unemployment. Thousands, millions are on the bum. Why not mooch San Diego? In that land of oranges and broadcloth thugs the weather is mild. All jailors are Wobbly broke. Rich and open handed travelers from the world over will throng the streets and roads around San Diego. If you are hungry when it is cold and hard-fisted, why not hie to San Diego? Oranges are glowing, roses scent the balmy air, more money than elsewhere, and San Diego is now overflowing with the class who have the coin. Why not visit San Diego's world's fair? There is no community in the United States which offers so many inducements to the bum.

We are not necessarily proposing to re-open a free speech fight. We know all the arguments—that San Diego has no industries, etc. All that has been heard; but San Diego has a climate! Why should not a footloose rebel enjoy the balmy air? If anything comes along to do, then do it.

If mooching must be done, why not mooch San Diego? It will show up the farce of celebrating prosperity and will make the real estate vigilantes blue mad. There might also be other things to do for rebels years old—kicked to death in San Diego jail, and Joe Mickolasek, shot on her streets.

Get to San Diego where the bumming is good.

A. REBEL.

Carlo Tresca, the Italian propagandist, will start a series of propaganda lectures in California and the Western States, under the auspices of the Latin Branch, I. W. W. of San Francisco, about the month of February, 1915.

Any local or members willing to arrange for some meetings, should communicate with the secretary of the Latin Branch, B. Saffores, 1505 Grant Ave., San Francisco, Calif.

DES MOINES UNEMPLOYED ORGANIZE

(Special to Solidarity)
Des Moines, Iowa, Jan. 4.

Realizing the futility of individual efforts to secure work, and driven by hunger, a large gathering of Des Moines unemployed last night organized an unemployed league. As usual the I. W. W. broke the ice. The mass meeting was called by, and the league organized under, the direction of Local 577, I. W. W.

At a rough estimate Des Moines has at present about 2,000 unemployed and the army is growing. We propose to see that these people are provided with employment, at least part of the time, or know the reason why. At any rate, the city must feed them, as many are entirely destitute and are becoming desperate.

If the city council enforced the ordinance regarding cleaning ice and snow off streets and sidewalks, this item alone would provide work for all at least a week.

We don't intend to let the city dads or boosters, bamboozle any one into the belief that $1 per day is better than nothing. We are going to get work, and at fair wages, whatever that is.

We are about to present our demands to the council. If they are refused, WE WILL ACT ACCORDINGLY.

The following temporary officers were elected. J. L. Hendrickson, chairman; Allen Simmons, secretary; C. D. Van Nordstrand, business agent, and Patrick Levinsky, messenger. Joe Gordon, F. J. Picray and Ole McMurray were active in organizing the league.

The "City of Certainties" is going to be a lively place in the near future.

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE.

FOUR I.W.W'S DINE, THEN RIDE "HOME"

(*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Jan. 8)

"Soup is a hell of a substitute for work," was the epigram enunciated by W. A. Connell, a member of the I W W, when he was arrested in Gmachl's lunchroom at 712 Pine st., last night, for charging his supper to the mayor.

Connell and three fellow adventurers walked into the restaurant about 6 o'clock and ordered supper. They had steaks, thick and juicy, fried potatoes and other things and washed them down with cream. This is what made the waitress who served them angrier than anything else.

"The idea," she said to the police when they came to the place later. "I asked them if they would have coffee and they said 'Nix on the Java. Jersey cream for us."

Shortly after the four, who gave their names as W. A. Connell, J. M. Hamilton, Dan Oldan and M. B. Becker, residence anywhere, had eaten their supper and had told the cashier, Miss Ella McDonald of 3848 Laclede ave., to "Charge it to the mayor—he is an old friend of ours!" Pine street was full of flying waitresses trying to find a policeman.

So great was the excitement that a large crowd quickly congregated in front of the restaurant. Six policemen and a patrol automobile added excitement to the scene when the four I W W's were marched from the restaurant. They were as jaunty as if they were stepping into their own car after supper at their club.

CONNELL AT HIS EASE.

"Home, James!" said Connell to the driver of the patrol wagon as they climbed within.

If ever there were four adventurers they were these. After they had requested Miss McDonald, the cashier, to put the sum of their suppers, $1.50, to the account of the mayor, and she refused, they attempted to leave the place. They were stopped at the door by W. Jack Matthews of the Lubin Moving Picture Company, who was eating at a table near the door.

"Sit down there!" said Miss McDonald, pointing to a row of stools, and the four friends of the mayor obediently took seats, they rolled cigarettes and waited for the police. Meantime waitresses ran up and down the streets looking for a policeman and Matthews guarded the door.

"If we had had the rags, we would have pulled this off at the Jefferson," said Connell to a reporter for the *Globe-Democrat*.

"You can't live on municipal soup forever," interjected Hamilton, as he took a long pull at his cigarette.

"We had no work and no money," said Oldan, "and were hungry, and this was one way to get filled up. If the city thinks soup is a substitute for work it is mistaken. We had to have real food. We got it. I have dined; the world can't harm me."

COURT DROPS LAWRENCE STRIKE FUND CASE

After Ordering Yates and Others to "Pay Back $15,000 in Court By Oct. 2, 1914," Which Was Not Done, Judge Decides in December That "To Pursue the Matter Further at This Time Might Be Regarded As Persecution."

(Special to Solidarity)
Boston, Mass., Jan. 3.

The following from the Boston Globe of Dec. 15, 1914, will no doubt be of interest to readers of Solidarity:

"NOT TO PRESS MATTER NOW."

"No further effort will be made at present to press the contempt proceedings against Joseph A. Bedard, William Trautmann, William Yates and Joseph Shaheen for failure to pay into court $15,279.85, which the Supreme Court found they had not accounted for satisfactorily as trustees of a fund for the relief of striking operatives and their families during the textile strike in Lawrence in 1912. Service was made on Yates, but not on the others, as Shaheen was in Florida, and the whereabouts of Bedard and Trautmann was unknown. Judge Loring said that counsel had done all they could reasonably have expected to do up to the present AND TO PURSUE THE MATTER FURTHER AT THIS TIME MIGHT BE REGARDED AS PERSECUTION."

In connection with the above, your correspondent will state that there is a somewhat peculiar coincidence in connection with the appearance of the same in the Boston Globe, Dec. 15. The case has been hanging fire in court for a long time, and from time to time there appeared in the press all kinds of speculation as to what would take place if the $15,000 was not paid in court on or before a certain date. Finally Yates got notice from the attorney's for the prosecution that the court had ruled that the amount was to be paid in court on Oct. 2, 1914, and that he should at once take steps to comply with that order. Of course there was nothing doing from Yates' end of the line, so no notice was taken of the attorney's letter.

On the 6th of December Yates was in New Bedford to give out version of the Lawrence strike fund and how it was used; this to controvert the impression that was being created by the action of the court. He also gave the same talk in Lawrence on Dec. 13th. We got pretty good publicity on both occasions in New Bedford, the morning and evening papers featured the meeting; in Lawrence the Tribune copied the story from the New Bedford papers. On Dec. 15, the above-quoted clipping appeared in the Boston Globe. It is rather significant that this latest from the judge should have appeared in the Globe's "death column."

FEEDING EUROPEAN WAR AND STARVING AMERICANS

Speculators in Wheat May Force Bread to Eight Cents, Or Bakers Will Cut Size of Loaf Accordingly. Small Bakers Going Out of Business By Hundreds.

(New York Call, Jan. 10.)

Eight-cent bread is a possible development of the stampede in the Chicago wheat pit, and the startling advance of wheat and flour prices, big New York bakers declared yesterday.

"The present situation is without precedent in the history of the country, and it is impossible to predict just what will happen," said Secretary H. M. Taylor, of the Shultz Bread Company. "This morning we were paying about $7 a barrel for flour in carload lots. If the upward trend continues we shall first advance bread to 6 cents. If flour goes to $10, bakers would be forced to charge 7 or 8 cents to make a profit.

"Wheat and flour have not made such advances since the famous Leiter corner in wheat. Then bakers realized the inflated condition of the market and bore reduction in the profits for a few months, knowing conditions would return to normal. Today the price advance apparently is legitimate. With Europe calling for more wheat and flour and unable to produce her own usual crops no man knows how high flour and bread will go."

O. L. Cushman, head of the baking firm that bears his name, asserts the wheat advance is due to manipulation.

"The price of wheat and flour will come down any time the fellows in control want it to," said Cushman.

The American people can thank their stars that they have no fractional currency, John M. Ward said today. The price of bread would have been increased before this, Ward said, if it were possible to charge 5½ cents.

The average size of the loaf of bread made and sold in New York is being reduced. Commissioner of Weights and Measures Hartigan reported many instances yesterday. There is no standard weight in New York under the law, although before wheat soared to $1.40 yesterday the average weight of the loaves was fourteen ounces.

Another baker said:

"With yesterday's soar in prices the situation became grave. We will not decrease the size of our loaves, however, because our production machinery is constructed to make the standard 14-ounce loaf."

All the wheat in store in Chicago—20,000,000 bushels—has been sold and similar conditions are reported at other points in the Northwest.

The greatest crop of wheat ever raised in the United States—750,000,000 bushels—is rapidly being cleaned up by European countries. Practically all of them have doubled their usual purchases.

Nearly all the association of bakers in the city have called meetings to discuss the situation and see what can be done. A cut in the size of a loaf of bread, instead of an increase in price, was suggested at some of these meetings, but it was pointed out

(Continued On Page Four Cols. 1 and 2)

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B. H. WILLIAMS . . . . . Managing Editor

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Attitude Of The French Militants

The following comes to Solidarity from Paris, in the form of a printed statement, in French. The author, Pierre Monatte, was the managing editor of "La Vie Ouvriere," (Worker's Life), a semi-monthly syndicalist review of considerable influence in France. He refused to submit to the censorship of his magazine, and suspended publication at the opening of the war. Monatte was also a member of the Confederal Committee (corresponding to a general executive board) of the C. G. T., representing the central or "departmental" unions of the Departments of Gard and Rhone, similar to the states of this country. Monatte's statement is worthy of attention, as showing that the French syndicalists, including the much heralded militants were as completely swallowed up by the war wave as were the German social democrats:

WHY I RESIGN FROM THE CONFEDERAL COMMITTEE.

To the Departmental Unions of Gard and of Rhone:

Comrades: After the vote taken at its session of the 6th of December, by the Confederal Committee, I deem it my duty to surrender the credentials you have entrusted me with. Here are the reasons which have dictated my determination:

During the past five months, it is with stupor, with grief, that I have seen:

The Confederal Committee simply record the acceptance by its general secretary of an official commission from the government of the nation;

Some weeks later, the Confederal Committee despatched a message to Bordeaux consenting to make a circuit of (union) conferences to aid the government;

A number of militant syndicalists, officials of organizations, use the language of pure nationalists.

Today, the Confederal Committee reached the point of refusing its sympathy to efforts made in behalf of peace by the socialists of neutral countries.

According to the Confederal Committee, to speak of peace at the present moment, would constitute a sin, would be almost treason—a sort of complicity in a German maneuver—all the same as for the "Times" or for the government itself.

Under these conditions, it is impossible for me to remain longer in its ranks; for I believe, on the contrary, that to speak of peace is a duty incumbent, in these tragic hours, upon labor organizations conscious of their role.

Nov. 22nd, the confederal secretary made known to the committee an invitation to a conference of socialists of neutral countries organized by the Scandinavian Socialist parties, to meet in Copenhagen, Dec. 6 and 7.

In opposing its being referred to the order of the day, I made the following proposal:

That the C. G. T. reply assuring the Scandinavian socialists that even if it was impossible for us to send a delegate we would nevertheless follow their efforts in behalf of peace with the utmost sympathy and that we would make our vows for the success of the conference at Copenhagen.

At the Confederal Committee's session, November 29, the Federation of Metal Workers deposited a resolution motived or inspired by the same spirit, which I supported with emphasis.

How and by whom was it opposed? By what arguments? It would take too much space to say here; but the minutes of the Confederal Committee—Nov. 22, Nov. 29 and Dec. 6—will doubtless inform you in the near future.

Dec. 6, the Confederal Committee faced three propositions: First, one from the Federation of the Building Trades, to the effect that the committee should make no response; second, one from Luquet, bearing some important restrictions and asking the accord of the C. G. T. and the Socialist Party upon a common text of reply; finally, that of the Metal Workers.

The Committee pronounced itself in favor of the proposition—prejudicial in character—of the Building Workers, adopting the same by 22 votes against 20, with 2 abstaining.

It is beyond doubt that the proposition of the Metal Workers would have been defeated, Dec. 6, by a strong majority.

Thus, once more, the appeals of socialists, in behalf of peace, found no echo in the French central organization, nor in the labor press of the country, the latter even going so far as to refuse to reproduce them! Appeals and initiatives conforming, too, to the resolution of the international socialist congresses of Stuttgart, of Copenhagen, and of Basle, which declares:

"In case war breaks out nevertheless, it is their duty (of the working classes) to undertake to make it cease promptly, and with all their forces to make use of the economic and political crisis created by the war to stir the masses most profoundly and to hasten the downfall of the powers that be."

That duty, Keir Hardie and the Independent Labour Party of England, have endeavored, recently to fulfill; also the two Russian socialist parties; likewise the Italian and Swiss socialists in their conference at Lugano, and the American Socialist Party by its initiative of an international socialist congress extraordinary.

It is the duty that Karl Liebknecht tried to discharge—and with him a minority of the German social democracy—by his protest in the Reichstag, Dec. 2:

"What we must demand," said he, "is rapid peace, humiliating no one, peace without conquest. All efforts directed to this end ought to be supported. Only the continuous, simultaneous affirmation of this wish in all the belligerent countries can stop the bloody massacre before the complete exhaustion of all the people's interested. Only a peace based upon the international solidarity of the working class and the liberty of all the peoples can be a durable peace. It is in this sense that the proletariats of all the countries, even in the midst of this war, ought to make a socialist effort for peace."

It is comprehensible, in a certain measure, that the masses of the people, deceived and excited daily by the press—by all the press—should have accepted as articles of faith all the governmental declarations.

But that the militants of syndicalism should not have shown more insight; that they should not have brought more of the critical sense to the examination of these governmental declarations; that they should have let themselves be caught by the fever of national vanity; that they should have lost the remembrance of principles which hitherto have guided their action—that is the saddest spectacle!

When Poincare (it will be two years next month) ascended to the presidency of France, certain ones among us said: "We shall have war before the end of his term."

We had it in less than two years after.

This war, foreseen, dreaded, by us; this war, desired, prepared, by our politicians of the national spirit—this it is that the majority of the Confederal Committee now looks upon as a war of liberation for Europe, a war capable of bringing liberty and the republic to Germany and ruin to universal militarism. What illusion!

This war, for which the "attentat of Sarajewo" (the assassination of the Austrian crown prince) was only a pretext, has its real sources in the Anglo-German economic duel in the Germano-Slav rivalry.

The Russian alliance, already the shame of the French Republic, has precipitated our country into the gulf. The Russian alliance and the Moroccon ambitions of our colonials.

The Kaiser was only able to advance the hour of the European conflagration. His responsibility for it is weightier than that of any other government; but that of the French, Russian and English governments is by no means light.

Moreover, it is not established that the French government did everything possible in the last week of July, to safeguard peace. There is no doubt that secret diplomacy—whose misdeeds have so many times been denounced—played a considerable rile in the declaration of war.

The enlightened workers of the belligerent nations cannot accept the least responsibility for this war; it rests entirely, upon the shoulders of the rulers of their countries. And, far from the former discovering reasons for allying themselves with the latter, they can only reaffirm their hatred of capitalism and of the state.

It is necessary today, more necessary than ever, to conserve jealously our independence, to hold resolutely to those conceptions of ours, which are our "reasons for being." If one thinks them false, what shall one say! Then only would one have the right to support nationalism in all its forms—nationalism political and economic.

But I fear very much, that our central organizations, in France as in Germany, C. G. T., as well as Socialist Party, Trade Union International as well as Socialist International, have only exhibited their failure.

They showed themselves too feeble to prevent the war, after so many years of organized propaganda. But one may say again that the fault lies perhaps with the masses, who have remained separated from one another and who have not comprehended the duties of internationalism. This last glimmer of hope vanishes amidst the words of the militants of one country after another. It is at the center that the fire, that is the faith, has gone out.

If humanity is to know a day of peace and of liberty, in the confines of the United States of the World, only a socialism more real and more ardent, arising disillusioned from the present, baptized in the streams of the blood of today, can bring it into being.

It is not, in any case, the armies of the allies, any more than the old dishonored organization, which can do it.

It is because I believe, dear comrades of the Gard and of the Rhone, that the C. G. T. has dishonored itself by its vote of Dec. 6, that I renounce, not without sadness, the credentials you have entrusted to me.

PIERRE MONATTE,
Titular Delegate of the Union of the Gard,
Substitute Delegate of the Union of the Rhone.

Idealism And Destruction

By Harrison George

An article recently syndicated through the press has honored the I. W. W. as a "National Menace." From a far-fetched effort to connect the transparent bomb-planting devices of the New York police with Bouck White and Tannebaum, the article proceeds to a statement that it is "Idealism mixed with destruction which makes I. W. W. manipulations a menace."

Before proceeding to analyze this let me say that any "malcontent" in the I. W. W. or out of it who resorts to crude inefficient bombs and such medieval methods of personal reprisal in this progressive age of turpenite and maxim silencers is not only a menace but a common fool. "Mal-contents" do not seem to learn from their devout brothers who build warships in Monday, forts on Tuesday, improve machine guns on Wednesday, invent explosives on Thursday, mine harbors and eat fish on Friday, turn all hell loose on Saturday and go piously to Sunday service to kneel before the only image of the nude Anthony Comstock overlooked, asking God to end wars and especially the class war by destroying those awful I. W. W. who sanction violence. To one who loves efficiency these bomb attempts are very distressing indeed.

To get back to Idealism and Destruction. Yes, we must plead guilty of harmonizing these two words. Rebels who rebel agree, others are not rebels. We, the working class, are in a Chamber of Horrors with barred windows and strong walls. We are surrounded by various implements of torture of the Capitalist Inquisition. The heavy door is fastened and although we occasionally get a sense of the outer freedom when a gust of wind fresh from the far reach of meadow and mountain penetrates our fetid prison, yet we can only SENSE that freedom; we cannot LIVE in the airy sunshine of Liberty for we are chained—chained to the work-bench. Our minds are torn by the red-hot pinchers of poverty—damned servitude, our bodies broken on the rack of economic oppression.

We would be free. We ask our jailor, our masters, to liberate us. They laugh. We plead, they sneer. We cry out and struggle, they prod us with bayonets and lash us with injunctions to submission.

They throw us a bone—wages and statistical Christianity doles out a carefully recorded crust with the adjuration to be meek and thank the Lord that the bone was not smaller, and the Christ-given crust not more stale.

But we crave the outer freedom. I make secretly in my corner a rude file and wait a chance opportunity. I pass the file to all the rest, who cut their chains and wait. The guard sleeps. I cry out for you. The guard is bound. A window broken, an iron bar wrenched out. A timber of the floor is pried up and the door is battered down. We pour out into the free air after setting the torch to our prison-house.

I may fall, another may be wounded. But there are so many of you and the master is powerless once you are free of your chains. Yet, he protests that you have destroyed his building. You laugh, for science has told you that no thing can be destroyed but only changed in form. The scrap iron shall be made into school desks, the ashes shall serve as fertilizer and the stones we shall fashion into useful homes for useful people.

We are free. I am captive no more. Yet I am very dangerous in the eyes of the master for I linked Idealism to Destruction.

Yes, I am guilty. Being born into a system that sanctions slavery I had no choice but servitude. I am guilty of discontent of wanting freedom. And worst of all, I am guilty of despising cringing subserviency and fighting to free us all. The sunlight was far off until I made a file, the fresh air was distant until we destroyed the door of our prison. Idealism and Destruction. Yes!

THE IRRECONCILABLE—
: : : A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY : : :

(Special to Solidarity)

It was evening time; the time when the factories let loose their flood of human drudges who have been penned up all day, away from the air and the light.

The train by which I was traveling was filled with these listless, jaded toilers, all homeward bound. So crowded was the train that they overflowed into the second-class compartment in which I was taking my ease. We were packed closely—much too closely—especially considering the dirty, greasy clothes my travelling companions wore. It was a typical scene. The workmen were soon discussing the all prevailing subject, viz., the war.

All took part, with the exception of the one who slept heavily in the corner, and another who was wedged along side me and whose sole contribution to the discussion was an occasional cynical smile which seemed to flicker faintly over his face.

The discussion, if such it might be termed, was certainly an uninspiring affair. It was simply a torrent of abuse directed indiscriminately against Germans and Germany, together with statements of what ought to be done to them, each one vieing with the rest in the horrible and fantastic character of his suggestions. Long before it was over I was completely bored, and so apparently was my companion for he pulled out a paper and was soon absorbed in its contents.

Although I cheerfully admit that I am of a curious disposition, wedged in as we were I really could not help seeing that it was a labour journal which he was reading. "Saved," thought I. "Now I shall have a rational man to talk to for a while." The rest was fairly easy. I asked him for a light and followed up this simple method of introduction by saying something about our troops at the front. After that I don't quite know how it developed, but it seemed to me that in no time I was listening to one of the fiercest and most bitter harangues I have ever heard.

"Our troops at the front," he said in quiet, even resonant tones, "I have no troops at the front, I am a worker." "But," I objected, "that makes no difference. This is a fight for freedom for all of us. We are all concerned." From then onwards the conversation was practically a monologue. "Freedom! Liberty!" he ejaculated, "look at me! Do you think that I am free? All my life I have been in bondage. I have been starved and sweated and robbed. You have probably heard these terms before many times, I know. Well-to-do reformers use them often enough, but *I have lived them.* Try and realize what this means—to go without everything that makes life worth living, to see your wife and children doing it, to pawn things; to be the prey of the sweater, to be harnessed to illpaid, monotonous, degrading toil, to keep doing this all your life, varying it only by tramping the streets seeking the sweater's den, insulted and despised by the well-fed employers who will watch you starve without a murmur. That is my experience and the experience of thousands like me who are the foundation of your rotten society. Our wives and children have gone short, everything and pined and rotted in the slums of England. Life has been a hellish nightmare to us and you tell me that the people who have made it so are on the side of freedom? Listen! I refuse to believe that the masters of this country have a single generous thought—one noble impulse—I know them too well. I do not care whether the English or German diplomats or both are to blame for this war. Neither represent me or my class; we have no stake in the country; no security to defend; we are sucked dry and flung to one side when our masters have no further use for us." By this time the interest of the rest of the carriage occupants was centered on us and one rather vacuous looking labourer with a patriotic emblem in his coat, seized the opportunity to tap his head and wink suggestively in the direction of my companion. He, however, was much too interested in his subject to notice this, though strangely enough he spoke quite calmly and even coldly. "When you speak of England or Germany don't forget, something," he continued, "you mean the rulers, the owners of these countries, not the workers in them. I have far more in common with the German workers than I have with the English masters who have wrecked my whole life and caused me to spend it struggling for crusts!" Here, I interjected with the remark that I was interested in the labour movement, and although I had attended many labour meetings, I had never heard a responsible leader of labour express such ideas. "No," he retorted; "but it's matter. The ideas I hold are spreading. They belong to the rank and file. They are born out of suffering and struggle. They are the children of adversity and hardship. Our voice is becoming more and more articulate, more strong, and more clear. It rises from the bottom of the social pit, the hideous economic abyss in which we are submerged, from the mass of tortured humanity, many of whose sufferings our masters' fortunes are coined. Above it, through the roar of the cannon comes the vibrant, insistent cry of an awakening working class demanding freedom and life. We have got tired of fighting our masters' battles and refuse to do it any longer. Emancipation is, for us, alone worth striving for and no masters whether English, French or German, will ever give us that."

Suddenly he broke the thread of his discourse. "I am getting out at the next station," he said. "Don't worry about my irresponsible views. I believe that is what they are called. Attend your advanced meetings, amuse yourself to your heart's content, but now and then when you grow tired of it, remember that there are men of my stamp about and that our numbers are increasing and must increase. Remember that we are as hard and bitter as the conditions that produce us, and that we have given up believing in our masters. They have lied to us and cheated us all our lives and as they continue to do so they but help to swell our ranks."

The train pulled up and he alighted and I watched him walk down the platform and disappear. As he receded, his toil-worn frame seemed to symbolize something vague, strong, terrible and menacing. He went, but his influence remained. I asked myself was it true that the type he represented was increasing? I think it is. Illogical, crude, violent they may be, but there they are—growing. Sooner or later they will be a serious problem to Society—and what is Society going to do?

R. M. FOX

London, England.

Local 16, I. W. W., of Detroit, in conjunction with the Union of Russian Workers and the Italian Propaganda League of the I. W. W., maintains a hall at 342 Gratiot Ave. International Labor Hall is open day and night. Meetings for the unemployed every afternoon at 2 o'clock. Business meetings of L. U. 16 every Wednesday 8 p. m. Propaganda meetings every Sunday at 7.30 p. m. Attend! Bring others!

H. Colby, R. Braxton, James Fuller, Leon Burton, Chas. Olson, J. A. Barber, S. Steininger, C. Hall, Wm. Blaine, J. McKenzie, please communicate with Joint Locals 150-174, at 336 Fifth St., Oakland, Calif. Very important business.—Ben Klein, Fin. Sec'y.

BROOKLYN MASS MEETING

Low wages, long hours, irregular employment, and unemployment will be considered at a mass meeting of workmen and women to be held at New Plaza Hall, Grand and Havemeyer streets, on Saturday, Jan. 16, 7 p. m. Speakers will address the meeting in English, Italian, Jewish and Lithuanian. Among them are Joseph J. Ettor, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Earle Tresca, M. Friedkin and others. Come one; come all. Under auspices Brooklyn Industrial League.

WANTED—Whity Cosgrove to communicate with Jimmie Hunt, General Delivery, Taft, Calif. *Important.*

UNITED HATTERS' FINE—OTHER NEWS AND VIEWS

Gompers says that the A. F. of L. will not help to pay the United Hatters' fine. Still the A. F. of L. is supposed to be helpful to the organizations composing it. But then the supposition is never supported by the facts.

The courts, while compelling the Hatters to pay a fine of a quarter of a million dollors, are also busy knocking anti-alien laws into a cocked hat. Nonetheless, we are asked to believe in the courts as just and fair to labor. Also in the A. F. of L. legislative program. We'd like to, but it is impossible.

The capitalists of the country are busy discounting the effects of the European war, but the Socialists represented by the New Review are still engrossed in it, to the exclusion of other important matters. "Nobly waging the class struggle" is now giving way to a noble (sic) waging of the national struggle.

The January New Review has an excellent article on "The Decline of Industrial Arbitration" in New Zealand, by Robert H. Hutchinson. He says, "The (arbitration) court is no longer the focussing point of public interest in industrial matters. It is no longer the axle around which turn the wheels of business. Differences between employes and workers are settled to an ever increasing extent outside the court, and moreover, force is again being called into play." The class war will not down, despite judicial and political institutions!

The labor unions of California are circulating petitions for the release of Ford and Suhr, on the ground that they did not commit the crimes for which they were convicted. In New York city, a Ford and Suhr protest meeting will be held at Lenox Casino, Lenox avenue and E. 116th street, on Jan. 19, 8 p. m. Other cities in between these two sections should also join the Ford and Suhr movement and make it increasingly effective.

Comptroller Prendergast says New York city cannot give employment to unemployed. A report had been given out that the city could inaugurate improvements and repairs during the winter mounting into the millions and thus afford relief to thousands of persons. Now this hope is shattered. To paraphrase Benj. Franklin: He who lives on hope extended by capitalists and politicians dies fasting.

Amos Pinchot argues in the January Masses in favor of freer trade as a preventive of wars. He declares that tariffs simply keep alive the inevitability of war. Were there no commercial wars before the adoption of protection as a national policy? And is not the tariff itself a weapon of defense resulting from the conflicts of free trade? Why not abolish trade by giving the producer all of his product and thereby avoid the necessity for it?

Those who believe that the industrial processes tend to become decentralized and autonomous, should read "Auto Car Making" in the January International Socialist Review. This article, by Mary E. Marcy, shows the third largest industry to be one long continuous mechanical operation, with the workers of every degree of skill and unskill as so many adjuncts to the machine. Above all are the executive and inventive departments; outside, the selling agencies and the banks back of the corporations. Instead of decentralization and autonomy, there are standardization and specialization, departmentization and incorporation—in a word, centralization and co-operation in one big organization connected with other big organizations.

In New York city the East-Side Neighborhood Forum was willing to accept the plan of Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the Mayor's Committee, for the relief of the unemployed, but it disapproved of Judge Gary himself. "Gary is one of the banks of unemployment," cried some of the audience. They are right. As one of the capitalists who are forcing bad conditions in order to be able to invest their capital under political conditions more favorable to themselves, Gary is one of the causes of unemployment. It is time that the responsibility of big capitalists for present conditions was pointed out. The malefactors of great wealth are still with us.

One of the alarming features of the war is the large amount of insanity among the soldiers engaged in it. The indirect effects of the war will also contribute to the increase of mental maladies. It has upset known ideals, unsettled minds and raised problems that will wreck the reason of a considerable number of the coming generation.

Judge Gary says that the present hard times are due to tariff changes, the withholding of capital from investment, and extravagance among the people. Why the Judge should have mentioned the latter, when the extravagance is due to the noninvesting capitalist, who spends his money in having a good time rather than aid the Wilson administration by putting it into industry, is not clear. The less said about extravagance in these days of starvation, the better.

Here are four headlines culled from the New York newspapers of January 9: "Poor Man's Loaf Grown in Weight as Flour Rises," "Beef Soon Beyond Poor Man's Reach," "We Shall be Poorer After the War"—Joseph H. Choate, ex-ambassador to Great Britain. "Auto Show Piles up Record Figures in Attendance and Sales." All of which shows that the only class that can live up to the advice, "Join the Sunshine Club," is the class that lives on labor and thus has the means to break records in extravagance at auto shows, despite the prevalent depression.

In New York State the law forbids the employment of aliens on public works. But the Appellate division of the Supreme Court has just made evident when a public work isn't a public work. It has just decided that aliens may be employed by contractors in building the New York city subways, because subways are not public works, as they are operated as the private property of the city. How a city, a public organization, can have private property is something that none but a legal judge can grasp. To the layman it looks like sharp practice to deprive labor of its "legal rights." The unions are going to appeal the decision. They will finally lose. Courts are instituted to protect capital, not labor.

Fifteen thousand striking miners and their families are to be evicted in Ohio, if they do not consent to the operators' terms. Much sympathy has been given to Ireland, because of the many evictions that occur within her borders. But who weeps for the evicted in America, where eviction is greater and more terrible?

One of the unusual and impressive features of the unemployed movement in New York city is the number of women taking part. Some of these women have children. Others, like their male counterparts, are migratory workers; for, quite logically, the modern industrial process turns out the female as well as the male hobo. With increased numbers, the fact will presently dawn on society. These women resemble their male fellow-workers in other respects. They refuse to exist by the grace, or rather disgrace, of charity. They want work, failing in which they will take the means of life wherever they can. These women, finally, will not solicit on the streets. They may be "down and out"; they may be, in conventional language, "the parasites of the earth." But, unlike many editors, preachers, statesmen and others of great respectability, they refuse to prostitute themselves for a livelihood. Such a spirit must commend itself to all those who are either eminent for respectable; but just workingmen, the same as you and I.

"I found two little sisters spinning whose grandmother told me they were only six and seven years old," said Lewis W. Hine, staff photographer of the National Child Labor Committee, in reporting on his recent investigations in North Carolina mills, at the opening session of the eleventh annual conference on child labor at Washington, D. C.

"I found two boys under twelve whose hands had been mutilated in the mill. And I found any number of ten and eleven year old children working an eleven hour day (during the school term) at tasks involving eye strain and muscle strain.

"In Alabama mills things are considerably better than in North Carolina because a live wire of an inspector is on the job enforcing the twelve year age limit. But I found a few youngsters below that age in the mills and scores of nine, ten and twelve year old children working as cash girls, messengers, soda clerks, theatre ushers, delivery boys and newsies."

The National Organizer of the I. W. W. now in the South will do more toward changing these conditions than will the reformers. She will arouse the workers themselves to the necessity for it.

The way of the revolutionary transgressor within the A. F. of L. is hard. During the week ending January 9, Clothing Cutters' Local Union No. 5, United Garment Workers, Brooklyn, N. Y., decided to join the secession Hillman faction. They arranged to hold a special meeting in the Labor Lyceum on Thursday, January 7. When they got there they found themselves denied admission; the Labor Lyceum, a Socialist and A. F. of L. institution, was closed to them. They were outcast and outlawed. Established institutions must protect their own existence. Only new forces and institutions can overthrow them.

The American School of Syndicalists, so-called, who are also anarchists, believe they have discovered something new and revolutionary, that is really old and reactionary. They want to revolutionize the A. F. of L. from within, when for 25 years or more various elements calling themselves neither syndicalists nor anarchists, have made the attempt and failed. Our truly and terribly re-re-revolutionary American syndicalists, further, live in unconscious ignorance of the fact that the only "revolutionists" who have succeeded in revolutionizing the A. F. of L. from within, are the Coal Operators' Association, the Civic Federation, the Militia of Christ, etc.; in other words, their beautiful theory is only successful as a reactionary theory. But, not only are "our" American syndicalists, who are also anarchists, a trifle belated and antiquated, but also a bit inconsistent. Why don't they practice, as anarchists, what they preach as syndicalists? For instance, why don't they revolutionize the educational system from within, instead of starting Ferrer Schools outside to do it? Why don't they revolutionize society from within all its established institutions, instead of starting outside co-operative colonies in the back bays of the State of Washington, or co-operative kitchens in the back streets of New York? Why don't they revolution-ize the Church and State from within, by having Emma Goldman become a virgin priestess and Alexander Berkman a Harlem congressman, instead of organizing against them outside of their ecclesiastically bodies and political organizations? Why? Because, as syndicalists the anarchists are reactionists; while as anarchists the syndicalists adopt the revolutionary method of supplanting old institutions with new ones. Next week, will consider that other absurd "syndicalist" fallacy, that the I. W. W. drains the A. F. of L. of the revolutionary elements that would transform it. With the "syndicalists" in the A. F. of L., how is that possible? But, more next week. J. E.

Some Weaknesses of the Western Wobbly

A Reply To Hamilton's "A Screed and a Suggestion,"

Seattle, Wash., Dec. 24

Solidarity:

I want to make a few remarks about "A Screed and A Suggestion" that appeared in Solidarity a short time ago. It looks to me as if the author of the screed is trying to discourage whatever part of the membership that will take him seriously.

He asks: "Can we say that the I W W really exists?" Just ask the enemies of the I W W. The I W W is not a myth with the employers, the A. F of L and a good many city governments. At no time has the majority of the membership thought that "we were on the verge of the realisation of all our hopes." That "Lawrence, Little Falls, Akron, Paterson seemed to many heraldic trumpets announcing the speedy advent of One Big Union." It can only SEEM so to a utopian dreamer who has all the impatience of the untrained mind that does not see processes, but wants results. One Big Union is like all other institutions; it is the result of a slow and painful growth. "Mushroom growth and startling decay" do not surprise a close observer of revolutionary forces.

Whether or not "the wreckage of our organization" is left on the battle-field makes but little difference. The capitalist class has often left the wreckage of their organization on the field in their struggle for supremacy with the lords of feudalism. They didn't cry over defeat. They reorganized and fought again. A defeat at the present time does not signify that we are defeated for all time. The I W W does not stay whipped. Let me ask if the spirit of revolt is the same as it was before the battle? Sweeping statements weaken argument. The screed continues: "Much of what has been taught the workers from our platform has been calculated to inspire the belief that a strike of a few weeks of ebullient and riotous enthusiasm is all that is necessary to win the permanent concession of vast benefit from the employers. Even the revolution is to spring up spontaneously over night, be in full growth on the morrow and flower to perfection the day after." Our teachers then must be at fault, for the Screed claims that "our principles are buttressed by adamantine logic." How much adamantine logic is there in the principle that the "revolution will spring up spontaneously over night"? Anyone that is well informed on what has been taught by our speakers and through our literature knows only too well that we never peddled such damaged dope as is claimed by the Screed.

"Again in our anxiety to damn the A F of L, for instance, we have centered our attack upon its officers instead of its principles." The nature of our attack on the A F of L is also in print. It does not bear you out. Please state facts.

"The sort of union which many of our propagandists seem to desire is one which distinctly resembles the kind which Mr. Dooley declares would be acceptable to the bosses; 'one with no hall, no officers, no meetings, no dues, no treasury—and damn few members.'" The writer of the Screed can also make use of the "lofty evasiveness of phrase"; for "many," after all, may be only a small part of the whole organization. And "much" of what has been taught may be also a very small part of all that has been taught. The boss will see to it that the I W W does not suffer for the want of propagandists who want a union without a membership. This type of propagandist is generally found in the union hall—but not on the job. The worker on the job has a different conception of a union than workers (?) in the hall. The boss will conduct the funeral of the I W W if it can be swamped by such propagandists.

Do not mistake "knowledge of all sections of this country" for experience in unionism.

In a picturesque way the Screed describes the Western Wobbly; in the following well rounded mouthfuls: "The nomadic worker of the West embodies the very spirit of the I W W. His cheerful cynicism, his frank and outspoken contempt for most of the conventions of bourgeois society including the more stringent conventions which masquerade under the name of morality, make him an admirable exemplar of the iconoclastic doctrines of revolutionary unionism. His anomalous position, half industrial slave, half vagabond adventurer leaves him infinitely less servile than his fellow worker of the East. Unlike the factory slave of the Atlantic seaboard and the central states HE IS MOST EMPHATICALLY NOT AFRAID OF HIS JOB. HIS MOBILITY IS AMAZING. (Underscoring mine.) Buoyantly confident of his ability to 'get by' somehow, HE PROMPTLY SHAKES THE DUST OF A LOCALITY FROM HIS FEET whenever the food is bad, or the boss too exacting, or the work unduly toilsome. DEPARTING FOR THE NEXT JOB even if it be five hundred miles away. Cost of transportation does not daunt him. 'Freight trains are every day,' and his ingenuity is a match for the vigilance of trainmen and special police. No wife and family cumber him. The worker in the East oppressed by fear of want for wife and babies dare not venture much. He has perforce the tameness of a domestic animal. But the lang of the wild taints the free and footloose western nomad to the bone. Nowhere else can a section of the working class be found so admirably fitted to serve as scouts and advance guards of the industrial army. Rather they may become the guerillas of the revolution—the franc-tireurs of the class struggle."

The spirit of the I W W cannot be embodied in those whose position is "half industrial slave, half vagabond adventurer." Rather it is embodied in those whose slavery is complete—the factory slave of the Atlantic seaboard and the central states—the very places where the I W W has struck the boss the hardest; by those who had wife and babes to care for and were oppressed by the fear of want.

It was at Lawrence and elsewhere in the East that the workers who were oppressed the most fought the hardest and stood the brunt of the battle—the women, encumbered with babes and husbands. I doubt if there ever would have been a strike in Lawrence if the workers in the mills had been "wireless, babeless, vagabond adventurers" whose "mobility is amazing," and had not been "afraid of losing their jobs." They would have QUIT without disputing the control of the mill and departed for another job. The strikes of West Virginia, Northern Michigan, Colorado, and the garment workers, were waged by workers who had wives and babes to care for. A single man will depart for the next job—will run away—but men with babes will stand and fight. We can QUIT the job much easier if we have "no fear for wife and babes."

The Western Wobbly does not encumber himself with wife and babes that will tie him to the job. He prefers to be "free and footloose" so that he can quit when the "food is bad or the boss too exacting, or the work unduly toilsome" and go to the next job where conditions are as bad as on the job he left. Is the man who quits his job on account of bad conditions and goes to another "an admirable exemplar of revolutionary unionism?" The final argument of a henscroll is that he can quit a disagreable job.

It is a standing joke at the expense of the quitter here in the West, that every job has three crews—one coming, one working, and one going. The employment shark is the only one who remembers the quitters on Thanksgiving Day. He prays for more quitters. It means more turkey for him and feathers and garbage for the quitters.

The privilege of quitting is what keeps the scisgorbill from organizing. He will chase the rainbow of a good job. He may find one some day. If we could get the Western Wobbly on the job where he can't quit we probably would get some effective work done toward building up a labor organization. It was the bakers of Paris who were compelled to bake bread at the point of the gun during the Postal Strike that routed the boss by putting soap in the bread. What have the quitters gained by quitting a bad job and going to another? They can't quit working for wages. And there's nothing to go to but another job. When the workers run after a good job and flood it with applications for work, how long is it before the boss on that job starts to speed up the workers, lower the pay and dish out bad food? It is beyond comprehension how a bunch of quitters can be "fitted to serve as scouts and advance guard of the labor army." The ones that stay and agitate on the job and try to organize are the ones who may become the guerillas of the revolution—the franc-tireurs (sharp-shooters) of the class struggle."

A great deal of quitting and jobchasing out here is unnecessary. The spirit of wanderlust helps to swell the ranks of the migratory workers. The I W W out here will grow bigger and stronger when the Wobbly learns to stay on the job. A strange thing common among quitters is that the less you work the less you are exploited. In order to be exploited less they adopt a standard of living that keeps them in the collar the shortest part of the time. The application of their doctrine keeps the Western Wobbly poorly dressed, poorly fed and poorly sheltered. Nowhere that I know of is the standard of living as low as it is in the West. This is suicidal policy, for the less you work the less you are exploited, and the less grievance you have against the boss and the less you will struggle to better conditions on the job. The more you want, the less you wear, the more you suffer for the necessities of life, the less vitality you will have with which to fight the boss. "It is the desire that makes the soldier," said Napoleon. It is the unfed that have "the tameness of a domestic animal."

It is right here in the West that you will find the biggest percentage of Wobblies who believe in the union described by Mr. Dooley. The method of organizing the migratory worker and of collecting dues as suggested by the Screed is worthy of our attention. However, it will be time enough to discuss organizing the migratory worker when he learns to get on the job and stay there. A la-

Continued on Page Three

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Industrial Unionism And The I. W. W.—By Vincent St. John
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ONE each of all the following leaflets may now be had in an attractively printed envelope. This "grab package" is good for street meetings, etc., as they can be sold, giving a wider range of reading than is contained in most pamphlets. Price 5c a package; $2.50 per hundred.

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Is The I. W. W. Anti-Political? By Justus Ebert
Union Scabs And Others By Oscar Ameringer
War And The Workers By Walker C. Smith
Political Parties And The I. W. W. By Vincent St. John
Getting Recognition By A. M. Stirton
The Eight-Hour Workday What It Will Mean; How To Get It By August Walquist
Lake Marine Workers
Why The A. F. of L. Cannot Become An Industrial Union By Vincent St. John
Appeal To Wage Workers By E. S. Nelson
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I. W. W. Publishing Bureau
112 Hamilton Ave., Cleveland, Ohio, U. S. A.

FEEDING EUROPEAN WAR AND STARVING AMERICANS

(Continued From Page 1)

that there had already been a cut in the size of the loaf this fall, so that another reduction would not leave it much more than a large sized roll.

That this had not been done before was due chiefly to the fear of competition, was the statement made by the representative of a baking establishment yesterday.

A quarter of a pound had already been taken from the weight of a 7-cent loaf, according to this statement. "There is no profit for us smaller men in the loaf as sold at present," said the baker, "yet if we raise the price and the bigger bakers do not make a corresponding raise in the price of their loaves, the customers will turn to them. We will not be able to stand the competition.

"The rise in prices has been simply unprecedented," he went on. "Early last year a barrel of common flour cost from $3.85 to $4. Now the price is nearly $7. Rye has jumped from $3.15 to $6.50, and there is no telling how high it will go."

More than 200 bakers went out of business in Chicago yesterday owing to the wheat rise. The New York members of the trade had the shivers over this news, and it was stated such a fate was imminent for many of them.

SOME WEAKNESSES OF THE WESTERN WOBBLY

Continued From Page Three

bor union can function only on the job, and for this reason the local belongs on the job. The job rebel, which is the only rebel that concerns the I W W, will make the professional troublemaker and hairsplitter hit the grit.

The Screed says further on what when we leave town and go to camp that we often find ourselves the lone card man on the job and that our activity often slackens on that account, and that if we are persistent the boss hears of it and takes the harness off of us. This is correct from the standpoint of the TALKING agitator. However, there is no reason why the lone card member cannot prevent the boss from getting next. Here is how it works: The lone card man wants to go on the job "with the tameness of a domestic animal" and take a little literature with him. After he is in camp he can sabotage all capitalist reading matter and substitute his own. Pick out suckers and scissorbills and sabotage them and their property and amusements—put them to grief. A little red pepper in the shoes of the speeder will make him slow down. A little Japanese snuff will end the poker game. A letter to a scissorbill sent through the company office by a secretary of a local with the coat of arms of the I W W on the envelope will make him abdicate. The lone card man, like saboteurs of old, can sow his tares without being heard or seen.

This method gets results and doesn't endanger the propagandist from losing his job. The propaganda of action is what counts. A copy of Solidarity and a few pamphlets will do more in camp than a dozen jawsmiths. After the lone card man has pushed the literature for a couple of months he can send to the nearest local and get a camp delegate to go and lecture to the men in camp and line up the ones that are wise.

The Screed concludes by saying that we have been chasing a rainbow, for it says that unless "we get somewhere within the next year" "the I W W will take its place with other movements of the past which 'held the word of promise to the ear of the toiler only to break it to his hope'." The forepart of the Screed insinuates that we are depending on hot air and enthusiasm to build the I W W. The I W W is the product of our methods and machines of production, and cannot be built by "enthusiasm and hot air." Neither can it be destroyed even by hot lead! It seems to me that the poorest way to get new members is to discourage them by long-winded generalizations on the mistakes and failures made by us—by crying over spilled milk and telling them that we have chased a rainbow until now. In any great crisis encouragement is half of the battle. The disciples of despair are always defeated. I would suggest also that contributions sent to Solidarity should be written in English as near as possible, for it is rather late in life for some of us to use words, even of our mother tongue, that we are not accustomed to using.

"SIN BAD"

REFERENDUM RESULTS

The returns on the referendum vote cast on the acts of the Ninth Annual Convention just sent out from the General Office show the following results:

General Officers—General Secretary-Treasurer, Wm. D. Haywood; Assistant Secretary and General Organizer, Jos. J. Ettor; Editor of Solidarity, B. H. Williams.

General Executive Board—F. H. Little, A. C. Christ, W. E. Mattingly, Francis Miller, M. J. Welsh.

Each of the two proposed amendments to the constitution and also the resolution in favor of a voluntary assessment of 25 cents for organizing purposes were adopted. In matter of affiliating with the International Syndicalist Information Bureau, the vote was in favor of affiliation.

The New York Industrial Propaganda League will hold a Ford and Suhr protest meeting on Tuesday, Jan. 19, at Lenox Casino, Lenox Ave., and 116th St. Mrs. Inez Haynes Gilmore, who attended the trial, will be the principal speaker.

To Members and Sympathizers of the I. W. W.

New York City, January, 1915.
Fellow Workers:

"The Industrialist Propaganda League" was organized in September 1914 for the purpose of carrying on propaganda for revolutionary industrial unionism, to create an intelligent concept of the form, tactics and aims of the I. W. W. among the working class of N. Y. City, and help the organization in every manner possible, during the present industrial crisis.

A few reasons for so organizing, may be briefly suggested. In a City of 5,000,000 inhabitants, the majority of whom are workers, many foreigners, unskilled, unorganized, and all mercilessly exploited, become rapidly disillusioned. Their syndicalist ideas can be received, their despair converted into hope by our propaganda; the masses of women barely touched by labor organization or herded sheeplike under meaningless protocols, await the message of the I. W. W. A half a million unemployed and their dependants in our midst can be aroused by a ringing demand for work and bread. Our field is virtually unlimited, except as our own lack of spirit or determination limits it and these three elements, the cheated immigrant, the underpaid woman made desperate by the luxuries created by their hands but never enjoyed, the unemployed, starving in the midst of plenty mocked by Belgian relief funds and charity tango teas, arouse us everywhere to the tremendously serious work the I. W. W. has before it.

But we are likewise confronted with the fact that the message of "one big union" is so menacing to those who are in the seats of the mighty, so quickly do they realize their own importance if once this modern Hercules should shake the pillars of the Temple of Capital, that every vicious and vituperative tale which would calculate to give the I. W. W. a freakish significance or to discredit its sincerity with the masses, is told by the kept press of N. Y. City.

Expecting nothing else from the commercialized organ of publicity, it behoves us to strengthen and spread the influence of our own papers, to distribute our own literature that we may increasingly neutralize this steady flow of lies.

With this purpose in mind, a small group of industrialists have worked unceasingly for the past three months and now report to you our activities, not in a spirit of bragging but as an invitation to you to join hands with us to increase these activities to a proportion commensurate with our needs and opportunities. Two thirds of our members are now unemployed and it becomes increasingly difficult for us to bear the financial burden, though we are glad to do the physical work. We have sold about $75.00 worth of literature, collected regularly for Joe Hill and Rangel and Cline Defense Funds, held one large mass meeting and are arranging two others, one a woman's mass meeting and a Ford and Suhr protest on January 19th. at Lenox Casino, 116th St. and Lenox Ave. We held street meetings nightly as long as the weather permitted and are now holding regular Sunday evening lectures at 350 E. 81st. St.

We arranged one entertainment for the benefit of the Paterson I. W. W. and are now preparing a second for the Marine Transport Workers Union. Many of the members of these two unions are unemployed as a result of the war, and we believe our function as a supplementary body to the I. W. W. includes helping them over this crisis. As events are shaping themselves in N. Y. City it now appears possible and advisable for the I. W. W. to start a militant unemployed agitation.

But to successfully function as a propaganda and financial aid to the I. W. W. as well as serve the unemployed work, we must have funds. If you are in accord with our activities, will you join the Industrialist Propaganda League or donate to its treasury?

The initiation is .25 cents, monthly dues are .10 cents. Upon the promptness and generosity of your response, will largely depend the scope, size and effectiveness of our immediate future work.

All information will be furnished and donations received by,

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn,
Secretary.

THE SECEDING GARMENT WORKERS

Continued From Page One.

socialist ideals and tendencies were voted down; while constitutional enactments of a progressive nature suffered the same fate. Here are some of the resolutions:

ON JURISDICTION.

"To the Convention of Garment Workers Webster Hall, New York City, Dec. 26, 1914:

"I offer the following section as a constitutional clause regarding eligibility to membership:

"This organization claims jurisdiction over and in its folds are eligible all wage-workers employed in and around clothing factories and shops making male attire, including clerks in offices or stores, engineers, firemen, mechanics, team drivers, etc., employed by clothing making firms either in the production or distribution of clothing."

The convention opposed this resolution. The president glibly observed that it was too comprehensive and would bring them into conflict with other organizations. "Jurisdiction," he remarked, "is the bane of the labor movement." How it could prove to be so under the proposed real industrial unionism of the resolution, he did not undertake to make plain. Nor did he seem to be aware that because of the lack of comprehensiveness—of an organization including all branches of labor employed at the garment industries, jurisdiction is the bane that it truly is.

ON THE EUROPEAN WAR.

"To the Convention of Garment Workers, Webster Hall, New York City, Dec. 26, 1914:

"*Resolution on the Present European War*—

"We look with horror and indignation at the organized and wholesale murder at present going on in Europe, and express our sorrow that the European Worker, kept in ignorance deluded by their governments and various political saviours, found themselves unable to stop the carnage by the use of Labor's most formidable weapon, the General Strike.

"To the end of showing our horror again of all war except the class war, which can only terminate with the triumph of Labor, and that we do not propose to act as birds of prey, nor aid nor abet the carnage now going on, this convention and organization pledges itself to the program of denying all supplies that in any way can be used to keep up the war.

"Therefore we pledge ourselves that in any case where our members are employed all efforts will be made by the local unions affected and by the entire organization, including the general administration, to refuse to make any uniforms, or any wearing apparel of any sort or character that would be used for the armies or auxiliaries of any of the governments now engaged in the conflict or that may become participants later on. And we call upon the workers of all industries to adopt action along similar lines as this resolution.

"Be it ordered by this convention that the utmost publicity be given this resolution through the labor press and by the general distribution of same among all the local unions of this organization."

This anti-war resolution was voted down, though the New York Call reported it as carried. The resolution was condemned as one intended to embarass the convention; and it was admitted that it did embarass. To stop making uniforms, it was argued, would not stop the war. If the tailors were making field guns then there would be some sense in stopping their work. So ran the argument, which was punctured by a Chicago delegate. He declared, in substance, that it was a case of letting the gunmaker stop the war, while the tailors went on profiting from it. He called attention to the fact that the gunmaker might use similar arguments against the tailors ;and that all the sentimental declarations of the tailors against war were proven insincere by their refusal to take action as provided by the resolution.

Next and equally important was RESOLUTION ON PROTOCALS, CONTRACTS AND AGREEMENTS

"Whereas, the chasm between the wage workers and capitalists is one that can only end with the triumph of the working class and all exploitation ceases.

"Therefore be it ordered by this convention that no part of this organization, its officers and administration shall enter into written agreements, protocols, or contracts, specifying any period of time the question of hours, wages, prices or conditions of employment.

"Conditions of agreement are decided by the strongest party to the agreement. If our strength is weak, so as to dictate favorable concessions, only the same strength, the organized industrial power and resistance of the workers can make the employers keep their faith; "scraps of paper" signed with all due forms by gentlemen diplomats are of no avail, as has been proven so eloquently in the present European conflict.

"Verbal promises from employers we declare to be all sufficient and our organization must be ready to enforce them.

"Truces and armistices signed and entered into by contending powers require that both sides shall cease to move forward or proceed to their purpose. But long and bitter experience has proven to the workers that while they sign truces and armistices —contracts and protocols pledging themselves to keep peace and ask for no changes for a stated period of years, the employer takes every advantage to increase his profits and continue exploitation.

"Therefore all our spokesmen are instructed to act in accordance with the spirit of this resolution, and these ideas be propogated in our official press and our platform."

The convention "passed up" this resolution. It was said that the local unions would make strike settlements and none would be made against the interests of the garment workers. Yet there is a tacit understanding that contracts will have to be made during the next two years, so that when the next convention meets the protocol will be an established fact. Thus will these "socialist" seceders kill the class struggle which they, theoretically favor.

The convention made the salaries of the president and general secretary the same as those paid by the old organization, viz, $2,600 a year, or $50 a week each. Other significant acts were the following:

Boston constitutional clause requiring one union only in one locality —voted down.

Boston constitutional clause leaving the calling and ending of strikes to local unions involved—voted down.

Constitutional clause providing for a referendum on calling off strikes after four weeks of duration—voted down.

BALTIMORE I. W. W.

A problem with the convention was the 15 cents per capita tax. In Baltimore the I W W locals pay only 10 cents per capita. The convention decided to leave per capita tax levies to the discretion of the general officers. This is aimed at the Baltimore I. W. W.

The I W W in Baltimore has 2,000 members, mostly women. The United Garment Workers of both factions have tried unsuccessfully to break it up. First, they scabbed on it. Next, they notified big firms that they would not work with the I W W. The big firms locked both sides out. Lastly, they declared they would work with any union card man, whether I W W or not; whereupon all hands in one big shop joined the I W W. Now the seceders are going to lower their per capita and send a woman organizer there. The I W W awaits the results with confidence. It is growing among clothing workers.

It has nothing to fear from old ideas in new clothes.

NEW YORKER

The $1,000 Fund

Total January 6th	$985.86
Hugh Swindley	.15
E. Kugler	1.00
Herman A. Fey, Sec'y Local 439, Brawley, Calif	1.75
Meyer Freidkin	1.00
Edwin Goetz	1.00
Archie R. Sinclair, Sec'y Sioux City, Iowa, Propaganda League	2.20
J. B. Hinman	.50
O. L. Wakeup	1.00
Jack Hogan	.40
Clarence Olson	2.00
To al January 13th.	$846.86

Circulation Statement

Previous reported gain	147
Subs expiring this week	36
Subs received during week	32
Loss for the week	4
Total gain to date	143

PROPOSED WESTERN TOUR FOR ELIZABETH G. FLYNN

Fellow Worker Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will make an agitation trip from New York City to the Pacific Coast providing the number of dates applied for insure handling of mileage and expense for the trip.

Below is a list of places for which dates should be arranged:

New York, N. Y.	Pueblo, Colo.
Paterson, N. J.	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Philadelphia. Pa.	
Baltimore, Md.	Los Angeles, Cal.
Pittsburg, Pa.	Fresno, Calif.
New Castle, Pa.	Stockton, Calif.
Braddock, Pa.	Sacramento, Cal.
Sharon, Pa.	Oakland, Calif.
Youngstown, O.	San Francisco, Calif.
Akron, O.	
Cleveland, O.	Redding, Calif.
Columbus, O.	Eureka, Calif.
Cincinnatti, O.	Portland, Oreg.
St. Marys, O.	Tacoma, Wash.
Lima, O.	Seattle, Wash.
Toledo, O.	Victoria, B. C.
Detroit, Mich.	Spokane, Wash.
Chicago, Ill.	Missoula, Mont.
Pullman, Ill.	Vancouver, B. C.
Rockford, Ill.	Butte, Mont.
Indianapolis, Ind.	Helena, Mont.
St. Louis, Mo.	Great Falls, Mont.
Kansas City,	
Kans.	Minot, N. D.
Kansas City, Mo.	Minneapolis, Minn.
Denver, Colo.	

Locals are requested to advise the General Office of their acceptance of date or dates at once, so that arrangements can be completed. Terms furnished on application.

General Sec'y-Treas.

Fellow Worker Jack Leheney will speak under the auspices of Auto Workers' Union No. 16, I. W. W., in Social Turner Hall, 136 Sherman St., Detroit, Sunday afternoon, Jan. 24, at 2 o'clock. Subject: "Labor Organizations and the War." Admission 10 cents.

Local 577, Des Moines, has moved to 756 E. Locust St. All mail intended for the local should be addressed to the new number. Live wires passing that way should give Des Moines a call.

Latin Branch No. 2, Local 171, I. W. W., of San Francisco, has just elected a new secretary, Vincent Santella. Address of Branch is at 1505 Grant Ave.

Geo. H. Swasey, General Delivery, New York city, is anxious to locate William Vendenhoff, member of I. W. W.; last heard from at Tampa, Fla. All information gladly received.

SPECIAL OFFER ON THE LATEST EDITION OF I. W. W. SONGS

Until February 1st.

To expedite the immediate movement of the Eighth "Special Edition of I. W. W. Songs we are offering one thousand copies at $80.00 cash, carriage prepaid, on any order for this amount received before February the first.

Here is your opportunity to realize a profit of $70.00 to use in your agitation work.

No order will be considered at this price except it be accompanied by cash and received before the date specified.

Take advantage of this offer at once. If the Local does not have sufficient funds, dig the price up from the individual members who will advance a few dollars each for this purpose.

IF YOU receive copies of this paper by mail they are paid for and no bills will follow. Some friend has taken advantage of our Special Five Week Introductory Subscription Offer, and has paid for sending you the paper for this period.

A New Year and "The Little GREEN BOOK"

Both Are Now Here

Start the new year right by anying yourself with "The Little Green Book" and getting into action as a Subscription Hustler for Solidarity, Resolve to always have one of these with you, and to never miss an opportunity of selling one of the fifty guaranteed subscriptions. This book just fits the pocket, is attractive, durable, and will be found to make subscription getting easy, Let us send you one. Just a card and say, send me "The Little Green Book." A weekly bundle for samples and other matter will also be sent you.

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Preserve This Receipt

Allow two weeks time to elapse which is necessary to get new name on list.

At the end of this time if paper fails to reach you for any reason, notify us promptly with this receipt enclosed.

When changing address be sure to give us the old as well as the new address.

Copies of papers not received will be sent on application.

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