WHOLE No. 279.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, SATURDAY MAY 15, 1915.

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Difference Between Craft And Industrial Union Action, Made Clear To Coal Miners. Missakes Of The Past. Present Industrial Union Action, Made Clear To Coal Miners.

AND THE WAR

On the Ref. 6. CHO Market Company of the Compa

TO ALL AUTOMOBILE WORKERS Now Is The Time To Organize And Prepare To Get For Yourselves Some Of The "Prosperity" Promised To Your Bosses.

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INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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What The Lusitania Did Not Carry Down

The one event occupying the front pages of every American newspaper the past week, was the sinking of the British-owned steamship, Lusitania, by a German submarine during the passensteamsnp, Lustainas, or a Certain someon. No single event of the war has attracted quite so much attention, or brought forth so much indignant comment from capitalist sources. The fact that some hundreds of thousands of workingmen soldiers lost that some numerous of thousands of volume and that their lives in a single battle in France last September, and that that record has apparently been equalled on several other occasions since, has not cause any apparent concern in that same that record has apparently been equalled on several other occa-sions since, has not cause any apparent concern in that same quarter; the fact that large populations like those of Belgium and Poland have been reduced to starvation and beggary, does not seem to worry our masters to any extent, although, they have taken advantage of the situation to advertise their "benevolence" through relief contributions and protests of "sympathy" shile at the same time they were furnishing war loans and ammuni-tion to continue the devastation. But when a bunch of their own class are sent to the bottom of the sea hv a torned. tion to continue the devastation. But when a bunch of their own class are sent to the bottom of the sea by a torped, their indignation bursts its bounds. When war is brought to their own thresholds, the parasites don't seem to like it very well. Judging by some of their comments, they would even be willing for more slaves—those of the United States—to risk their lives to avenge their master's loss.

"The Lusitania carried a cargo of arms and ammunition for the allies," say the Germans. That is very probable. "Passen-gerwavere warned beforehand that the ship would be torpeded." "Say undoubtedly true. Then where is the "comeback" for the gerswere warned beforehand that the sinp would be forperiod.

"A sundoutvedly true. Then where is the "comeback" for the ship owners or the passengers who took the risk? There is none, that an impartial observer can see. Since these gentlemen declare wars for workingmen to fight, and seek with all their might to profit by them, why should a rebel get sentimental over the sinking of a million of their kind into the deepest depths of the sinking of a million of their kind into the deepest depths of the ocean? Not that we think any rebels will get sentimental over the fate of the Lusitania, or, if a thousand Lusitanias with a million capitalists on board were to share the same fate. But there are a lot of simple minded slaves who will really lose sleep over this "disaster" to their beloved masters; who may even want to don soldjers' uniforms and go forth to help Great Britain and her allies avenge this "act of German barbarism." It is indeed reported that this dire event has "brought about a great stimulation to recruiting in England." Possibly that is the reason it was allowed to be pulled off with such stage effects. At least it is said the British government made no effort to protect the Lusitania as she neared her entrance to Liverpool. Capitalseast it is said the British government made no effort to protect the Lusitaniar as she neared her entrance to Liverpool. Capitals traited from human life has never been hotably great. And in order to get the British workers, large numbers of whom seem indifferent to ordinary appeals to "patroism," properly excited over the big scrap, British and other capitalists are even willing a smill a few scrap. British and other capitalists are even willing the scrap of the scrap and the scrap of the scrap and the scrap are pointed across the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection in the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the protection of the supreme test the self-styled saviour of the sup over the big scrap, British and other capitalists are even willing to spill a few of their own precious number into the sea.

This great war has brought out nothing new in capitalist "human nature." But, to those who have eyes to see, it has emphasized some salient capitalist traits, not the least of which is phasized some same taginary that with the word "humanity" on its lips, would drag forth millions of slaves to the war shambles, in behalf of their masters' sacred profits. The Lusitania didn't carry half of their masters sacred profits. Inclusional utility down that hypocrisy with it. We may only hope that it may take many boatloads of torpedoed parasites to stimulate any considerable recruiting for purposes of revenge. Half to the British workers, who are "slow to see their country's (masters') need." May their numbers increase in all the warring nations. To hell with war, nationality and capitalism! Let the workers of the world unite to send them there!

The Collapse Of Indirect Action

What's Indirect Action, anyway?

For the benefit of those who are unacquainted with our ter minology, let us again give definitions of "indirect ction" and direct action," as applied to the labor movement.

But first a couple of illustrations, to make the matter easie and

But first a couple of illustrations, to make the matter easier of understanding.

When, for instance, you want to produce electric light, you generally use a dynamo, driven by turbines or engines. If the dynamo is mounted on the crankshaft of the engine and revolves with it, you have an instance of DIRECT ACTION in mechanics. If the dynamo, on the other hand, is mounted as a separate machine, on its own foundation, it will have to be driven by a belt thrown over the fly-wheel of the engine. This is an instance of INDIRECT ACTION in mechanics. The belt is, the intermediary. Taking again, an instance from every-day life:

If you want a thing done; for instance, if you want to tell If the dynamo, on the other hand, is mounted as a separate machine, on its own foundation, it will have to be driven by a belt thrown over the fly-wheel of the engine. This is an instance of INDIRECT ACTION in mechanics. The belt is, the intermediary. If you want a thing done; for instance, if you want to tell the boss to raise your wages, you can either do it yourself or you can have it done for you by somebody else, who acts as your representative, it is indirect action. If you use a representative, it is indirect action. If you want a thing done and the indirect action. If you want are good old saying: "If you want a thing done have been consensative, it is indirect action. If you want a thing done have been consensative, it is indirect action. If you want a thing done have been consensative, it is indirect action. If you want a thing done have been consensative, it is indirect action. If you want a thing done have been consensative, it is indirect action. If you want a thing done have been consensative, it is indirect action. If you want a thing done have been consensative, it is indirect action. If you want a thing done have been a presentative, it is indirect action. If you want a thing done have been consensative, it is indirect action. If you want a thing done have been consensative, it is indirect action. If you want a thing done have been a presentative, it is indirect action. If you want a thing done have been a presentative, it is indirect action. If you want a thing done have been a presentative, the subject was a present a subject to the order action to the low they not the have a presentative that the law presentative is the have been a presentative. If you do it yourself, it is direct action. If you want a thing done have been a present the control of the National Industrial Union of the National Indu

right, go and do it yourself."

Turning now to the labor movement, we all agree that no rement deserves the name of labor movement, unless it has for movement deserves the hame of lasts when the forming of a new society, based on economic equality.

In their tentative struggles toward that goal, the workers

nave experimented both with direct action and with indirect ac-

have experimented both with direct action and with indirect action. Now for the definitions.

INDIRECT ACTION in the labor movement is that form of
action which consists in ELECTING LEADERS, or representatives, who are vested with the power to act for and in behalf of
the workers, on the industrial or the political field.

DIRECT ACTION in the labor movement is that form of tion which consists of the PERSONAL EFFORTS of the workers themselves, as individuals or as members of the organization.

There is, consequently a world of difference between direct

nd indirect action

In the case of indirect action the mass is relieved of nearly all duties and activities upon paying so much a month. They stay at home, entirely unconcerned, while their representatives pretend to fight their battles. Naturally the "struggle" will then tend to become a private affair between the labor leaders and our

Indirect action throws nearly all the activity of the labor movement into the legislative halls of the nations, into the lob-bies, into the offices of the trade union or even into the private

bies, into the offices of the trade union or even into the private office of the employer, behind drawn curtains and guarded doors. Those are the main places where labor leaders "act."

Direct action, on the other hand, throws the activity of the labor movement into an entirely different place, on to entirely different ground. It throws the activity of the labor movement back to the place of production, to the mill, the shop, the field, which are the only places where the workers' personal efforts

which are the only places where the worked per can come into play.

Indirect action is mainly arm-chair activity by someone else.

Direct action is mainly job activity by yourself.

See the point, pal?

Having made clear the meaning of indirect action, let us bring home to our minds and record the complete collapse of inct action

The whole European labor movement, with few exceptions, The whole European labor movement, with few exceptions, was based on indirect action, the mass being voters and electors, the power being entrusted to a machine of leaders, same as in the A. F. of L. and in political socialism in this country. Direct action was advocated only by some of the French syndicalists, and by small groups of syndicalists in other countries. Direct actionists were vigorously denounced as "dividers" of the labor movement, as "revolutionary phrase mongers," aye, as enemies of the "true labor movement." We warned the workers a thousand times, a million times, unto weariness not to trust their feets into the bands of leaders. It was all in vain.

sand times, a million times, unto weariness, or fate into the hands of leaders. It was all in vain.

The leaders gave great promises. They, and they alone, could bring about better conditions and a new society, if only could bring about better conditions and a new society, if only could bring about better conditions and a new society. In only given a chance. The workers gave them a chance. They surrendered themselves so completely to their own servants that they were like a mass of helpless chicks without them. The machine of indirect action—the social party and the trade union machine—had grown to such proportions as to have won complete mastery over those it was supposed to serve. THE LABOR MOVEMENT HAD BECOME THE MACHINE OF LEADERS. le. MOVEMENT HAD BECOME THE MACHINE OF LEADERS. IN THE MACHINE OF INDIRECT ACTION. Outside the male chine there was nothing except masses who went by orders. They depended upon their leaders, their representatives, for help, for er protection, against the exploiters. The machine of indirect action stool like a wall between them and the ruling class.

But oh! and alas! for their disillusionment.

The war broke out.

The war broke out.

The machine of indirect action, the protector, the saviour, was put to a test, and it failed miserably. The leader's needed only to give the word of a general strike against war, and it would have been obeyed cheerfully, throughout the world. But such action would have meant ruin to the political carriers of the leaders, aye, in some cases, perhaps, danger to their lives.

siah. In fact, the false Messiah, political socialism, committed moral suicide when he endorsed the war.

Indirect action has completely collapsed, long ago on the industrial field, and now, with a thud, on the political field. Political socialism is morally lead. This moral death is the real death which precedes the visible disintegration. We may yet for some years hear of political socialism, but it is like the tree which has been broken by the storm. It may yet appear green for some time, but gradually, the leaves will wither and drop, the branches will begin to dry, and decay begin to work its way up the core.

The masses are now paying the gruesome penalty for their stubbornness, their cowardiec, their indifference. Millions of them have already suffered death on the battlefield, but still they are being goaded and driven by their own leaders to murder—murder.

The false Messiah is trying to drown the memory of his

Will the masses be able to see the collapse of indirect action, so plain to us? Will they now understand the futility and danger of further experiments with indirect action?

Fellow Workers!
There is no use looking for a Messiah. Anyone claiming to

There is no use looking for a Messian. Anyone claiming to be your emancipator is a fraud.

"The emancipation of the workers, must be the work of the workers themselves." It will only come as the result of their PERSONAL EFFORTS. Everybody is his own saviour, his own Messiah, through the industrial union.

In other words: Direct action is the JOHN SANDGREN wage slavery.

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Junterature and jeb printing also allow substantial improvements also while bundles and donations are low.

The Immediate Future

I dreamt that after serving long years in prison, I had com out into the so-called "free" world to find the I. W. W. a million

The General Office was a center of activity: Besides the General Secretary, the Assistant General Secretary, General Organizer and Assistant General Organizer, there were employed Organizer and Assistant General Organizer, and well about fifteen clerks, book-keepers and stenographers. A swell looking young lady was in charge of the Prisoners' Correspondence Bureau, an institution for the circulation of good books and

ence Bureau, an institution for the circulation of good books and literature among the members in state or feederal prisons.

Solidarity had out-appealed-to-reason the Appeal to Reason, in the circulation line—it had a circulation of almost 2,000,000. The Bureau of Foreign Language Publications, maintained a large printing plant, which was also the greatest labor news rathering center in the world, in New York City. The California locals published The Industrial Worker in English and Italian, in the city of San Francisco. The Southern Rebel, an independent industrial union paper, at New Orleans, had a large circulation among the Southern workers. The Machine Proletariat, an industrial union technical monthly, published by the Automobile Workers' Industrial Union at Detroit, Mich., was the only publication of its kind in the world.

Workers industrial Child at Detection and the world.

PREPARING YOUTH TO MANAGE THE COMING INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

The local unions were sending thousands of young students

The local unions were sending thousands of young students to the People's College at Fort Scott, Kansas, to take courses in the efforts, public speaking, bookkeeping, etc., preparing the efforts of the battle of today, and the future society.

THE STRIKERS RELIEF BUREAU

The Strikers' Relief Bureau was maintained mostly for location of the strikers, as there were very few long-drawn-out strikes. A trained corps of clerks kept up correspondence with thousands of 1. W. W. members and sympathizers. Four large were packed with clothes, second-hand tents and non-perishable were packed with clothes, second-hand tents and non-perishable cago, one in New York city add one in New Orleans. These were packed with clothes, second-hand tents and non-perishable food stuffs, sent in by the Workers and their sympathizers, via parcels post, etc., and by motor trucks and steam boats owned by the Relief Bureau.—A corps of signalmen and telegraphers, with portable wireless telephone and telegraph outfits were maintained under the auspices of the Bureau.—

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

There were many National Industrial Unions.—To cut down

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL VINIONS
There were many National Industrial Unions. To cut down
office expenses, all those with headquarters on the Atlantic Coast
had their secretaries grouped in one central office in Boston,
Mass. Those on the Pacific coast had their office in Seattle. The
most powerful of them all was the Migratory and Seasonal Workers' Industrial Union, with headquarters in Kansas City. It had
ers' Industrial Union, with headquarters in Kansas City. ers' Industrial Union, with headquarters in Kansas City. It had no chartered locals, but whenever seven or more members found themselves on a job, they automatically became a local union; when the job was done, the local broke up and the supplies were sent to the K. C. headquarters. This union was _so powerful that the members hired out in groups, like the Japanese do in California; they elected their own foremen and timekeepers on the job; the timekeeper was generally the secretary of the I. W. W. job local.

W. job local.

Thus truly the germs of the New Society were developing. The headquarters in K. C. owned thousands of old U. S. army tents, cooking ütensils, etc. These were shipped about the country when needed, but were always refurned to K. C. and kept repaired and cleaned. The International Industrial Union of Marine Transport Workers had moved their headquarters to the Panama Canal, from where it kept in touch with the membership throughout the world, through its own mail system, indereserved to all capitalistic wavernments.

pendent of all capitalist governments. pendent of all capitalist governments.

The Industrial Workers of the World had become a great power; already the Italian Syndicalist Union had taken out a charter and had become a part of the I. W. W. While the A. F. charter and had become a part of the I. W. W. While the A. F. of L. and many craft unions still existed, by means of inside and outside pressure they were dominated by the I. W. W. The Socialist Party was also greatly influenced by the I. W. W. membership. The I. W. W. was preparing for a general strike for the Universal Eight-Hour Day, and had ordered all craft unions and socialist organizations to take part in the general strike.

Thus did I find that my imprisonment was not in vain. I had escaped a lot of the hard work of helping to build up the movement—and got out just in time to enjoy the blessings of the ONE BIG UNION.

J. P.

The \$1,000 Fund

Total March 24th E W Buckingham

Total May 12th.

The end of April shows that the month's receipts indicate some little improvement in the regular business of the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau. The total receipts for the month of April aggregate \$600.52, divided as follows:

.....\$129.49

We may hope for an increase in bun-dle receipts from now on with the opening of the summer agitation, and should the other departments keep up, we ought to be able to break even with our expenses.

should the other cepartments even with our expenses:
with our expenses the selfto expense the selfto expense the selfto expenses the self
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TITLITUIT TO THE Watch Your Number

EACH subscriber will find a number opposite bis name on the paper or wrapper enclosing SOLIDARITY. For instance 278. That means your sub-expired last week, and you should renew at once.

279

"\$3"Phonograph" For Slaves---Other News And Views

John Lawson's conviction is the family will not permit the luxury of latest manifestation of industrial despots manifestation of industrial despots manifestation and proper stainly shows the real "properties" low and which can only be overthrown hat the working class enjoys. It has by the working class of the working the working class going to when is the working class going to when is the working class going to

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WARP AND WOOF

A History of the Textile Industry in All Its Branches

Written From a Workingman's Standpoint By FRANCIS MILLER, Woolen Weaver

Other News And Views

In the control of the control

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 summer agitation by sending in your ordernow. All literature is sent carriage prepaid on receipt of CASH with order.

The Trial of A New Society

By Justus Ebert

By Justus Ebert

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The New Unionism

By Andre Tridon

Andre L'HOON

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Syndicalism, its history and pracent status all over the world.
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CATHOLICISM AND THE WAR

ed and frustrated hopes, due to the war and its devastating effects. There can be no doubt that the war has given all phases of human endeavor a severe set-back. "Things are in, but to the property gloomy," not only a severe set-back. "Things are in, but to the severe set of human endeavor a severe set-back. "Things are in, but to the vigorous set of the severe found. But the war is not without its lessons to those who care to profit from them. They should appeal to Catholic workingmen especially, as they are reflected in the above recorded war-baffled attempts to propogate the faith. What are those lessons? First of all, the transcendant power of material forces. If the hardships now experience by foreign Catholic missions demonstrate anything, they demonstrate the fact that no great cause can the status of religion is strate the fact that no great extent, by economic conditions. We see that, according to the above letters, Catholicism in heathen lands is suffering curtailment and is threatened with other lands have broken down owing to the war. That is, Catholic religion is seriously hampered in the performance of its functions and growth by the lack of funds which this breakdown has occasioned.

With Catholic religiod, dependent on material resources, such

namperes in the performance or its functions and growth by the lack of funds which this breakdown has occasioned.

With Catholic religioff dependent on material resources, such as trade and intercourse between nations, for advancement, how, then, can the workers expect to advance without them, but the pending largely on the spiritual-advices of the profile of the pending largely on the spiritual-advices of the profile of the pending largely on the spiritual-advices of the profile of the pending largely of the pending large

more so.

The war has many "echoes." In them we may hear the I.
W. W. vindicated unconsciously by those who denounce it most.
J. E.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN Circulation Statement I. W. W. Preamble **LECTURES** Previously reported loss - - Subs received during we-k - 67 Subs expiring this week - 35



TACOMA. WASH.

Saturday, May 22nd at 8 P. M. In Building Trades Hall—949 ath D Street. Subject: "Unemployment A Menace to Society." Admission 25 cents OAKLAND, CALIF.

Gain for the week

Total loss to date

Our Circulation Statement this week shows a relatively large gain over expiring subs. But the number going on the list, including renewals, is still very small, including renewals, is still very small, which is the still respect to the number going on the list, including renewals, is still very small, which is the still respect to the still respe

HE NEW HARVEST STICKERS

By the time this issue of Solidarity reaches the reader, the Publishing Bureau will have completed an order for the new Agriculture, Wookers', the second of th

The working class sind the employing class that nothing in common. There can be no piace millions of the working people and the few, whe things of life-upleying class, have all the god between the control of the cont

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