



"FORD AND SUHR HAD NO MURDEROUS INTENT"

So Says Prosecutor Carlin, at the Pardon Hearing Before Governor Johnson.

(Special to Solidarity) San Francisco, Cal., March 5, 1915. "Ford and Suhr, in all they said before the riot at Wheatland hop fields, had no murderous intent," declared their prosecutor, W. H. Carlin, to Governor Johnson, at the hearing today for a complete pardon.

Carlin repeated and laid emphasis on his utterance. He said: "Of course, I know that in law every man is responsible for the results of his own acts or words. When prosecuting this case before the jury I took the legal viewpoint and so prosecuted them. Yet I am convinced in my own mind, personally convinced that no word uttered by Ford or any of the telegrams written by Suhr were the result of an intent to commit murder or bring about a riot."

Where then goes the famous structure of conspiracy to murder the drunken band of deputies who charged the strikers' meeting, Sunday, August 3, 1913?

Carlin made this important statement at an open meeting before Gov. Johnson in this city. The gathering was brought about by the craft union. Andrew J. Gallagher of the labor council presided. Gallagher told the governor that all labor was a unit for the freedom of Ford and Suhr. Paul Scharrenberg, of the Labor Council, editor of the Coast Seaman's Journal, Secretary of the California Commission on Immigration and Housing, said: "Labor, without clique or faction, believes that Ford and Suhr were unjustly convicted and as a unit demands their release."

At this meeting were a number of women unconnected with the labor movement, but active for woman's suffrage. Mrs. Geo. Sperry, a millionaire, told the governor: "I was present at the trial of these two men. There was such a prejudice against them in Yuba county that it could be felt sweeping through the court room like a storm. The jury was composed of the very men who would be affected by any raise of wages or betterment of conditions brought about by Ford and Suhr. Therefore they could not have a fair trial. I heard again and again that they should be punished for agitating. Their agitation called attention of this state to the terrible condition of these labor camps. It was their work which brought about the improvements since credited to the state. To keep them in prison because they began this agitation is a crime."

Mrs. Sperry was followed by Mrs. Anita Whitney of the Y. W. C. A. and other women's clubs and she also took the position that the conviction was only because these men agitated. She stated that every advance in human affairs had been brought about by just such men and that to imprison Ford and Suhr because they voiced the sentiments of their class was monstrous and would be resisted by every right thinking woman in the land.

Governor Johnson has taken the case under advisement. He says he has not had a chance to read the record of the trial. What is of especial note is the change in Carlin's attitude. It was the direct action of last summer in the boycott on the hop fields, which cost the top barons one million dollars, that caused Carlin's conversion. Carlin is attorney for very many hop growers. He knows what is about.

While Governor Johnson is considering the case the I W W is going ahead pasting up stickers to beware of California canned goods. The East has not been flooded with these stickers as yet, but if Ford and Suhr are in the penitentiary thirty days from now the East will blossom out with such stickers and these stickers will be followed by more direct action.

Significant of the present situation was the fact that shortly after the hearing a "inkerton" told its business man on Market Street that Johnson would pardon Suhr and give Ford five years. That will not stop the direct action of the I W W. Mrs. Sperry asked one of the I W W men if the boys intended to put prussic acid in the canned goods. "This shows the frame of mind of some people. Of course there can be no prussic acid used. You could not use it if you wanted to in tin cans anyway; it would destroy the cans."

THE CALL OF INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

We are struggling fiercely for a bare subsistence, in this twentieth century Age of Machinery and organization, or evolutionary progress. The rapid development and application of science to industry has wrought marvelous economic changes, which accrue to the benefit of capitalism and to the detriment of the working class.

Industry can no longer be carried on successfully without thorough specialization, systematization, and organization in the shop-form. Nor can any group or class in society maintain and advance their solidaric interests except as an organized body. It is imperative that we, the workers, get together to change our condition and adapt ourselves to new conditions through thorough and effective organization.

Ours is the most scientific, the most powerful ideal which revolutionists have ever been inspired and actuated. Never has the decaying order been so damnable and repellent as now. We are hard to hand with all the forces, both positive and negative, essential to give impetus and courage to our movement.

"NO POVERTY IN SACRAMENTO"

So The City Commissioners Say, As They Refuse Aid to Unemployed.

(Special to Solidarity) Sacramento, Cal. The author of this letter has been wobbler for some time, but not completely a one as now. He was thoroughly converted during the last two weeks.

On arriving in Sacramento the first thing that greets the eye is a large electric sign in the form of a heart, with the words, "The Heart of California" in the center of it. But methinks there should be inserted the word "petrified" so that it would read "The Petrified Heart of California," which "would be nearer the truth, as the most of the citizens seem to have a heart made of stone, and not a spark of humanity in it."

Some few weeks ago a committee of the unemployed waited on the City Commissioner with the view of raising a little money to feed and house the poor stiffs who were broke and all in down and out. One of the kind-hearted commissioners, Mr. Carragher by name, said that there never was any poverty or want known in Sacramento before we waited on them, forgetting all about the pick-handle, and first those they used on the unemployed last winter. They condemned every building we tried to secure for shelter, and opposed every move we made to better our condition.

We called on the A. F. of L. and asked for their co-operation. The Federated Trades Council responded, but the Building Trades Council sent a committee to investigate our organization. One of that committee took the floor and condemned us for not wanting to work for less than the union wages, and not being willing to work for meals and lodging alone when such a step would be doing work that otherwise would be done by men receiving union wages. This same man told us it was a shame for a man not to be willing to work for less than the scale if he was broke. He even asked our wobbly soap-boxer to meet him half way and quit talking against the A. F. of L. if he would stop talking against the red flag. But we will not compromise with the wobbles who will not compromise with labor fakirs. Beautiful specimen of the labor fakir, this same man, named Lewis. He belongs to the employer's union, but we are informed that he is very seldom seen with the tools of production in his hands. The actual facts are that he really encouraged men unemployed to be scabs, and did not approve of a man who would not scab when he was broke. All the committee who attended this meeting will vouch for these facts.

There is a fund here called the Land Fund, to be distributed to the needy poor of Sacramento. When asked by the unemployed for \$100 (at that time \$2,000 were at their disposal), we were told by the same city commissioner, who is also president of the land fund commission, that no such thing as poverty ever existed in Sacramento before the fund was left to the city. When asked what constituted a resident of Sacramento, he said that to be one of Sacramento's poor, one must be a property holder, taxpayer and voter, or one who has held property and lost the same; but was very emphatic in stating that he must be a voter.

Therefore the men who go out and work during the summer months, and come back here in the fall with their summer's earnings and spend them here are not worthy of their consideration, and are not residents because of the fact that they have no vote, although they make Sacramento their home each winter. In a nutshell, the decision of the commission was that those should be left (C. critized On Page Four)

ONE-WORKING GIRL'S LIFE

A Story of Woman's Labor That is Typical of Most Industrial Centers.

Providence, R. I., March 7 Editor Solidarity: I was much interested in the article, "Just Getting Along," in last week's Solidarity. Many people imagine these conditions exist only in New York. Here is a sample of a working girl's life in a smaller city. In a dirty alley in a small eastern city was a three-story tenement. Each flat had three rooms in one of these flats lived a very large family, six children and parents. The mother not knowing how to sew, takes in one boarder and a little washing to help support the family. The father works in a shirt factory and makes \$8 a week. The children are none of them old enough to work yet. Not having enough beds the children sleep on the floor.

In the same shop with the husband works a girl fifteen years old. Mary King, that is her name, had one from Providence when she was 11 years old, with a consumptive mother and a little brother. She was the one on whom the other two looked for support. In the factory some of the people took home shirts to do at night, so that they might be able to eat a square meal once in a while.

Mary took some work home for her mother and so they lived three years in misery and poverty. Mary's mother, trying to finish the shirts in time for the shop next morning, stayed up till very late at night working on them. This made her more sick and soon she had to be taken to the hospital.

One day the little brother in crossing the street got knocked down by an automobile. He was taken to the same hospital where his mother was and operated on. It was found that he had lost his right foot.

After coming home from work Mary was told what had happened by some neighbors. She went to the hospital and having seen her brother, went to visit her mother. Mary's mother being told what had happened, got worse. A week after the accident the mother died, and Mary went to live with the people in the three rooms. Her brother died in a few days and she was visited him as often as she was allowed to.

Mary bought her meals at a stand. She usually went without breakfast, but she could not eat one. She had a roll. For dinner she spent 10 cents, and supper consisted of two rolls and a drink for 3 cents. Mary had started to go on piece work and made one dollar more. The boys in the neighborhood got her on day work and told her if she didn't like it she could go anywhere. There were plenty more who would take her place. So she stayed.

One day she was paid \$1 for a left boot, no clothing and amusement, which she didn't have. Much of Mary paid 50 cents a week for her clothing, which she bought on credit. In the whole year she had bought a shawl for 65 cents. When asked why she didn't buy a coat, she said: "I do not go out on Sundays, and not living very far from the factory, I do not need one. She had bought two waists for \$1 and a skirt for \$2.90, a dress for \$2.50 and a pair of second-hand shoes for \$2.75 and spent \$5 for other smaller articles.

After coming home from work she had to wait until everybody had washed before she could go (because the kitchen where she slept was in the same room and then she washed and mended such clothes as she had, made her bed and did the dishes in the kitchen, when they cooked and did everything. This existence made her look and feel as if her mother did before she died. Such are the conditions of thousands of our "working girls" in small cities as well in big cities, but in small cities as well. It will continue to be until we see a way for people to open their eyes and better it themselves.

ROSE MIERMAN, Age 11
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TANNENBAUM RELEASED FROM NEW YORK PRISON

Gets Big Reception From New York Workers. Unemployed Union Carrying On Good Agitation.

(Special to Solidarity) New York, March 15. Early on the morning of Tuesday, 9th, a crowd of some hundred gathered at the Public Correction landing stage to receive Tannenbaum on his departure from Blackwells Island. As the prison ferry approached, the boys broke into a lusty rendering of the "Red Flag," a girl threw red carnations into the ferry, she came alongside, and so landed Tannenbaum after one year's incarceration at the boss's expense.

The Tannenbaum Reception Committee, an organization composed of delegates from the various I. W. W. locals and other radical bodies of New York arranged a dance, entertainment and general good time for the evening which was an unqualified success. The feature of the evening was a farce, entitled, "A Bum Frame-up," written by Adolph Wolf and performed by members of the I W W. This gave, under a thin disguise, the inside of the celebrated cathedral "bomb outrage." The characters were the Mayor, the Police Commissioner, Police Captain Rummy, Italia detective and agent provocateur "Pugnosy," the "Anarchist" and others.

At a "New England Town Hall Meeting," held on the evening of March 12th at Cooper Union and called by a number of "reformers" to discuss the unemployed problem, a number of I. W. W. boys spoke from the floor putting it all over the reformers and capturing the huge meeting by carrying the I. W. W. resolution for shorter hours through industrial action.

The I. W. W. held a great unemployed mass meeting on Saturday afternoon when Tannenbaum and other speakers spoke to a very attentive crowd of over two thousand, in the historical Union Square. Large reserve forces of police were in hiding near by but they had no chance to prove their efficiency at club-swinging. Numbers of workers were lined up in the I. W. W. Unemployed Union after this meeting. The same evening fellow worker Elizabeth B. Flynn spoke in the Unemployed Hall on "Violence and the Labor Movement" to a record crowd.

On Sunday afternoon a special meeting for Polish and Russian workers was held with good results. A live bunch of Polish and Russian fellow workers are on the job gathering in the East Side restaurant and hotel workers of those nationalities and the bosses are already beginning to quake at the thought of a strike, such as was predicted by one of the capitalist papers a few days ago.

So much for the last week's work. As may be seen, we are on the job and intend making this a record winter's agitation upon which to build the summer's organizing work.
PRESS COMMITTEE.

POINTS FOR HARVEST WORKERS

Des Moines, Iowa, March 10. K. C. Conference suggests, by Press Committee, Local 577, Des Moines:

1. That an executive board be elected at the conference, to cooperate with General Headquarters.
2. That a general secretary-treasurer be elected at the conference.
3. That organizers be elected at the conference.
4. We would suggest that all active fellow workers who have had any experience, and intend to take in the harvest, communicate with General Headquarters so they may have a chance for the said offices, subject to acceptance or rejection at the K. C. conference.
5. That harvesters issue a cheap 8-hour day button, not with the I W W emblem on it, but something that will keep them guessing—a button that will bear the following inscription: "Universal Eight-Hour Day."
6. No local union to derive any benefit from initiation fees, or sale of stamps in harvest fields. All funds to go toward launching a successful National Industrial Union of Agricultural Workers.
7. All local unions to raise initiation fees to \$2 during harvest, and all organizers to charge \$2 initiation fee in harvest fields.
8. That General Headquarters issue voluntary assessment stamps, to local unions to help start the ball rolling.
9. That all appointed organizers receive \$4 per day.
10. That all voluntary camp delegates, with credentials, receive 50c.

Denver, Colo., March 13 I shall try to state in a general way my ideas and suggestions for working out a practical plan to organize the agricultural workers. The agricultural industry demands attention not only as a basic industry, but with relation to other industries, as a large number of workers (notably skilled workers, displaced by progress in production), are coming into the agriculture industry to compete for a livelihood. In this industry are advantages as well as difficulties not met with elsewhere; such as favorableness of season and strategic position for cooperative action; but the workers being scattered and in some cases isolated make organization and concerted action difficult. In laying the foundation and doing preliminary work, local, central and general bureaus of intelligence should be established to collect and disseminate information, statistics and other data of use and interest to agricultural workers. This work could be encouraged and facilitated by the provision of comprehensive Continued On Page Four.

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SILK AND OTHER CENTERS

Today one hears much about Paterson, N. J., the "Lyons of America." In this city, most of the silk manufacture of the country is done. \$50,000,000 is the value of its annual product.

Paterson is a modern city. But its chief industry is of ancient origin, being almost 5,000 years old. China, "the backward empire," is believed to be the land of its birth.

Much has been written about silk. Aristotle used his pen to describe its natural beginnings. And the Roman satirists indulged in much verse over a silk product resembling the modern X-ray gown. In fact, there is quite a literature on silk and its manufacture in all forms.

Another noteworthy textile center is Philadelphia. Ordinarily one thinks of Philadelphia as the city of brotherly love and the capital of the Pennsylvania R. R. But Philadelphia is also famous for its knit and hosiery mills and its carpet products. Its textile output is valued at \$153,000,000 in the 1910 census. It has quite a textile history.

When one thinks of worsteds, one thinks of Lawrence, Mass., which is the greatest worsted producing community in the country. \$75,000,000 is the value of its annual product according to census reports. Lawrence, nevertheless, did not exist in 1846; and it is one of the many textile centers of New England, like Manchester, N. H., and Lowell, Mass., that is "manufactured," that is, it was originally owned and developed by the company which bought the water rights and built the first mill in that locality.

Other great textile centers are New Bedford, Mass.; Fall River, Mass.; Providence, R. I.; and other cities too numerous to mention. The first two are primarily cotton mill communities. They owe their existence to an industry believed to have begun in India many centuries before Christ. Providence is famous as the locality in which Slater began to develop the first American textile factory system. In his mills the first sabotage was encouraged.

No doubt you'd like to read more about these cities as textile centers. No doubt you'd like to know more about the age of the industry which gives them their chief distinction. Also the effects of the same on the workers employed, together with some of the steps taken to remedy them. If so, read "Warp and Woof; A History of the Textile Industry in Its Various Branches," by Francis Miller; the serial publication of which will begin in *Solidarity* the first Saturday in May. If you are not a subscriber to *Solidarity*, become one now, and induce all your fellow workers to do likewise. No workman should miss this instructive history, written by a workman from a workman's standpoint. The subscription price to *Solidarity* is \$1.00 a year; 50 cents a year for clubs of four. Send in your subs now. All readers of *Solidarity* in textile centers are also urged to send us names and addresses of textile workers, to whom we may send samples of the paper with these announcements. More next week.

Some Perils Of Labor Legislation

One of the chief "perils" of so-called labor legislation as often pointed out by industrial unionists, is its tendency to develop the "waiting habit" on the part of the slaves, and to cause them to "look to the government" for relief, instead of organizing their forces on the job and learning to depend upon their own efforts for improved conditions. "Mimimum wage laws," "Workmen's Compensation Acts," "Child and Women's Labor Bills" are much promoted, much introduced into legislatures, much enacted and occasionally passed, by the law makers. Given the greater "peril" attending "labor legislation," above-referred to, and another "peril" also looms up. That is due to the fact that reformers and craft union organizations are not the only ones who may hope to lobby successfully over these various measures "in behalf of labor." Employers and their associations also invariably butt in, and with a persuasive economic force that usually decides the issue in their favor. A close examination will show that no concessions to the workers are made by the bosses, except the latter see a distinct advantage for themselves. Increased profits and efficiency are the deciding factors rather than any question of "humanity" on the part of the employers. Where they seem to yield in one direction, or with one group of workers, they add to labor's burdens in another direction. The boss is not to be outdone on questions of "labor legislation."

The state of Pennsylvania just now affords a striking case in point. The daily papers of that state are at present touting Governor Brumbaugh's "Child Labor Bill," which seems likely to become a law in that state. Under provisions of this Bill, the scale of hours for minors between 14 and 15 is fixed at a minimum of forty-eight a week and eight a day. But it is also provided that these minors must have the equivalent of a full work-

ing day in school out of each week. The scale for minors between 15 and 16 is fifty-two hours a week and nine a day. The compulsory period in school is one-half of a full working day each week. There are to be no school hours on Saturday after 1 o'clock. This means that the younger class of minors will really be at work but 40 hours in a week, and the other class but 47 1/2 hours. The bill wipes out night work for children, and specifically names a long list of occupations which are prohibited for minors less than 16 years old. Now, all this sounds good; and the Governor puts himself on the back, and declares that if passed, this measure will "put Pennsylvania in the forefront of manufacturing states in the matter of legislation to protect child workers." Many employers in Pennsylvania are reported not to be particularly hostile to this Bill, in fact, some are in favor of it, as they have discovered from experience that "a child works better for eight hours than it does for ten or twelve." A stronger, healthier and more intelligent bunch of slaves are desired by employers, who thereby expect an increase rather than a reduction in their profits.

But, while this "promising legislation for labor" is going on in Pennsylvania, something quite different is being proposed for another class of workers in that state. While recognizing that she has hitherto been "backward" in the matter of "child labor legislation," Pennsylvania proposes to be up-to-date with reference to women workers. Another bill is also pending in the same legislature, which proposes some noteworthy amendments to the "Women's Labor Act" passed in 1913. It is known as the Hackett Bill, and is thus outlined by Miss Florence E. Pierce, executive secretary of the Consumers' League. We quote from Miss Pierce's statement in the Philadelphia North American of March 6:

"A new bill was presented March 1 in the senate by Senator Hackett, which, if enacted into law, exempt from the provisions of the women's labor act certain classes of women heretofore included, namely, all those employed in hotels, boarding houses, and restaurants. The bill would allow women and young girls to work 63 hours a week and seven days a week.

"Night work is permitted for all women over 18 years, including clerks as well as domestics and housekeepers. The woman's act (present law) allows a maximum working week of 54 hours, no woman may be employed more than six days a week and women under 21 years may not be employed after 9 P. M."

Miss Pierce also shows how the new bill, by omitting the provision requiring an employer to post schedules of working hours for women in his shop, will make enforcement of the law by inspectors practically impossible.

Thus we see, that while the Pennsylvania employers appear to be making concessions to child labor (though, as shown above, they are not really doing so, but are expecting more profits through "better work and greater efficiency"), they at the same time propose to drive their adult female workers to the limit. The reason for this should be obvious: Woman labor is the greatest immediate asset for Pennsylvania labor-skinners, on account of its cheapness and its capacity for enduring exploitation. Women endure long hours and continuous driving, better than do men workers. Their psychology is usually characterized as "primitive" in an industrial sense. Many of them are working "just to help out with the family income." Thousands of them expect to escape from wage slavery to that of an illusive "home" with a man to take care of them. Other thousands are beneficiaries of the tip-system and other perquisites of male admirers or friends. Hence wages are kept down in hotels and restaurants, in domestic service, as well as in other lines of women's labor. Long generations of household drudgery have accustomed women to servile habits with long hours of toil. Bosses in Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, noting these handicaps of the woman worker, and her attendant psychology, take advantage of the situation to the utmost. Employers figure on at least a definite period before any change can take place through the awakening intelligence and the direct action of female workers. In that period they propose to make hay while the sun shines. Meanwhile, to cover up their tracks, they exploit their "humanitarianism" towards the children. This rather tends to show that in the matter of "legislation" the employer is a past master as well as a present "superman." He plays the reformers, the sentimental ladies, as well as the craft unionists, to his own advantage. He seems to recede here (without actually doing so) only to advance in another direction. Meanwhile some workers are petitioning law makers, lobbying legislatures, and otherwise wasting time that might be gained by trying to organize the slaves on the job. The "perils of labor legislation" are only perils for the workers. They lead the latter away from their organizations—job organizations—and enable the masters to control the job and manipulate the workers thereon to the bosses' increasing advantage. May the Pennsylvania and other workers soon get wise to this game, and learn to play it in their own way to get their own advantage. One Big Union of men, women and child workers will enable these slaves to inaugurate a general refusal to work under the prevailing conditions. The "laws" will thus be made on the job and enforced there through the union.

On Guard!

Was it Marx who said that "at a certain period in the development of capitalism, a small section of the bourgeoisie will break away from the main body and come to the fore as a working class?" Have we arrived at that period?

I recently had the pleasure of hearing Frank F. Walsh, chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission, deliver a lecture the subject of which was, "The War on Poverty." He condemned Ford's "45 a day plan," saying that the worker should have the full product of his toil, and that "he meant it literally." The entire lecture was practically along these lines, and tickled the ears of many radicals—but Mr. Walsh is not a worker, and cannot have the economic interest of the working class at heart without compromising his own interests; and as all people like pleasure and luxury it is not likely that

To Offset Farmers' Moves In Harvest

The coming conference in Kansas City of harvest workers, April 15th, is very important, and will no doubt be watched by all interested from both sides.

According to *Solidarity* of March 5th, the bosses have also taken steps to protect their interests against the workers in the harvest fields of every state in the union. Their organization has already been launched in the form of the National Farm Labor Exchange, with sub-exchanges in most of the important centers of the harvest states. This organization is intended to include in its membership all the farmers and business men, and will be backed by all the employers' associations. This means that the bosses of the harvest fields will try to present a solid front in their cheap labor.

In the interest of the harvest workers and the K. C. conference, I will try to dissect some of the more important points taken from the press report printed in *Solidarity*.

To begin with, they are banking on an emergency army of jobless workers to the number of 100,000, which means an over-supply of labor to reduce wages, work long hours, and speed up the harvesting of the crops.

This can be met only by a solid front on the part of every active member of the I. W. W. who intends to take in the harvest this year. Every possible effort must be made to launch a strong organization, to reduce the hours as much as possible and systematize the work of the different sections, to attract the workers to the organization and force the bosses to hire their help at the union headquarters.

The railroads have promised the farmers co-operation in every respect, which includes free shipping out from the clearing houses to harvest points along the various lines. Transportation, according to the article, will be always available, awaiting the S. O. S. calls from the farmers' business centers at the places where the harvesters are needed. It would suggest that some action be taken at the conference, or otherwise, to get aboard trains and begin a line-up from the starting points.

According to the article, Kansas City is one of the main cities from which shipments of men will be handled, and from which the bosses will obtain information to their interest. Sioux City and Minneapolis are also clearing houses for their activity. One of their purposes is the weeding out of all individuals who might be doing anything about the I. W. W. or its tactics on the job. The farm labor exchanges are at this time securing names on their lists for the harvest, and are preparing a systematic mobilization of harvesters which may be used when the time comes in the line of that matter. I can only take it to mean; they are preparing now; that is what the 100,000 emergency army of harvesters is for.

The estimated number of workers needed in a district will be figured out at the county seats in the various states, so the conference must take that into consideration with more action on the part of the Department of Labor and the Postoffice Department are to handle a vast amount of advertising, or literature. It will be sent to all the colleges throughout the U. S., so the students can be used to work the crops and help to down the effort on the part of the workers to demand more wages and better living conditions from the farmers.

I would suggest that some small leaflet be gotten out explaining the facts, and sent to the colleges for the students' information. If this is impracticable, some preparation can be made to corral them at the shipping points, or at the objective points.

This labor exchange organization of the bosses is intended to be a permanent institution, to prepare, after this harvest, for the next, and to broaden its jurisdiction in the agricultural industry of every state in the union. We must be ready to have a job on their hands and must protect their own interests in every industry on the outside, as well as on the inside, against a common enemy, the exploiters of labor.

In the meantime every local should make arrangements to have a delegate present at the conference, map out a strong fighting program, put it into action, then stick like hell—even if FORD and SUIR must be gotten out of jail to help in the work. Those who haven't any harvest shoes, wear your sabots and kick together. *Solidarity* always wins.

WESTERN BO.

Some Limitations Of Sabotage

The effectiveness of sabotage as a means of bringing the masters to terms in an actual struggle, is obvious to every class conscious member of the working class, and I shall not attempt to argue its respective merits or demerits. One phase of the subject however, I would like to dwell upon, as I think it to be of vital importance to our organization and its members.

Sabotage as a form of tactics in class warfare is widely gaining ground among the oppressed elements in society and there are some, an ever increasing number, even in our own ranks, who look upon sabotage as the most important means to overthrow the capitalist system and secure for themselves the full product of their toil. They evidently labor under the supposition that the working class would eventually adopt these tactics en masse, which I think to be erroneous. Even if such a thing were to happen, it would be in direct conflict with our constructive propaganda, as it is not only our mission to destroy this heinous system of exploitation, but also to take hold of the natural resources and machinery of production to operate them for the benefit of those who are actually active in the production of wealth.

Our task, to teach the workers to use sabotage effectually in labor disputes, is already difficult enough, without making it still harder in trying to induce the masses to use it on general principles. Unfortunately, those who have in the primary instance looked upon sabotage as a means to overthrow capitalism are not satisfied in applying it themselves, but they openly preach it in the name of the I. W. W. to members and non-members alike, especially in this case "out west."

Such action, if applied, is not only a waste of precious energy, but the propaganda thereof tends to become an obstacle in organizing a great portion of wage earners and to that extent is a detriment to the organization. For you will have a hard time trying to convince the average workman that an act of sabotage, by throwing away of tools in a construction camp after you quit a job, will result in better conditions, as an I. W. W. once tried to explain to me.

Sabotage will have the best results if resorted to in order to gain IMMEDIATE concessions. For instance, if an employer offers wages so that he may not pay for more wages dividends—it ought to be the purpose of the workers in using sabotage to injure those profits to a greater extent than the increase, to the boss, through the reduction of wages amounted to, thereby to make it more economical for the boss to grant the demands of the workers.

If sabotage would be practiced at all times its efficiency in time of need, to gain certain demands, would be seriously interfered with. If it is used in a scientific manner it will help to spread SOLIDARITY, the most powerful gun in the arsenal of labor, because in gaining demands the workers become conscious of their power.

Yours for the main issue, that is, a revolutionary industrial organization.
FRANK P. BROWN.

In Harvest

of harvest workers, but watched by the bosses have also the workers in the National Farm all important attention is intended to business men, and this means to present a solid and the K. C. con- importance points army of which means an over- such means an over- and speed up the part of every to take in the har- made to launch a as possible and to attract the h- losses to hire their co-operation in from the clear- ing lines. Sit- always available, or business men needed. I would up from the start- as one of the main handled, and from interest. Sit- for their activity, all individuals who their tactics on the a systematic when the time part of the article, ring now; that is for in a district will ous states, so the with more action the Postoffice De- or lit- throughout the U. S. and help to down and more wages and be gotten out ex- or the students' in- cooperation can be or at the objective bosses is intended after this harvest, in the agricultural means the workers their own interests are arranged, against the arrangements to map out a strong like hell—even in- to help in the wear your sabots

WESTERN BO.

abotage

s of bringing the ous to every class I shall not attempt One phase of the n. as I think it to and its members. warfare is widely even in our own important means to insure to the workers would eventually k to be erroneous. ld be in direct con- it is not only our machinery of produc- who are actually

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aste of precious en- become an obstacle and to that ex- or you will have a workman that an tools in a construc- in better conditions.

esorted to in order instance, if an em- more profits—bigger workers in using ey openly preach it wages amounted to, boss to grant the

ness its efficiency in society impossible. There is method in I. W. W. madness.

There is much talk about violence in the labor movement. The opinion seems to prevail that the more violence is especially productive of vio-

Railroad Agitators Other News And Views

The millarist who sings, "I did not raise my dog to be a sausage," evidently wants to enjoy a monopoly in his own family!

Another Pittsburgh steel president refuses contracts for war supplies, saying he is opposed to war on principle. Why should not the workers refuse to make war supplies on principle—the principle that war is sacrificial of their life, liberty and progress?

The Lackawanna, Republic and Carnegie Steel Companies are constructing big plants to manufacture benzol, a by-product of coke oven gas. This step will be a big aid to the dye industry of this country, which is dependent on Germany for its supply. It will also tend to centralize one more industry under big combinations of capital. As was said before in these columns, the war will result in a bigger capitalism and a bigger working class. In the latter case the latter lies the final hope of revolution in the interests of society.

The eastern railroads threaten to reduce wages, as an advance move against a demand for a wage increase. To this end, they are carrying on a campaign of publicity, paying hundreds of thousands of dollars to printers that should go to their employees. Were labor properly organized, in one big class, this publicity campaign would get the laugh that it deserves. But as labor is divided against itself and led by the fool ideas that its interests are the same as those of capital, this publicity campaign will do the railroad men's organizations much harm and will cost them much expense. However, the I. W. W. man, who is in by it; on the contrary he will present it for what it is, to wit, a "stall," that is only made possible of success by the craft-division of labor.

The railroads are prominent agitators just now in many lines. Their "Italian hand" is discussed in anti-full crew laws, reductions, anti-ownership and, and pro-capitalist discussions in press and elsewhere. In fact, the power of the railroads is being used to the Wilson administration and the labor organizations affiliated with it and supporting it. Few working men realize the extent of this. Just now it is being manifested in a whole sale subsidizing of newspapers, by way of their advertising columns. But the power of the railroads lies deeper than that; it is an industrial one, on which the employment of many thousands depends. Hear what President Bush of the Missouri Pacific said before the Interstate Commerce hearing for permission to increase rates, at Chicago, on March 4:

"When the railroads are prosperous they consume from 40 to 50 per cent. of the basic industrial factors and thus initiate a movement in business which quickly pervades all industries and trades. When their revenues are inadequate they are forced in self-preservation to retrench.

"Nine industries in St. Louis dependent on railroads have been obliged to curtail their production, 10,000 men, and their payrolls on that account are \$588,000 less a month than in times of normal business. The loss in wages of employees of those nine St. Louis industries would aggregate \$7,000,000 a year.

"The time has come when it is most vital, not only to the carriers' interest but to the industrial and commercial welfare of the country, that the desired advances should be allowed."

It is hard to imagine the railroads using this power to affect their ends, by way of "a policy of retrenchment," which would "lay off" thousands and create unfavorable sentiment against any political administration? And yet this power rests in a group of 16 financiers, who control the railroad systems of this country.

The unemployed agitation of the I. W. W. has got two good features that are little discussed or considered, and that should cause it to receive the commendation of industrial and progressive workingman and woman. First, it is anti-seab; the unemployed, in other words, are being taught to uphold present wage standards, and not to break them down. Second, it is anti-submissive; it is teaching the unemployed to refuse to submit to charity and to capitalist conditions, and to rebel against them. It strikes and Lithuanians, who predominate in certain industrial establishments. Brooklyn hasn't been heard from since the last meeting on Feb. 2. Since then, however, our correspondent informs us, speakers from the I. W. W. have addressed striking shoe workers, while organizing meetings in the streets of London and Lithuanians, who predominate in certain industrial establishments. Brooklyn hasn't been heard from since the last meeting on Feb. 2. Since then, however, our correspondent informs us, speakers from the I. W. W. have addressed striking shoe workers, while organizing meetings in the streets of London and Lithuanians, who predominate in certain industrial establishments. Brooklyn hasn't been heard from since the last meeting on Feb. 2. Since then, however, our correspondent informs us, speakers from the I. W. W. have addressed striking shoe workers, while organizing meetings in the streets of London and Lithuanians, who predominate in certain industrial establishments.

A Few Rambling Thoughts About The Agricultural Industry

Everybody seems to be having their say about the coming campaign for education and organization among the harvest workers. I shall try, therefore, to be up to date, at least so far as writing on this live question is concerned.

To deal with this question is to deal distinctively with the migratory worker. The I. W. W. is not dealing with the "hobo" in the same "hobo" with which we have been dealing in the west. He "jumps up" the same, he lives the same, he is attracted to the same "wanderlust" and keeps on the move for the same reasons. The Northern hobo has different habits than does the Southern hobo, but broadly speaking they are the same species of animal.

We sometimes dislike to talk of our past history because we have made so many mistakes. But if we are to be more successful in the future, than we were in the past, we must profit by past experience. To avoid a repetition of past mistakes should be our sole concern with the past. Failing to do this, we will fail in our purpose.

CAMP DELEGATES.

Camp delegates by themselves, have proven to be a failure in the logging woods of Washington and Oregon. Any old members of L. U. 432 can bear witness to this truth. L. U. 432 has had as many as 100 delegates, and as efficient as any local could hope to have, yet they failed to line up any large and lasting membership.

The camp delegate system was used on the Canadian Northern R. R. construction work. They too found themselves laboring under disadvantages and sent outside for job organizers. The organizers came. The work was much more effective and the membership roll swelled through this co-operative effort on the part of both the same experience in the logging woods proved the same advantage.

I am not saying that a camp delegate cannot or has not written up many new members, but I am saying that a live camp delegate, assisted by a job organizer, will accomplish much more than the best of any camp effort. I believe that we should use both in the harvest fields.

THE HARVEST ORGANIZATION.

I am told by men more in touch with the harvest situation, that plans will be laid at K. C. convention, to effect a temporary organization for the purpose of having the harvest situation According to the average opinion, the organization should be formed as follows, and with the following duties:

The K. C. convention should establish a general office separate from all locals. Some claim that the general organizer should be charged with the duty of organizing the harvest organizers taking part in harvest agitation, should be credentialed from the general office of harvest workers. That all delegates and organizers should be equipped with stamps and books and sent in motor cars to the harvest situation, to have jurisdictional fights and insure a united front. There is a general opinion that we should have a uniform initiation fee, some say 50c, others \$1.00.

We may differ on the initiation fee, but the Western locals initiation fee was little enough and so that is why they all charge that amount. It takes money to organize and the expense should fall upon new recruits a little more and a little less on the old war-hobos.

By establishing such an office and turning all money coming from the harvest fields, over to that office with the names of new members, the locals will get the benefit of this money because it will be large farm territory and locality. The new members will transfer out of this general office, to a local union, as they transfer from one local to another. These transfers will be the choice of the members desiring to transfer.

This method will follow up the harvest from the southern to the northern parts of the country. It will cut down on expense because one office is not as expensive as four or five. All of these ideas will express themselves at the K. C. convention and it will be interesting for us to compare the ideas we have here with those of the convention.

There is some talk about the small farmer and his natural inclination our way. I don't know where they get that stuff. I don't see that the small farmer is so bad off after all. He has a place to grow and plant to eat. He doesn't need any sympathy at all. Just view his economic position and compare it with that of a hobo.

IS THE SMALL FARMER ROBBED, OR IS HE JUST SIMPLY OUT OF DATE?

If you say that the small farmer is robbed, it is up to you to point out HOW and WHERE he is robbed. If you hold that the small farmer is robbed by the sale of his product, then you must admit that the large farmer is robbed by the sale of his product as well. In viewing the economic condition from this angle, the difference in the degree of robbery is found in the amount of produce sold. The robbery is not in the product, but in the sale of it. Commodities are sold on the market at their value, as a rule. That is, commodities exchange for other commodities, not according to bulk, or quality, but according to the amount of labor power necessary in the production, measured in hours a day, or minutes, or even days. This rule applies in the exchange of agricultural products, as it does to the products of other industries. Wheat, shoes, gloves, condensed milk, or labor power are all subject to this same economic law.

When the wage worker sells his labor power to the boss, he sells it at its value. The big boss doesn't pay more than does the little boss. The wage workers receive in wages sufficient money to buy the bare necessities of life. This is equal to saying that the boss hands back to the worker in payment for his services, enough food, clothing and shelter to enable him to reappear on the job the following day. The wage worker sells his labor power, he does not sell the product of his labor and that is why he is robbed.

HOW IS THE WAGE WORKER ROBBED?

The wage worker is robbed when he sells his labor power to the owners of the machines of production, or the job for wages. In doing this he forfeits all rights to the ownership of his product. The wage worker produces, say, \$10 worth of wheat. The boss takes charge of the entire amount. The boss then hands him back money equivalent to only one-fifth of his total product, or \$2 per day. The boss can do this because he owns the job on which other men must work in order to live. Because he owns the job and the product of the job, he is able to maintain his position as a capitalist or an exploiter of wage labor.

THE SMALL-FARMER.

In considering his case, we must take notice of the fact that he owns his job. That he owns his product. And that when he loads that product on the wagon and takes it to the market, he sells it at its value. Now it is plain the small farmer receives the value of his product of the market. The question is, where is he robbed? If the wage worker received the value of his product, rather than the value of his labor power, no one would argue that he was being robbed.

THE LARGE FARMER.

The difference between the large and small farmer, in the economic world, may be found in the methods and means of farming. The small farmer, because of limited capital, is forced to work with out-of-date machinery, and with out-of-date methods. This means that the means of labor date in production.

(Continued On Page Four Cols. 1 and 2)

Industrial Union Literature

The following is a list of the literature we have in stock at this time in quantities sufficiently large enough to insure immediate delivery. This is the best of Industrial Union literature with plenty of variety for selection. Prepare for the winter agitation by sending in your order now. All literature is sent carriage prepaid on receipt of CASH with order.

The Trial of A New Society

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In this book Fellow Worker Ebert gives the best exposition of the constructive and social philosophy of the I. W. W., that has yet appeared in print. It is not a work of fiction nor of speculation, but a matter-of-fact, practical treatment of recent phases of the industrial, social and political life, as revealed by the great textile strike at Lawrence, Mass., and the trials of Ector, Giovanni and Caruso growing out of same. Handsome, Full Cloth, Gold Stamped Binding, 100 Pages With 8 Page Illustrations. Price Per Copy 50c

The New Unionism

By Andre Tridon

A CLEAR statement of the philosophy of the famous Bloch series that of Syndicalism, its history and present status all over the world. Every member of the I. W. W. should have a copy of this book as to the status of Industrial Unionism in the different foreign countries. Endorsed and recommended by Tom Mann and other authorities of their respective countries as being historically correct. 200 Pages. Cloth \$1.10. Postage Free. Paper 30c

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By Vincent St. John

NEW and enlarged edition. Tells like the book at street and hall meetings. Order now. Price 5c; per hundred . . . \$3.50

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By Edward McDonald

GOOD propaganda for harvest "stiffs" and city slaves. Price 5c; per hundred . . . \$2.50

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NOW Enlarged to 64 pages with all of the good old songs and many new ones. Special insert on Joe Hill in three 16c copy; \$5.00 per hundred; \$36.00 a thousand.

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A large 1 of W. Pennant, fine quality of red felt with the wording "One Big Union" and emblem in the center. Price 25c each.

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THE designs are lithographed at great expense in many beautiful and durable colors. The pictures or posters are 16x20 inches. Price per picture is 15c each, \$1.00 per dozen; \$7.00 per hundred. That of the post cards is 2c each, 15c per dozen; 70c per hundred. Either one design or four assorted.

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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 wide range of reading that is contained in most pamphlets. Price 5c a package; \$2.50 per hundred.

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Lake Marine Workers Why The A. F. of L. Cannot Appeal To Wage Workers Become An Industrial Union By E. S. Nelson

Appeal To Wage Workers By E. S. Nelson. Swedish, Hungarian and Slovak; each 20c 100; \$1.60 per 1,000

Address All Orders And Remittances To

I. W. W. Publishing Bureau

112 Hamilton Ave., Cleveland, Ohio, U. S. A.

A FEW RAMBLING THOUGHTS ABOUT THE AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY

(Continued From Page 3)
ing the same amount of wealth than is necessary for the large farmer because of more up-to-date machinery and methods.

The wage slave sells his labor power, and not his labor. The small farmer sells the product of his farm, and not his labor power.

"NO POVERTY IN SACRAMENTO"

Continued From Page One
to starve. The committee of the unemployed before the city commissioners remind the writer of a man who came into an office where in due course some work last spring. He was the dirtiest appearing man imaginable; the boss hollered as he opened the door: "Well, what in hell do you want?"

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 insurance handling of mileage and expense for the trip.

FOR HARVEST WORKERS

Continued From Page One.
report blanks to be carried on the job, filled out and returned to bureau of intelligence and circulated among members desired.

AGRICULTURE WORKER

Propaganda League Due Stamps AND Local Union Assessment Stamps

A large quantity of the Propaganda League due stamps are now made up from new plates, insuring the prompt filling of all orders for these in the future.

Local agents are requested to advise the General Office of their acceptance of date or dates at once, so that arrangements can be completed.

Subjects: Flynn Lectures

- 1. Local agents are requested to advise the General Office of their acceptance of date or dates at once, so that arrangements can be completed.
2. Small Families - A Proletarian Necessity.
3. Direct Action vs. Local Action.
4. The Class War.
5. Women and the Labor Movement.
6. Lessons of the Paterson Strike.
7. Unemployment - A Menace to Society.
8. Solidarity - Labor's Road to Freedom.
9. The Revolutionary I. W. W. - Its Aims, Tactics and History.
10. The Eight Hour Day.
11. Violence and the Labor Movement.
12. The Mexican Revolution.

Information wanted about Arthur William Pepper, better known as Joe Pepper. Address F. C. Pepper, 77 Burrell Road, Ipswich, Suffolk, England.

J. A. Sullivan has resigned as secretary of Los Angeles Propaganda League, and Wm. Stockinger elected to take his place. Address Box 1843.

FORD AND SUHR DEFENSE NOT FINISHED

(Special to Solidarity)
Sacramento, Calif., March 6.
The hearing for petition for pardon of Herman Suhr and Edward Ford came up before the governor March 6th.

A representative from the federation of women's club also spoke in behalf of the pardon, and one representing the New Era club.
Then Maxwell McNutt, the attorney hired by the Building Trades Council of San Francisco to write the brief and argue the case for pardon, took the floor. In the main, he showed that the boys had in the first place committed no crime for which they could have been arrested up to the time of the so-called riot.

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS ATTENTION

The attention of all rebels is directed to Grand Junction and Montrose, Colorado, where the United States Army service is putting through two projects.
Laborers, carpenters, teamsters and pile drivers and concrete men may secure employment. Lowest wages \$2.50 per day of 8 hours for common labor.

CALIFORNIA LOCALS NOTE!

San Francisco Cal., March 5.
To all Locals of the I. W. W. in California:
As announced before in Solidarity, Carlo Tresca, the Italian propagandist, will be in California about March 15. We expected him a month before, but he was busy with the unemployed agitation in New York City.

ROCKEFELLER GAGS THE TRUTH

The Robber-Barons Spend Millions to Control Education.

WHAT SHALL LABOR DO?

Join the People's College Union: Fight for Free Schools: Build a Great College of Your Own!
THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE UNION is the one big union of the class struggle for education. Its purpose is to:
1. Recapture the Public Schools for the workers.
2. To teach from the viewpoint of the workers.
3. To bring education within the reach of every worker.

Circulation Statement

Table with 2 columns: Category and Amount. Includes 'Previously reported loss', 'Subs received during week', 'Subs expiring this week', 'Gain for the week', 'Total loss to date'.

SUGGESTIONS WANTED

What kind of a sticker or stickers would be most effective for use in the harvest campaign this season? Suggestions from each Local and member interested in this work would be most helpful.

What Every Mother Should Know

By Margaret Sanger
This is another good book of which we have only a few copies left. The author has taken a number of articles, beginning with flowers and leading on up to the human family in general. It is a book that every mother should have.

The \$1,000 Fund

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes 'Total March 10th', 'Jack Hogan', 'Wm. Beck', 'Tony Rasp', 'P. S.', 'Healey', 'Total March 17th'.

NEWS AGENTS

The following is a partial list of news stands which carry the paper and also in most cases some I. W. W. literature, besides the Local Unions of the mentioned cities:
Radical Book Shop, 817 1/2 N. Clark St., Chicago.
Ed Weinstein, street sales, St. Louis, Mo.
International News and Book Agency, 86 Fourth St., San Francisco, Calif.
Book Omnium, 1350 Fillmore St., San Francisco, Calif.
W. S. Hally, 602 E. Fifth St., Los Angeles, Calif.
M. Anselman, 291 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
Henry Luboff, 1714 Centre Ave., Pittsburgh, Penna.
International Publishing Co., 181 E. Sixth St., Cleveland, Ohio.

I. W. W. Preamble

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no permanent alliance between them. There can be no permanent alliance between them. There can be no permanent alliance between them.

I. W. W. Press

- English. Weekly, \$1.00 per year. Published by the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau, 27 Hamilton Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
"A BERMUNKAS" (The Wage Worker) Hungarian. Semi-Monthly, \$1.00 per year. 350 East 81st St., New York, N. Y.
"PRUMYSLOVY DELNIK" (The Worker) Bohemian. Semi-Monthly, \$1.00 per year. 1500 South Racine Ave., Chicago, Ill.
"SOLIDARNOSC" (Solidarity) Polish. Semi-Monthly, \$1.00 per year. Bunde rate 2 cents per copy. 2017 Ferguson Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
"SOLIDARITET" (Solidarity) Swedish. Monthly, 60 cents per year. 315 East Thomas St., Seattle, Wash.
"DARBINIKO BALASAS" (The Voice of the Workers) Lithuanian. Weekly, \$1.60 per year. 806 Hollis St., Baltimore, Md.
"HET LICHT" (The Light) Flemish. Monthly, 50 cents per year. Franco-Belgian Hall, 9 Mason St., Lawrence, Mass.
"IL PROLETARIO" (The Proletarian) Italian. Weekly, \$1.00 per year. 150 W. Fourth St., New York N. Y.
"EL REBELDE" (The Rebel) Spanish. Bi-Weekly, 50c a year. Bureau of 24 cents per copy. Address all communications and remittances to: Administration, El Rebelde, Box 1279, Los Angeles, California.
AUSTRALIAN ADMINISTRATION (The Voice of the Australian Worker) Monthly, \$1.00 per year, 230 Castle Street, Sydney, N. S. W., Australia.
SOCIALIST AND ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST
The following papers are neither published nor controlled by the I. W. W. They are the property of the I. W. W. They are mentioned here only to show the best possible results from the money expended for this purpose. Send in your ideas on this matter early to give time to compile them and work up the samples.
"LOS TRUBA" (Voice of Labor) Russian. Weekly, \$1.00 per year. Published by the Red Star, 57 George St., East 14th St., New York, N. Y.
"LA VENENIE" Italian. Weekly, \$1.00 per year. Published by Carlo Treves, 400 Third Ave., New York, N. Y.
"CULTURA OBRERA" (Labor Culture) Spanish. Weekly, \$1.00 per year. Published by the Social Study Circle, 119 Chatham St., New York, N. Y.
Subscriptions to any of the above papers may be obtained through this office, and also remittances, sent direct to the above address.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE LITERATURE

BOHEMIAN
The I. W. W. - Its History, Structure and Methods. Single copy 5 cents. \$2.50 per year.
LITHUANIAN
The I. W. W. - Its History, Structure and Methods. Single copy 5 cents. \$2.50 per year.
HUNGARIAN
The I. W. W. - Its History, Structure and Methods. Single copy 5 cents. \$2.50 per year.
POLISH
The I. W. W. - Its History, Structure and Methods. Single copy 5 cents. \$2.50 per year.

Wanted - Good soap boxers by the locals of Sacramento, Address the secretary, C. Lambert, 114 Eye St.

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