



May Day in America

Twenty-one years ago at an International Congress of Labor held in Paris, May 1 was formally set apart as the INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY.

Strange to say, however, May Day, though as yet little known and observed in this country, had its real origin in the United States. It was in the fatal year 1886 that the Knights of Labor, then one million strong, determined to make a concerted move for a universal 8-hour work day. The program of that organization had long contained a clause saying that the workers of America must establish the 8-hour day "by a general refusal to work more than eight hours."

But, misled by labor fakirs, torn by internal dissensions and loosely constructed in the form, the K. of L. was unequal to the task of securing unity of action. Nevertheless, about one-third of its vast membership on May 1, 1886, came out on strike for the universal eight-hour day. Monster demonstrations of workmen were held in many industrial centers, and the eight-hour agitation struck terror to the heart of the capitalist class. Then followed the Haymarket episode in Chicago, which besides resulting in a judicial murder of five men--Parsons, Spies, Engel, Fischer and Ling--accentuated the reaction against the K. of L. which sent that great organization down the incline to its death.

With the decline of the industrial organization (the power behind the movement for a shorter work day) the eight-hour agitation became but a faint echo of its former strength on this side of the Atlantic. The capitalist Congress finally established the first Monday in September as the LEGAL labor day, and the conservative American Federation of Labor very logically fell into the trap thus set by the enemies of the working class. May Day continued to be observed by the Socialist political parties and other radical sects, but its significance has been practically lost on the working class as a whole. Only the rise of the I. W. W. will again make the First of May resound with the tread of marching thousands shouting the battle cry of industrial freedom: "Workers of the world unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

Well Said.

Historic materialism points to Industrial Organization as the ultimate successor to both craft unionism and political Socialism, for with the full accession of the industrial democracy to power in the political and industrial world all else would disappear as superfluous, and the reign of the people would begin when poverty, unemployment, paucity, restricted production, and all the evils of the profit system of capitalism would disappear, and people will marvel that they were permitted as long as they were to embrace the progress of humanity.--The Erie Conrade (S. P.), April 17.

Notices.

NEW YORK--Open air street meetings under auspices of the I. W. W. every Tuesday evening at 14th street and Williams avenue, and every Saturday night at 19th street and Seventh avenue. Solidarity always on sale and subs taken.

Some employers are so good hearted that when their slaves ask for an 8-hour day, they give them two of them, one right after the other.

In Europe.

May Day, thrown into the background in America by the disasters of 1886, re-appeared in Europe in 1888 as the International Labor Day. The Paris Congress in decreeing its establishment urged the workers of all countries to assemble on that day and demonstrate in behalf of the eight hour day in particular. Since that time these yearly demonstrations on the First of May have been larger in size and more widespread throughout Europe. The 8-hour movement has also grown in similar proportion.

Significance of May Day.

International Labor Day, unlike the capitalist "labor day" in September, is one which the workers of the world have established as their own. No capitalist Congress has given "legal" permission for its observance. On May Day the workers leave the shops of their own accord, regardless of whether or not the boss gives his consent. On that day labor the world over stops work and comes together to take account of its resources and power over its international enemy. It is a day of gloom for the capitalists; a day of universal rejoicing for the workers.

This year May Day gains added significance in America from recent signs of progress in the labor movement. The high cost of living, coupled with decreased wages and even more tyrannical shop conditions, and the utter inability of craft unions to deal with the power of trustified capital, have caused revolts in many sections of the country, which bid fair soon to spread to all parts of the United States. McKees Rocks and Spokane have furnished object lessons in industrial unionism, and everywhere the idea of ONE BIG UNION is taking hold of the minds of the working class. The revolutionary harvest is ripening the world over, and the laborers are assembling for their work in the fields.

Let us then rejoice on this first day of May, 1910! "But let us not forget the flag of the old Knights of Labor." A general refusal to work more than eight hours a day," as a preliminary step to the complete industrial organization of the working class for its emancipation from the wage system. "By organizing industrially, we are forming the struggle of the new society within the shell of the old." B. H. WILLIAMS.

A Compliment Indeed.

In New York City there is a remnant of a once powerful labor movement that calls itself "the elite of the working class," evidently because, like all aristocracy, it is very much given to decay. This remnant has renamed Solidarity "Solid Ivory." This is the greatest compliment yet paid to Solidarity. Solid ivory is hard so is Solidarity--on the pretensions and arguments of those left-overs and other fakirs in the labor movement. Solid ivory when used in little balls on the billiard table, is capable of good shots. So is Solidarity, as the squirmings of this precious bunch makes evident. Solid ivory is continually increasing in value. So is Solidarity. Solid ivory is more substantial than South American soapstone. So is Solidarity. In brief, solid ivory is a compliment to Solidarity, for it suggests all those compact and splendid qualities for which it stands.

The murky conception of a union seal, seething is only wrong when practiced by a non-union man. To him the union card is a kind of a seal permit that guarantees him immunity from insults, brickbats and rotten eggs.--Union Seals and Others.

Wall Street Correspondence

By John D.

How the Steel Trust Has Grown.

Since 1902 the United States Steel Corporation has produced 492,381,500 tons, of which 145,330,000 tons were iron ore. Second on the list was steel ingots, which footed up 87,000,000 tons, while blast furnace production totalled in excess of 73,000,000 tons, and other finished products about 49,000,000 tons.

Then, again, the production of Portland cement in the eight years since 1902 aggregated 17,332,957 barrels, a very great increase over any amount that the corporation, at its inception, ever expected to produce.

Last year the production of the combine was the largest of any year in the history of the property, with the exception of the out-turn of steel ingots and rolled steel products.

Iron ore mined in 1908 represents a tonnage more than 6,000,000 greater than in 1908 and about 1,000,000 tons larger than the banner year 1907.

From the present outlook for the corporation, according to Chairman Gary, the year 1910 will be a record breaker, since there does not seem, according to Gary, to be a cloud anywhere that can in any way hold back the company's onward march during the present year, both as regards products and prices.

The Passive Resistance Policy of the I. W. W. and How It Works.

As we have previously remarked through the columns of Solidarity, the policy of passive resistance is a very inconvenient proposition to handle.

For instance when the Solidarity boys were arrested, arrested and convicted, the law set the penalty at one hundred dollars fine each and cost. The costs footed up about one hundred dollars more.

The authorities and Mr. Taxpayer (poor fellow) had their mouths watering over this \$700 that they thought would drop like a plum into their mouths.

Now here is how the affair turned out. First, the boys refused to pay the fine and cost--and the 700 good dollars went up the spout. Then of course the men had to go jail for not less than 90 days each, and the county has to pay the sheriff 50c per day per man for board. That means 6 men at 50c per day per man--board \$270--plus \$100 for costs that the county will never get, \$370 in actual cash the county is out on the deal. Or in other words the county is \$700 behind its calculations. It is to laugh. Moreover, and as a matter course, it was fully expected that Solidarity would have to go out of business. But it did not, nor will not. And it is getting stronger every day and so is the I. W. W.

Then here is another sample of the same sort of cussedness that is going to cost the Patriots \$510.25 for the privilege of enforcing some few fool law.

Crafton, Ill., April 10.--Because J. J. Keon, a Socialist leader, refused to pay a poll tax of \$1.50 he began a sentence of six months imprisonment today.

The city hall has been converted into a jail by securing the windows with chicken wire. Keon declares that he will serve his full term rather than pay the tax or work it out at 75 cents a day. His best friend, Mayor Joyner, prosecuted him.

Keon's meals will be brought from the city's leading hotel, and a special deputy has been sworn in to look after him, making the cost of his keep to the city \$5.25 a day.

May Day is labor's international labor day. It is a day chosen by the workers, and not like the fake labor day in September, granted and promoted by the boss.

The saddest thing on earth is hearing a wage slave boast of his freedom. The most comical thing is hearing his master praise him for so doing.

McKees Rocks Strike is Won

Western Union Telegraph Company.
Pittsburg, Pa., April 26, 1910.
3:30 p. m.--The strike in McKees Rocks settled favorably to union. Letter will follow.
JOS. J. ETTOR.

CENTER SHOTS.

By a Western Rifleman.

Machinery is getting the craft unionist out of business and will soon do the same for the capitalist. Unnecessary things are forced to give way to necessary things. So we have industrial unionism in the field and the Industrial Republic swiftly approaching.

If municipal ownership of every public utility existed in every city; if all the Trusts were government property; if the steamship lines were owned jointly by the governments of the world; still the workers would remain wage slaves. The remedy does not lie applying reforms to the existing State; it must come from the workers' building through their industrial organizations that form of society that shall displace Capitalism. The I. W. W. is forming the new within the old.

That the coal miners believe in an identity of interests between themselves and their employers is shown by the discussion in their meetings. At Springfield on April 5 the meeting took up the question of safeguarding the mines; sinking new shafts; making repairs, and installing new appliances. Struggle to relate, however, the workers' organization did not discuss the question of safeguarding the men's lives, giving work to the unemployed, or bettering the workers' condition. The identity of interest seems to be all on the side of the coal miners. Why hasn't it occurred to the workers that if the pump men are pulled off the job the mine's will flood and the masters will give up a portion of their profits rather than lose all. That would be the tactics of the I. W. W. if they were conducting the strike. From the looks of things it is going to take a few more heavy jolts to put the coal miners wise to the real situation:

The 450 taxicab drivers in Chicago who went on strike on April 4 were the same fellows who thought themselves better than the livery drivers and seabed on the liverymen a year ago. Now the liverymen are "getting even" by bringing forth their old cabs and carrying passengers. The employing class laughs up its sleeve and encourages the strike. The matter will probably end by both taxicab and liverymen getting less than formerly.

In the workers' division lies the masters' strength.

The operators in the northern fields of Colorado are distributing a pamphlet on the "stock and bonds of the mine owners." "Unfair tactics" of the mine boss in calling out the pump men is alluded to, and the increased cost of material and supplies, including mules," is given as a reason for not raising the pay of the miners. That pamphlet contains the stock phrases "square deal," "personal liberty," etc., and ends in these words:

"You all know that we have been far in OUR treatment of OUR men and that our interests are mutual. What is good for us is good for you. We ask you to carefully consider this statement and help make the district one of happy homes for yourselves, your wives and children, and so as a profitable district for the operator and merchants, whose interests are so closely woven with your own." (If their interests were identical why did the miners strike? Having struck, would not mutual interests make the operators desire the men to win? If what is good for the coal operators is also good for the miners they should cheerfully accept a reduction and work hard to lower the price of mules. The coal miners helped John Mitchell, Andrew Carnegie, Henry Phlips & Co. to load this gun with stockyard salt and they should swallow the dose when it is fired into their faces. The miners should return fire with an "industrial union" gun, loaded with "no interests in common" powder and "direct action" bullets, and the operators would soon be a minus quantity.)

Send us your cards to Solidarity and push its circulation.

Returns to Pittsburg.

On account of the McKees Rocks strike, and other strikes in the Pittsburg district, it has been found necessary for Fellow Worker Goff to return to Pittsburg. Accordingly the jail committee will endeavor to edit and issue the paper from their place of imprisonment.

Let everybody pitch in and help.

Pittsburg District, Attention!

On the First of May a monster mass meeting will be held on the historic Indian Mound. Speakers in English, Polish and Lithuanian will be in attendance. W. D. Hayward, of the W. F. M., and Jos. J. Ettor, of the I. W. W., will be the English speakers.

Come and help celebrate the holiday of your class.

Attention, New York City!

Building Workers' Industrial Union, No. 82 meets the first and third Friday of each month at 44 West 96th Street until further notice. Secretary.

Mass Meeting of Silk Workers.

Mass Meeting of Silk Workers at Maroon's lodge room, 318 Jefferson St., (between Fifth and Sixth streets) Hoboken, N. J., Saturday, May 6, 1910, starting at noon. Speakers take notice.

NOTICE.

"Eagle-Bird-Lovers" and "Honey-Seals" may also be ordered from General Headquarters of the I. W. W. by addressing the General Secretary, VINCENT S. JOHN, 518 Cambridge Building, Chicago, Ill. Prices same as if ordered directly from publishers.

Send us your cards to Solidarity and push its circulation.

SOLIDARITY

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GETTING POSSESSION.

Due to the progress of economic evolution and the consequent agitation growing therefrom, the working class are coming to a widespread realization of the fact that labor's problems will never be solved until the users are also the owners of the machinery of production.

Higher wages, shorter hours, improved working conditions in the shop or mine, all these are good and to be contended for in the every day struggle with capitalists, but as the I. W. W., Preamble points out, none of these nor all of them, are the final goal of working class effort. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth, and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system.

In other words, labor will never come into its own nor the class struggle end, until the instruments of production are collectively owned and operated.

How then shall we get possession? Many are the solutions offered, ranging all the way from the lamb-like suggestion that all we need to do to secure possession of the earth and all its fullness is to deposit the right kind of a ballot, properly marked, on election day, which being done it is assured the capitalists would at once stand and deliver, to the robust proposition that the workers must get weapons of war—from somewhere—and measure swords with the armed and disciplined forces of the capitalist class in the field of battle.

Space forbids an extended review of any of these theories, nor is it necessary. We come straight to the point by pointing out that the industrial organization of the working class will itself give possession. Once the workers are industrially organized, they need no further process either with gun, battle or bargain. They are in that moment actually in possession.

This will be evident to anyone who seriously asks himself what is the source of capitalist power. It lies wholly in the disorganization of the working class.

It is not in the laws. The laws may be, and for the most part are, hostile to labor, and the laws do not enforce themselves. At most they only register the will of the ruling class. They supply no energy for making that effective. The source of power that enforces those laws must be sought elsewhere than in those laws themselves.

It is not in the soldiers, the Pinkertons or the Cosacks, though these are always pointed out by the capitalist as the cause of a strike to shoot down strikers, and enforce laws made in injury to those in whose interests the capitalist class. When the soldiers or the Pinkertons start for the scene of trouble they don't walk; they ride on trains. Who operate those trains? Working men; often with craft union cards in their pockets. Who clothe and feed the soldiers; who mine lead and make arms and gunpowder to enable them to

shoot down working men on strikes? Other working men. Why do they do this? Because they are not organized in such a way that they can all be promptly called out when military measures are undertaken against their fellow-workers.

But we heed not reference to strict conditions of existence showing that the capitalists hold possession of the machinery of production through the disorganization of the workers. How is that they are able to withhold at any time from the worker the larger share of his product? How is it that the workers, though overwhelmingly in the majority, must beg, plead, flatter and buyot and strike to get an increase of wages or a shortening of the work day? Because other working men are ready to take their jobs. Also because because other workers in the same industry, frequently in the employ of the same master, are organized in separate unions with time contracts which they are taught to consider sacred which hold them up to even the most fanatical fellow-workers strike. All this exists, of course, simply through imperfect organization.

Let the workers in any industry, or even the great majority of them, be organized in one union that can be called out at a moment's notice and by so much they have attained a measure of that industry. The more perfect the organization the more thorough the control. Let the workers in all the industries be organized in One Big Union whose several sub-divisions shall correspond to the various industries and they have complete control. The capitalist has no longer any means of coercing them. He cannot fill their places in case of strike, for the material which he would use for that purpose has been organized. He cannot foment craft jealousies and divisions. For craft lines have been obliterated. He cannot send troops against any body of workers, for the workers engaged in the production of food stuffs and clothing will refuse to feed and clothe them and the transportation workers will refuse to carry them. The mere fact of their perfected organization has, itself, given the workers control of the industries. Now such a control is in itself equivalent to possession.

The capitalist may still cherish his ill-gotten and held, then, recently in his safe; the working class will neither heed nor care. His title deeds will no longer be worth the paper they are written on. They may, indeed, state that he is in possession, but the statement will be no longer true. A greater power than he has found till the strong man and spoiled his goods. The organized might of labor has achieved a control over industry which is in all respects possession.

Undoubtedly such a condition would be followed up by the organized workers in National Convention, passing a resolution declaring that property in the means of production had passed from private hands to the collectivity. As a means of clarifying the collective thought and registering the collective will, such a vote would doubtless have value. But the thing itself would already have been done, and done in the act of perfecting the industrial organization. Organization itself gives possession.

This is the program of the I. W. W., which kills two birds with the one bullet. It organizes the workers in the most effective manner for the day's struggle with the capitalist class to secure higher wages, shorter hours and better living conditions. It has a keen and watchful eye for all immediate betterments, realizing that the workers are living now and not in some epoch in the future. It demands something now and that "something" is everything toward making class advantage that can possibly be secured. At the same time, it is pointing to the very means that are proving so successful in securing immediate advantages, it "organizes the army of production" to take possession and "carrying on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown." Strictly in line with economic evolution, none of its energies are wasted, and that, too, is one of the secrets of its rapidly increasing power.

As the Preamble well says: "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

SPECIAL NOTICE!

The address of the Pittsburgh district office of the I. W. W. is Joseph J. Etor, 100 Chartiers Avenue, McKees Rocks, Pa. Those wishing information regarding the organization or speakers in English or Foreign languages, will please communicate with the organizer at the above address.

SOLIDARITY

THE PLASTERERS' WAR.

As craft unionism hastens to decay, the rivalries and jealousies among the different unions grow more fierce and mutually destructive.

The latest in the scrap now between the Operative Plasterers' International Association and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union. As frequently, the root of the matter is a squabble over jurisdiction.

Something more than a year ago, the B. M. & P. I. U. changed its title to include the word "Plasterers" although they had previously been organizing plasterers in territory not organized by the O. P. I. A. This, it seems, gave offense to President Donlin of the O. P. I. A. At any rate he subsequently made a ruling, and justly so, offensive to the B. M. & P. I. U., permitting members of the O. P. I. A. to take sub-contracts from firms that were unfair to the B. M. & P. I. U. President Donlin stipulated however, that if the unfair firm instead contracted the plastering attempted to do it by the day and employ its own plasterers, then no member of his organization could work thereon. A pretty fine distinction, it seems to us, without a very great difference.

In retaliation recent convention of the B. M. & P. I. U. abrogated the interchangeable agreement that has been in existence between these two bodies for the past three years, whereby the members of each were required to join the other when desiring to work within its jurisdiction.

President Donlin of the O. P. I. A., comes back with a pronouncement threatening to suspend and heavily fine any member of the O. P. I. U. who pays an initiation into any sub-division of the B. M. & P. I. U. that controls plastering. Now comes the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers official organ of the B. M. & P. I. U. with the information that the latter organization doesn't propose to take the count in this stage of the mix-up, but if President Donlin and his organization does not draw in their horns the B. M. & P. I. U. will carry the war into the enemy's own territory by organizing unions composed of plasterers only wherever they can find them.

A peculiarly rotten feature of the Plasterers' War, if we may so name this reaction between two rival unions, is the objection by President Donlin and his National Organizer Mahedy of so-called "portable" unions for the purpose of crowding out the B. M. & P. I. U.

By a "portable union" is meant that in any city where one of their plastering employers has secured a sub-contract for plastering work, the O. P. I. A. men employed by the sub-contractor are given a charter to carry with them in their inside pocket and as soon as they arrive on the job, officers are elected and they proceed to bounce everybody else from the job, including resident plasterers, who for years have been members of the B. M. & P. I. U. This is the sort of process the craft unions are making, evolving into an industrial organization.

These tactics have been employed in Hartford, Conn., Springfield, Mass., and Albany and Newark, N. J. But it is agreed to relate that when President Donlin called a strike on the New Prudential Building, at the latter place against the members of the B. M. & P. I. U., the entire force of the O. P. I. A. refused to obey the order. Evidently the labor factors and craft organizers can feel some of the workers all of the time and a large share of the workers some of the time, but they can't fool all of the workers all of the time. The working class are waking up all along the line and are demanding industrial unionism and class conscious solidarity.

Meanwhile the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, while threatening what its organization will do to the O. P. I. A., tearfully regrets this inter-craft strike on the grounds that it "unwisely involves fair employers entailing irritating annoyances and great financial losses." Too bad about the employers!

In the same number of the Bricklayers, Mason and Carpenter (March) in which we find so much wailing of craft union men, there is also a very suspicious contrived article on "The Undication of the Trade Unions." Yes, strike, the trade union is so evidently the first of strength and revolution in the business register. If they can only get a set of workers against another what care they whether or not union dues are paid, whether or not cards are carried or

whether or not the "see-it" work" is got down fine. The capitalist will know that so long as the workers squabble over jurisdiction" he has jurisdiction over all of them.

For all of which there is only one remedy, the organizing of the workers by the industries in which they are engaged, and not by the trade, they may have learned, into one big union, whose several subdivisions shall be representative not of petty trades or crafts but of industries.

Till this is done we shall have the pitiable spectacle of craft wars between different organizations of the same craft, and the employing class severely pocketing the profits of exploitation while the disorganization of the workers makes possible.

Craft Unionism and Railroad Wages.

The readers of Solidarity are no doubt aware that during the past month of March the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen secured for the switchmen on the B. & O., a raise in pay from 50-51 to 52-53 cents an hour. They may not be aware, however, as to how this raise was obtained or its bearing on members of the Brotherhood, on other lines, particularly the P. L. & E. and Pennsylvania systems.

An understanding had been reached among the Brotherhood that a general demand for higher wages was to be made all along the line, and inasmuch as the B. & O. was the only system in the East connected with the General Managers Association that the matter should be turned over to the men on the B. & O. and whatever terms were secured to be likewise demanded of all other systems in the East. The Chicago standard of 53-57 cents to be secured if possible.

Sure enough, the grievance committee of the men and the officials of the B. & O. "got together." The B. & O. withdrew from the Eastern Association or said it did, and the committee signs up an contract with the B. & O. for a year that fixes the wage scale it the raise above mentioned. Now the grievance committee had no business to sign up with the company until matters were adjusted on the other railroads in the Eastern Association and under a proper form of organization which would take in all railroad men into one union. This could not be done. But they did it and what is the result?

Since the grievance committee signed up with the B. & O. the men on the P. L. & E. and the Pennsylvania system have been trying hard to get similar concessions from the above named roads but the best their committees have been able to do with the companies from day to day is to report progress and sign an assessment of \$4 on the membership.

The Pennsylvania system has offered a voluntary raise of 6 per cent, but this is far from satisfactory. The men want the Chicago standard and there is no reason why they should not have it. If it is worth 45 to 57 cents an hour to switch cars in Chicago, and it certainly is, there is no reason why the same figures should not be paid in Pennsylvania. And it would be no trouble at all for the men to get those figures, and more too, if the railroad men throughout the country were all organized into one big union, with officers who showed a fighting spirit in the interest of the men and against the capitalist class.

As it is, when the men on the B. & O. polled their system and stood 68 per cent in favor of strike for the Chicago standard, Grand President Lee positively forbade the men to strike. No doubt these orders from Lee had very much to do with influencing the grievance committee of the men on the B. & O. to make the terms that they did which bear so hard on the P. L. & E. and Pennsylvania systems. The men on the P. L. & E. are now polling their system, and the indications are that they will vote overwhelmingly for a strike unless the Chicago standard is signed up by the company. The question is, what will Grand President Lee do? Will he interfere as he did in the case of the men on the B. & O. and order them to stay at work if they vote to come out.

There is no question at all but what the facts that unions have men at their heads who will issue orders to stay at work after the men vote to come out, goes far toward making the capitalists independent and high handed in dealing with them and makes it harder for the men to secure a remedy. It is time that the rank and file were taking more power into their own hands.

Only a short time ago the sub-division at Rochester, Pa., started proceedings looking toward the organizing of a Pittsburgh Brotherhood District but Lee emphatically refused to allow the brethren to take action in the matter, and when the Secretary wrote to him, in the name of the lodge, protesting,

Lee wrote back severely censuring both him and them.

What the brethren, in substance, would like to know is this: whether they are paying Lee upward of \$8000 a year to represent their interests or to be a dictator over them? Also whether Grand President Lee and the grievance committees intend to run the affairs of the Brotherhood or whether the deliberate vote of the rank and file is to determine their action?

Also, there is another thing. There is said to be millions in the treasury of the B. R. T. and well there may be, seeing that we pay \$4.75 a month per capita assessment and receive only \$1,350 in case of death or permanent disability. What is this done with this money? It is a long time since we have had a report.

The worst thing, however, is the present situation on the P. L. & E. and Pennsylvania Lines is that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers refuses to take any part in the struggles of the B. R. T. men, saying that that it is no affair of theirs. No wonder they are saying this when Grand Master Stone of the B. L. E. has openly declared himself, on at least one occasion, as in favor of the open shop!

In fact, whatever excuse may be offered for Lee in refusing to allow the men to strike when they had voted to do so, and for the grievance committee of the B. & O. in signing up for a year with that road before the grievances were adjusted on the other roads in the Eastern Association, and for the dilly-dallying now going on at Pittsburgh between the grievance committees and the officials of the various companies, may be found in the fact that—the want of proper organization and solidarity among the men themselves. So long as we are organized in different unions, some of which are ready to stay at work when others go out, strikes will be more or less difficult to win and union officials will be ready to fold them even when they are called by direct vote of the men themselves. Not that this makes such action any less despotic and high handed on their part, but they will do it. And the chances are that the men will submit. In turn the companies will become more independent and overbearing for this very reason.

The thing that the railroad men need to get used to every day, and that they are fast waking up to all along the line is that craft unionism has had its day. Railroad men above all others ought to realize the strength of the position they hold—as soon as they are all organized into one union. As long as we are divided into different unions along craft lines and some are willing to stay at work while others vote to strike we can expect just the sort of treatment we have been getting, both from the companies and our own officials.

When we all get into one union we have got the whole thing in our own hands. In case of strike we can tie up the whole country.

Chances are, too, that we can get what we want in the way of working conditions without going on a strike.

A RAILROAD TRAINMAN FOR THE 20,000!

May First is here and we are placing a new limit for subscriptions to Solidarity. We want 20,000 to celebrate our first birthday. That should be easy. Anyway, it will be a reality if all the active workers pull together to that end.

We are planning many improvements for Solidarity as soon as finances and the subscription list enable us to do so. For instance, we are crowded for space in case the paper must be enlarged to EIGHT PAGES. That will enable us to cover the field of the labor movement, national and international, in a much more satisfactory manner than at present. Different features can then be introduced and contributions secured to do so. Are you desirous of seeing this about the new trade union? If so, you must have the revenue from subscribers.

Rush in the subs and bundle orders. Enclosed please find \$2.00, but please send your paper for one year also send me 100 copies of the May number—J. F. Chicago.

Send 1,000 copies of the May Day to the following in bundles of 20: J. F. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Please send your paper to the following addresses and enclosed \$2.00 for same: R. Grand Rapids, Mich.; A. Grand Rapids, Mich.; and C. Grand Rapids, Mich. Hoping this will meet with success in you, and may the steel trade of Pittsburgh be a blessing to you. I am yours in dedication.—W. H. W. Grand Rapids, Pa. Space prevents us from giving more of these letters this week. We will have more next week. Now, I'll boot for the 20,000.

Conflicting Views of Socialism.

Paper read before the Local Youngtown S. P. by Frank Horn of New Castle.

Socialism is a subject pretty thoroughly discussed these days and many conflicting views have been put forward in its name.

Some advocate in the name of Socialism, the so-called "immediate demands" such as government employment, erecting public buildings, building highways and various other public utilities in case the workers can not find employment elsewhere.

But if we turn our attention to those countries in which government ownership largely prevails, we will find the glass steadily raising there as bitterly as anywhere else.

The mere ownership of public utilities by the government is not Socialism, but a form of capitalism known as State Capitalism.

Some advocate the taking up of arms by the workers, to put the capitalist class out of business. This would be the working class, organized, equipped with the arms and trained batches of the Capitalist class? Surely, we have had experience enough of that kind already to know that there is nothing in it for the workers without an industrial organization to back it up and make it effective.

Even then, the necessary loss and damage, both in life and in property—all of which has been created by the workers and should be reclaimed by them for their own uses—we could do well to avoid possible. And as we shall see, Industrial Organization will make it possible.

Others, again, look to the ballot box for the solution. They tell us that the Socialist party has the remedy and that by joining hands with the trade unions and getting votes enough, we can solve the difficulty. If we can get votes enough to elect Socialist mayors and aldermen as has been done in Milwaukee, and other officers of the state so as to put Socialists in control of the state machinery and industry under the control of the state, the difficulty will be solved. Let us see.

Here is what I think a Socialist administration, based on territorial representation, can do. It can raise or reduce taxes, give a clean city administration and use the police power as it sees fit.

By using the latter to arrest strikebreakers and protect strikers in case of trouble, it can, so far as assist the workers providing the higher executive does not interfere—as it generally does. If the mayor wants to help the strikers, the governor says, "to hell with him," and if the governor wants to do the same then comes the "big guy" with the troops.

I do not ignore political action, but depending upon its principle, it looks to me like putting the cart before the horse. To do so, in itself, reactionary and tends to draw the minds of the workers away from the real issue at stake.

The pressing of laws does the worker no good unless they have an industrial organization prepared to back it up and enforce them. This was plainly shown in Colorado where the 8 hour provision in the State Constitution did the miners no good until they were prepared to secure and enforce it through economic organization.

The organization of the workers to be effective must correspond with the manner in which they get their living; that is to be industrial, for the workers get their living in the industries. The territorial organization of the capitalist class, known as the State, can never reflect or secure their interests.

In the economic organization of the workers, and by means of it, they will make their own laws and administer them.

If the workers want for industrial freedom through obeying capitalist laws they will be working twelve hour shifts in hell a million years from now. We must ignore laws that are directed against us, as far as possible.

It is impossible that representatives elected on a territorial and not on an industrial basis should represent the industries successfully.

If we elected our industrial servants as the political representatives are elected today, on a territorial and not on an industrial basis, we would have a representative men passing laws to manage the steel industry who were coal diggers, or men from silk mills passing laws for operating mines.

Industrial administration calls for industrial representation and industrial representation calls for industrial administration. The foundation of the workers' State must be laid in the place where the worker is employed and not in any attempted re-

modeling of the political State or Nation of the present day.

The political State of the present day is of no benefit to the workers nor can it be. And in passing, I wish to remark that Pennsylvania laws on her books.

After the great railroad strike of 1877, the capitalists began the regular and systematic use of Pinkerton thugs during strikes, and this practice continued in Pennsylvania up until the great Homestead strike in 1892, and there the Carnegie Company attempted to bring in 300 Pinkerton thugs by way of the river. But as the strikers were already in possession of the plant, including the river front—it made a difference.

The Pinkers were on a barge with a roof and sides built over it. The "Little Bill" loved this barge up to the mill bank and tied it up. Immediately the strikers opened fire. The steamboat, "Little Bill" backed out and left the barge with the Pinks on it and their fate.

After two or three weeks fighting the Pinks ran up a white flag and offered to surrender.

This affair sounded the end of Pinkertorism in Pennsylvania and for two reasons. First, the capitalists had no farther use for a force that could be whipped by the workers.

Second, a great wave of public indignation immediately swept over the State that clamorously demanded abolition of Pinkertorism in Pennsylvania. Accordingly the Pennsylvania legislature took the matter up, and to make a little cheap political capital out of it, they passed a law forbidding the use of the Pinks thereafter.

As I said before, the bosses did not care because they had no use for a force that the workers had locked.

However, the craft union folks set up a great shout of victory over this piece of legislation. They heralded it broadcast all over the world as a cleanest triumph of craft unionism.

Meanwhile and just the same the strike had been lost and the lack of the Annapolis Association of Iron and Steel Workers was broken completely.

While all this was going on however the bosses were quietly biding their time, as the sequel will show. For anyone to imagine that after the defeat of the Pinks at Montecito, that the bosses would allow things that remain was foolishness.

To be sure, thugism still remained in shape of the "coal and iron police," but it was and is yet, "unofficial thugism," as were the Pinks unofficial thugism. And now, from the bosses standpoint, was the question of putting thugism on an official basis and make of it a legalized institution.

Accordingly, this idea was carried out in the State law that created the present State Constabulary. The men are all selected with great care, and correspond to the gun-men of the west. Every man's disposition is carefully considered before he is appointed. If he has any conscious suspicions about killing the workers he is re-jected. The Cosacki are chosen to kill, because it is known that they will kill.

This puts thugism on a train, efficient and official basis in Pennsylvania. How soon it will be adapted in other states no man utters.

But, it is clear that the craft union folks cannot be so soon, for the little finger of the Cosacki is thicker than the thigh of the Pinkerton Bull.

Now Ready.

A new leaflet by A. M. Sturton, "GETTING RECOGNITION." Just the thing to distribute now all over the country with strikes for recognition of unions breaking out all over the country. Same size as "Union Scabs." Same price, 30c per 100; \$1.50 per thousand. Order now. Solidarity Literature Bureau, Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

Lovell, Mass., Attention!

The English speaking branch of L. U. No. 436, Branch 1, has headquarters at 92 Tilden street, 6 rear. Business meeting every Thursday night. Every slave interested in Industrial Union invited. Solidarity and a full line of Industrial Union literature for sale. Address of Secretary, C. Vandeveldt, 95 Worthen St., Lowell, Mass.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

Copy must be in hand by Tuesday night to insure the publication of that week. The business of the paper opens Wednesday and goes to press Thursday morning.

In McKees Rocks we have seen the superintendent of the car works and an organizer for the A. F. of L. both speaking from the same platform, telling the men that the I. W. W. was no good for them. That is, they want no more grates than the denunciation of losses and labor fails.

Pennsylvania Constab.

There are few people who know just how and why the State Constabulary of Pennsylvania came to be legislated into existence.

And in passing, I wish to remark that Pennsylvania laws on her books. After the great railroad strike of 1877, the capitalists began the regular and systematic use of Pinkerton thugs during strikes, and this practice continued in Pennsylvania up until the great Homestead strike in 1892, and there the Carnegie Company attempted to bring in 300 Pinkerton thugs by way of the river. But as the strikers were already in possession of the plant, including the river front—it made a difference.

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SOLIDARITY

Official Organ of the Pittsburg District Union of the Industrial Workers of the World.

ONLY I. W. W. PAPER

East of the Rocky Mountains.

We are Getting Up Toward the

TEN THOUSAND MARK

KEEP IT GOING!

Liberal Commission to Agents

SOLIDARITY, P. O. BOX 622

NEW CASTLE, PA.

THE I. W. W. PREAMBLE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Published Weekly by the Local Unions of the Industrial Workers of the World in Seattle, Washington.

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"UNION SCABS AND OTHERS," by Oscar Ameringer. Four-page Leaflet, 30c per 100; \$1.50 per 1,000

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ADDRESS

SOLIDARITY LITERATURE BUREAU

Box 622 NEW CASTLE, PA., PA.

SOLIDARITY

McKees Rocks the Slaughter House and Last Chance

Some people may think it very singular that another strike has broken out at the Pressed Steel Car Works so soon after the momentous strike of last summer...

Now, it is no part of my purpose to write an apology for the workers at McKees Rocks. But a decent regard for public opinion prompts me to briefly state a few facts of the past and present history of this typical steel pen.

And, let the reader bear in mind that no body of men ever struck for mere pastime. Strikes are always forced upon the workers by the bosses.

At the start the Pressed Steel Car Company was an "independent" concern. Several changes have taken place in the company control, but now it is a United States Steel subsidiary corporation.

From the start, the Pressed Steel Car Company has made it a rule to employ the "greenhorn" emigrants that flock from Castle Garden to McKees Rocks plants...

Second, the policy of the Car Company was always bent so abusive that no worker would or could endure it except those who were in a largely helpless condition.

And from the first turning of a wheel in this car works, until the present there has been a procession of emigrants from Castle Garden to the Pressed Steel Car Works.

What this company aimed for from the start, was to have men for their mold, impose upon and rob with impunity.

Here are a few of the regular stock tricks that have been the regular practice in the Steel Car Works. First, men were constantly being discharged, because (a) if they began to understand English, and were getting "wise," then they were no longer desirable by the company...

Second: brutal and abusive treatment of the workers, both by foremen and police, who did not hesitate to club, kick, and maltreat the men at any time.

Third: the absolutely horrid disregard of life and limb of the workers. Most of these workers coming from the agricultural districts of Southern Europe, were totally unacquainted with factory work and had little or no conception of its dangers...

Fourth: Coroner's inquests into these cases soon became a farce, and in many cases were never held.

Fifth: the company's real collector, and other employes of the company in Schoenvelt abused women and girls under coercion that if they did not submit their relatives would be discharged from the Car Company.

Sixth: In houses where boarders were kept each boarder was charged house rent by the company when they boarded, this in addition to the rent paid by the real tenant.

Seventh: Standing and watching the pay windows, I noticed that about every sixth or seventh man was short in his pay. At every pay window were two police.

The miserable conditions by which the employees of the John A. Roebbling's Sons Co. has to work through a general strike about the whole plant of about 1000 men is resting, not a wheel is moving.

Some of Roebbling's laborers had to work 10 to 24 hours consecutive hours for 13-14 cents per hour, making a maximum of \$1.55 for ten hours labor.

The bosses immediately raised the men's wages 3-4 cents, but they refuse to accept now.

Most of these men are living in miserable conditions, being unable to pay a whole house rent, they are compelled to live 3 and 4 families in the same house.

They are exploited and robbed! The foremen fire work to men for 3 or 10 dollar bill, discharging them again in prospect of making another 3 or 10 from others.

"Robbed in All Ways," quoted from the Trenton Times. (Republican paper.)

According to some of the men, the foremen and sub-bosses in the mills are mostly politicians, and they force all sorts of petty things upon them.

Another complaint that was general among the strikers yesterday was the fact that Police Justice Rees, who had been fighting the men arrested, was a foreman for Roebbling and was not in a position to deal fairly with the men.

Correspondence.

Missoula, Mont., April 18. Fellow Workers: Find enclosed \$1 in payment of package of 25 copies of "Eleven Blind Leaders," by Williams. I hope things are picking up around New Castle in the way of success, a I. W. W. I see that the fellows in jail have been enjoined from throwing eggs at strikebreakers.

I am yours for the pork chops. FRANK REED.

Hoffstet a Fugitive.

Hoffstet, the Pittsburgh millionaire, he is now in McKees Rocks jail, where he has been indicted by the grand jury of Allegheny county, Pa. Hoffstet, the Pittsburgh millionaire, he is now in McKees Rocks jail, where he has been indicted by the grand jury of Allegheny county, Pa.

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Enclosed please find \$ for which send SOLIDARITY for ONE YEAR (or SIX MONTHS) to the following:

NAME STREET CITY STATE

Organizers are on the field. The C. L. U. of Trenton is active. The strikers are of four nationalities, Italian, Hungarian, Slav and German.

The C. L. U., affiliated with the A. F. of L. passed a resolution a short time ago, asking the City Council to accept the same, that all work done by the city shall be done by city labor.

With the same duty the foreigners have not the same right; and the same leaders now came among those foreigners promising them help.

We know what kind of help they can get from the A. F. of L., and the men understanding it, are all in favor of organizing in I. W. W.

I will send you the details of the strike as it goes on. Fraternally, Anthony Walker.

SPECIAL ARTICLES.

Solidarity intends to run a series of special articles and periodic special issues dealing with particular industries and showing the necessity of industrial unionism in each particular industry.

IN ITALIAN: "Report of the I. W. W. to Paris International Congress." Same price as above. Address VINCENT ST. JOHN, 518 Cambridge Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.

FOR SALE CARDS FOR THREE DOLLARS.

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IN PREPARATION "Why Strikes Are Lost" BY WM. E. TRAUTMANN Shows the Working Class "How to Win" through Industrial Organization. Exposes weaknesses of Craft Unions. Five Cents a Copy. \$3.50 Per Hundred. SOLIDARITY LITERATURE BUREAU Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

EUGENE V. DEBS SAYS Industrial Unionism is the most vital phase of the whole Revolutionary Movement. We have just published four small books which ought to be circulated by the millions. They are equal in style to any of the books we have lately published at five cents, but we have fixed the price at TWO CENTS. The titles are: Craft Unionism, Class Unionism, Industrial Unionism, Revolutionary Unionism.

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FOR TEN DOLLARS we will send by express prepaid A THOUSAND of these or any of our other "POCKET LIBRARY" booklets, unopened and uncut. This offer applies to all the books we have advertised at five cents except Richard's "Introduction to Socialism," our best price on which is \$3.00 per hundred.

Orders Solicited For ELEVEN BLIND LEADERS A pamphlet dealing with the subject of "Practical Socialism" and "Revolutionary Tactics" and "Industrial Unionism." BY B. H. WILLIAMS Reply to and criticism of "Leading Socialist" on the subjects: "Co-operatives," "Government Ownership," "Labor Legislation" and "Revolutionary Industrial Unionism."

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THE PROLETARIAN A Monthly Advocate of Industrial Unionism for Japanese Workers. It has articles in English that will be of interest to you. YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, 35 CENTS. All communications and remittances should be addressed to: T. Takahashi, 302 WALL ST. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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ORDER NOW! "Union Scabs and Others," by Oscar Ameringer. A four-page leaflet containing red hot satire on Craft Union methods. Price 20¢ per hundred; \$1.50 a thousand. Address "Solidarity Literature Bureau, Box 622, New Castle, Pa."