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SIXTH I. W. W. CONVENTION

(Special to Solidarity.)

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 21. On Sept. 18 the sixth annual convention of the I. W. W. was called to order by General Secretary St. John.

Fellow Worker Simon of L. U. 500, Pullman, Ill., was elected permanent chairman. Twenty-four delegates representing 38 local unions and one national industrial union, presented credentials. The proxies of six of these local unions (No. 45, Vancouver, B. C.; 68, Duluth, Minn.; 71, Sacramento, Calif.; 92, Portland, Ore.; 178, San Francisco, Calif.; 451, Eureka, Calif.) being borne by delegates from other localities, were not honored and these unions denied votes in the convention in accordance with Article 4, Section 12 of the constitution, the customary interpretation of which is that "several locals may confer their proxies upon one delegate only when they are situated in the same locality."

The credentials of Local 245, San Pedro, Calif., carried by Oscar Sautter, delegate of the Los Angeles locals, were also contested, but on it being learned that San Pedro is an official part of Los Angeles they were honored.

Frater delegates from the following organizations were seated: Brotherhood of Timber Workers (5); Metal Workers Union No. 5, Chicago (1); Polish Executive Committee I. W. W. (1).

The credentials of J. W. Johnstone of Local 245, Nelson, B. C., were contested by the G. E. B. on the grounds that at the Pacific Coast Conference held in Portland, Jan. 30, 1911, Johnstone had used a clipping from a capitalist paper in such a manner as to jeopardize the chances of the I. W. W. for success in the Fresno free speech fight and had rendered himself unfit to be recognized as a delegate by the convention. The hour of evening adjournment interrupted the consideration of the Johnstone case.

TUESDAY.

After routine preliminaries were disposed of the Johnstone protest case was again taken up and thoroughly thrashed out for five hours. The testimony of the G. E. B. members against Johnstone alleged in sum that his conduct in the West, in addition to his use of the newspaper clippings at the Portland conference, had been generally disruptive and that he was an unfit member to act as delegate in an I. W. W. convention.

Johnstone argued that his actions at the Portland conference were strictly in accord with his instructions as a delegate from the Spokane locals, but stated that he now believed he made a mistake, and that if he had to do it again he would resign from being Spokane local's delegate rather than obey his instructions by bringing the clippings before the conference. He stated further that the slump in membership of the Spokane locals, charged by his presence, did not take place while he was there, and was for the most part due to the hostility of public opinion towards the I. W. W. after the killing of Chief of Police Sullivan, a hostility that forced large numbers of the members to leave town and that had a disastrous effect on the locals.

By a roll call vote of 44 to 18 Johnstone was seated.

After the somewhat warmly debated Johnstone case was disposed of, the convention got busy on the election of committees to dispose of the various details of the convention's work.

A motion to have a stenographic report of the convention's proceedings was voted down.

By a motion the credential committee was ordered to draw up an explanation of why the proxies of the debarred locals had

not been honored.

Telegrams conveying assurances of I. W. W. moral, financial and physical support went to the Mexican revolutionists, the McNamara, Bucaforti, Preston and Smith, and several other fellow workers jailed in various places because of their loyalty to the working class.

The afternoon's session closed with the reading of the G. E. B.'s and General Secretary-Treasurer St. John's report; documents which showed a gradual increase in the moral, financial and numerical strength of the I. W. W., as well as reciting its numerous victories since the last convention.

WEDNESDAY.

With roars of laughter the convention greeted a message from the local chamber of commerce wishing the convention "success in every respect," and offering the honored delegates the freedom of "our fair city," etc. It was duly filed—with the janitor.

Delegate Koettgen of the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers read a telegram announcing the news of the affiliation of 500 textile workers in New England.

The balance of the convention's work for this day was the hearing of the reports of "Solidarity," the Badspat delegate and General Organizer Trautmann. Trautmann's report, which will be published later by Solidarity, was a scathing indictment of the criminal alliance between the A. F. of L. fakirs and the self-styled revolutionary socialist politicians, who, as the report shows, time and again have acted in full concert in defeating strikes rather than to lead the workers to win with I. W. W. methods—methods whose success spells ruin for the political and criminal union movements, which are sucking the life blood of the working class.

In order to give the numerous committees an opportunity to work, the convention adjourned at 3 o'clock instead of 6.

THURSDAY AND FRIDAY.

The Thursday session opened with a request on the part of Fellow Worker Johnstone to have an insertion made in the minutes giving a short statement of facts in regard to his protest case. This was voted down by the convention.

After this followed a veritable two days avalanche of constitutional amendments of sweeping nature, such as to abolish the G. E. B., to change the G. E. B.'s name to "General Business Committee," to take away vote of G. E. B. members, to abolish conventions, to make G. E. B. members join locals in vicinities in which they work, to cut out power of G. E. B. to control in matters concerning the general organization, to strip G. E. B. of power to assign unions to various departments, etc. All these motions, chiefly aimed at the G. E. B. were lost. A stray anti-political clause for the preamble was also killed.

The positive work accomplished during these two days by the convention consisted in providing that in future cases of contested delegates each voting delegate shall have but one vote instead of the full voting strength of his union as heretofore.

The three fraternal delegates from the Brotherhood of Timber Workers were given the floor and for a couple of hours entertained the convention with the story of struggles to form their union, and of their successful direct action tactics used in their fights. They expressed the heartiest feelings of sympathy for the I. W. W. and held out the hope that there would be a speedy affiliation between the two organizations which they could bring it about.

Under a motion to amend the constitution to admit of district organizations, the

(Continued on Page Four.)

TO OUR READERS

This issue of Solidarity is two days late in going to press, on account of the editor's late return from the Chicago convention, and the necessity of his spending one whole day on his mail which had accumulated in his absence. We hope to make up lost time on the next issue.

Our readers will please note that there was NO issue of Solidarity on Sept. 23. Several who failed to see our announcement in No. 92, have since inquired for an issue which did not appear.

Many interesting facts about the convention could not be worked up for this issue, but will appear in due time.

In the matter of the I. W. W. Press, the convention passed two important resolutions—one urging all local unions to carry ads in both the Worker and Solidarity, at the rate of \$5.00 a year to each paper. Send your ad of local headquarters, with the cash.

The other resolution urges each local to purchase at least \$5.00 of three months sub cards to be sold at meetings and more purchased as fast as sold. New 3 months prepaid sub cards have just been printed for each paper. The cards are all numbered and are in three detachable parts—a stub for the agent's record; a purchaser's receipt; and the sub card proper. Send for a quantity of these cards at once.

A number of cash orders and inquiries have come in for the new pamphlet, "History, etc. of the I. W. W." Although not yet printed, it will be soon, and all orders will be promptly filled.

"Why Strikers Are Lost" is selling like hot cakes. Keep the orders coming. Boost the I. W. W. press and Publishing Bureau!

FREE SPEECH FIGHTS, ETC.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Editor Solidarity:

This is my first attempt of breaking into print with you. But I think it is about time that our papers take a new lead. While I must say, Solidarity is the best paper we have for propaganda, still I think you can do better, and hope you will agree with me on the point I want to make, that is, that Solidarity and our other papers cut out some of the space given to free speech fights. You are only letting the cops know how many we have, and that is only an invitation for them to start something with us in other places. They conclude from the reports in our own papers that we cannot centralize on any one place, and that is bad for us. It seems to me it would be better if any or all locals that have a fight on their hands would notify the General Secretary and let him get it out to the locals all over the country. Then when we need the papers for a big fight it would be so much stronger than having a string of them all the time.

Now for something about what we are doing here in Los Angeles. The income for the locals last week was \$109.38; that was not a rush week either, but just a steady grind. We sell 450 papers a week and will add to our bundle order very soon. We take in on an average 10 members a week and are getting a few subs for the Worker and Solidarity. If we could only get our bundle from both papers on Sunday, we could sell 600 a week. Goppers was here Sunday. They had banners on the cars and cards all over town; still they only had about half a hall full. The I. W. W. had almost as many on the street that night, as we advertised that we would speak on the same subject. We are lining up the men fast. Watch Los Angeles.

E. J. LEWIS, Organizer.

There is indeed a reason for building up the I. W. W. press. Send in your bunch of subs today.

B. C. ORGANIZATION

Railroad Construction Workers Joining I. W. W. in Large Numbers.

(Special to Solidarity.)

Lytton, British Columbia. We are making great headway in organizing the railroaders on the C. & N. R. R. A site has been leased and we are preparing to build a headquarters of our own up on the ground. This is the only way in which we can get a meeting place. A committee was sent around with a list to the business men in order to raise as much money for the building as possible. In this way nearly \$200 was raised, almost enough to cover the expense of a headquarters large enough for office and meeting place. A sign painter has promised to paint a sign on the building as soon as complete. This will enable everyone riding on the train to see the sign and do some good.

The young organization is growing steadily. We number about 1500 members already and have used that many due stamps in about a month. Our only trouble in the start was getting supplies in fast enough to equip the workers ready to join. Now that we have received an extra supply we are ready to outfit the rest.

The contractors have been giving the men a day's deal in nearly every place along the line where any men are employed. In one of the Palmer & Henning camps on this same road a man was killed by a tree which kicked back. He lay in a mauling loading bunk for three days without medical attention and without his clothes being changed. Finally he was taken care of by a friend who had him removed to a Vancouver hospital. These same bosses charge \$1.00 a month for hospital fees and have no hospital along the line. This is bare faced extortion of money under false pretense. There is no exception to this on any job.

At Spence Bridge a man was buried under a slide. When dug out it was found that the worker had been killed instantly, his head was crushed. Under such circumstances the coroner should be present before the man should be buried. There was no coroner's investigation and the man was put into a box and buried in an Indian cemetery. There was no doctor

in town at the time.

I know of several workers who have been charged hospital fees twice in the same month. Often even a receipt is not given after the dollar has been extracted from the unfortunate worker.

The next move of the contractors was to ship in some gun men. Three of these reptiles were strapped to their carcasses made to "boast that they were going to 'drive the Swedes out of town.'" They also affirmed that there was going to be a riot in town the next day. Looks as if they had orders to start something, but it did not work. There was none of the boasted trouble started as we were on the lookout.

At one of the camps where a great number of the boys went to reason with a few scabs who locked themselves in the camp, the two contractors urged the boys to break in and pull them out. "All manner of insinuations were made by these two exploiters in order to inflame the men to start trouble, yet it all failed."

An order for pinkis has been placed with a Vancouver shark in order to put pinkis in every camp. Two men whose names I have, were approached with offers of \$2.50 a day and expenses for this shanty work. The boys declined with sulphurous expressions which made the shark quail quickly.

The Lytton cop was prevailed upon to try to scare me out of town upon my first arrival. When I did not scare readily, he next forbade us holding meetings in town. I told him that as soon as we had other business arranged, we would hold meetings as often as we saw fit. Since then we have held meetings without any interference "laws." So from now on I expect little trouble unless the bosses try to make any.

The railroaders are ripe for organization and this is being done as rapidly as possible. From the start we have made already conditions point to a big addition to the ranks of the One Big Union.

The workers are still holding out for better starting prices and work is not opening up for this reason. If every local keeps busy advertising that there is nothing doing up here, we will handle our affairs up here. J. S. BISCAY.

NEBRASKA F. OF L.

Turns Down General Strike For McNamara. I. W. W. Agitation in Omaha.

(Special to Solidarity.)

Omaha, Neb., Sept. 16. We had the Nebraska State Federation of Labor convention here this week, representing only ten per cent of the organized crafts of this state. It looks as if the rank and file are getting next to this institution of fakirs. The Federation has been organized 4 years and that is all it can show.

A resolution was introduced instructing the delegates to report back to their locals to have the latter declare a general strike if necessary to save the McNamara. The preamble to the resolution showed the persecution by the steel trust of the miners of Minnesota and of the Lake Seaman's Union, and now the Structural Iron Workers is the objective in their plan of stamping out any and all resistance to their particular brand of slavery.

The general strike idea frightens these jelly fish of the A. F. of L. Too much danger of the slave getting next to their game, which might result in the loss of a good meal ticket. So these wise ones brought in a substitute extending sympathy to the miners and seamen and offering moral and financial support, etc.

We have organized an Industrial Union

and are making fairly good progress. We are getting from 3 to 7 members every meeting. It is for education and propaganda, and dues are 25 cents per month. We hope in this way to reach the rank and file in the crafts and get them starting something; and we are not neglecting the fellows outside either. We hope to have a membership of from 100 to 200 by Xmas. So keep your eyes on Omaha.

Fellow Worker Geo. Speed on his way to the convention from the Pacific coast passed through here Sept. 13. He spoke on the street to the biggest crowd I have seen in a long time in this city and sold quite a bit of literature.

Inclosed find \$12.75 for accompanying list of pamphlets and leaflets. D. C.

C. F. WANTS INFORMATION

NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION, One Madison Ave., New York City; Sept. 20.

Solidarity:

Please send me fifty copies of your issue of September 15, 1911, with bill for same, for which please accept my thanks in anticipation.

Yours very truly,
R. M. EASLEY,
Chairman Executive Council.

Order some three months sub cards!

SOLIDARITY

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WATCH FOR YOUR NUMBER.

Each subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the wrapper enclosing *SOLIDARITY*. For instance 92. That means that your sub expired last week, and you should renew. This is NUMBER 93

"GET INTO THE LABOR MOVEMENT"

In our "International" notes this week will be found a very interesting survey of the question of "revolutionary minorities" in the labor movement of different countries. The discussion of the question by Fellow Worker Cornelissen, editor of the "Bulletin International du Mouvement Syndicaliste," is conducted with that breadth of view and sound judgment which characterizes his treatment of international questions. It is especially timely, in view of the recent conference of trade union secretaries at Budapest where the I. W. W. applied for admission to the International Secretariat, but was turned down by the conservatives almost without a hearing.

In this connection, Fellow Worker W. Z. Foster reports a conversation with the secretary of the C. G. T. of France, Leon Jouhaux, at Budapest, somewhat as follows: Jouhaux—"What are you going to tell the I. W. W. when you return to America?" Foster—"I don't know." Jouhaux—"Well, tell them for me, to get into the labor movement." The inference from this suggestion of Jouhaux is that the I. W. W. should cease its attempt at building up a revolutionary union on the outside; and that our members should join the American Federation of Labor and attempt to revolutionize the craft union from within. We are informed that one of the tactical principles of the leading men in the C. G. T. is to "discourage the idea of dual unions." Of course the implication here is that the I. W. W. is a "dual" union in opposition to the A. F. of L. A few facts will help to dispel that illusion.

The membership of the A. F. of L. is variously estimated at from one to two millions, out of a total wage working population of approximately twenty millions. With the exception of the mining industry, the A. F. of L. has no foothold in any of the great trustified industries. Even that one exception is only apparent, as the membership of the United Mine Workers of America is nominal only, due to the check-off. In the anthracite coal mining section, without the check-off, the union membership is a negligible quantity. Large areas of the soft coal fields, such for example as West Virginia, also remain wholly unorganized because the men backed by the coal companies refuse a foothold to the U. M. W. A.

The great steel trust has practically completed the process of eliminating all craft unions from its jurisdiction. The miners' unions of the Mesaba Range, the

Lake Seaman, the Iron Steel and Tinplate Workers, have been completely routed after desperate struggles; and the steel trust is extending its non-union domain through the National Erectors' Association into the building industry, the hitherto stronghold of the A. F. of L. A similar tale is told of the lumber industry, in which the great Weyerhaeuser combine is extending its dominion over the forests and the lumber producing plants of the country. There the A. F. of L. has never obtained a foothold, and stands less chance today than ever.

In the metal trades, notwithstanding much brag and bluster to the contrary, the A. F. of L. is steadily losing ground, thanks to machine production and more aggressive combinations of employers in conjunction with the craft form of unions and their paralyzing contract system. The American Tobacco Company, the tobacco trust, has also successfully resisted all attempts at union invasion of its vast jurisdiction, and is being "fought" today by the A. F. of L. with the "union label" only, in the hands of cockroach employers.

And so on through the list. The great and increasingly dominant industries, (with the exception of the agricultural, which is wholly unorganized) in which most of the twenty million wage slaves of the United States are engaged, are in no degree controlled by the craft union, and in their present highly perfected stage of development, CANNOT BE ORGANIZED ON A F. OF L. OR CRAFT UNION LINES.

And let it be borne in mind, that it is in these trustified industries, where individual or craft skill has been minimized that the revolutionary union movement must and will develop. Here are all the material conditions for mass movement on a large scale, with the use of those historical weapons of direct action so well (though on a comparatively small scale) illustrated in the struggles of the C. G. T. in France. The A. F. of L. after 30 years of almost unspiced away, as far as the so-called "skilled" trades are concerned, has not only failed to develop the real labor movement in America, but has been in fact the chief obstacle to its development.

In that period of time the craft union has become an adjunct to the employer's class, which has molded the form, spirit and function of the craft union to its own purposes; and, having accomplished its purpose through the aid of the union has thrown the latter upon the scrap pile. As a result of its own weakness, servility, corruption and incompetence, the A. F. of L. finds itself more and more discredited in the eyes of the American working class. Its regeneration or rehabilitation into a revolutionary union appears to us an utter impossibility.

For the above reasons, and others that stand out with increasing clearness every day, the I. W. W. cannot afford to take Jouhaux' advice in the way it is apparently meant. We cannot afford to waste our energies exclusively in the vain effort to rehabilitate the A. F. of L. To do so would be to retard and perhaps render impossible the development of the revolutionary union movement in the United States, which thanks to industrial conditions and our agitation, is taking shape both inside and outside the A. F. of L. as is shown in the increasing struggle for ONE BIG UNION from the side of the rank and file. And the movement towards unity is more promising OUTSIDE than inside the craft union, for the reason that all attempts at solidarity within the union ranks are promptly squelched by the official machine.

In view of the above, we hope soon to convince our fellow fighters and workers of the C. G. T. that the I. W. W. is not ONLY in the labor movement of the United States; but that the I. W. W. IS ITSELF THE VITAL AND ESSENTIAL PART OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, and is destined ere long to become the whole thing.

RESULTS IN PORTLAND

Portland, Oregon, Sept. 12.
 Solidarity: I enclose money order for \$5.00, to be credited to our bundle account. Portland locals are progressing; took in 47 new members in August, and have taken in 42 new members in Sept. so far. We sell out our bundles of 200 Solidaritys and 300 Workers every week.
 B. E. NILSSON, Sec'y.

Don't let the hot weather stop you from getting subs for Solidarity.

BIG DENVER MEETING

Haywood Talks On The McNamara Case, And Thompson Explains Other Things That Every Worker Should Know.

(Special to Solidarity.)
 Denver, Colo., Sept. 17.

Our meeting of Local 26 of Denver on Sept. 14th at the Sportsmen Hall was a grand success in spite of the rainy weather. The hall was filled to the gallery and the audience most attentive, there being no interruption except the appreciating applause.

William D. Haywood acted as chairman. He explained the McNamara case very forcibly in parallel with the Steunenberg case and the Chicago Haymarket tragedy. In order to avoid any more of these tragedies the working class must be aroused to unity of action, to organize industrially and proceed in solidarity to enforce their power to do away with this and all other misrule and despotism of capitalism and abolish the wage system.

After taking up a collection, which amounted to \$16.15, J. P. Thompson was introduced as the speaker of the evening. Thompson explained the system of exploitation from cause to effect in the clearest manner, using only the plainest of words and language with trip hammer logic, and also giving us numerous illustrations of the underlying laws in economics, which every workman ought to know.

We think Thompson is not only a good agitator, but a very able teacher, the best there has ever been produced in the labor movement so far. His lecture bristled with cutting and satirical sentences, which must be of tremendous effect on a mind full of illusions.

Thompson very forcibly illustrated the law that "expansion and contraction of the unemployed causes the rise and fall of wages." In connection with this he told what the universal eight hour day would do. For instance he asked his audience, "If 40 hours of labor are to be performed, how many laborers will it take? Answer, 4 men at 10 hours a day."

If each man works 8 hours a day, how many men would he require? Answer, 5 men.

If 4,000,000 men would work 8 hours instead of 10 hours a day, 100,000 additional men would be needed.

If these men use shovels, then just as many more men as there were needed, just so many more shovels would be required, which in turn would give work to men making those shovels; the same holds true with other tools and machinery, etc. He also told us, if we get an eight hour law by the government it would not do us any good, because it would be unenforced or declared unconstitutional. Here Thompson rubbed it into the parliamentarian minded men, with the remark, "Please, if you can't understand it, be at least honest, and don't let the windows of your brain shut."

The eight hour day can be only made a law effectively in the union meetings and enforced by the men on the job. The only time the politicians make an 8 hour law and legalize it, is when the men on the job have already enforced it, trying to make the workers believe that they, the politicians, can and are doing something for the working class.

The hot air revolutionist came in for a good spanking. Thompson said: "The working class needs experience. I once met a girl who told me she could swim; still she admitted that she had never been in the water. The same holds true with regard to the hot air revolutionist, who tells the workers, 'The revolution can be accomplished by hot air.'"

He continued: "The competition among the workers is the direct cause of low wages and of poverty. Poverty causes overwork. Overwork is the direct cause of the unemployed. Unemployment causes worry and worry is a cause of premature old age and death."

"When the hours of toil are reduced and men refuse to be speeded up it immediately reduces the number of unemployed and this in turn means a rise in wages. This means better nourishment, better blood, a longer life, healthier men and race, the eyes begin to sparkle, cowardice and fear disappear."

"I can imagine the time coming, when it will be hard to tell who are the rulers, the workingtons or the capitalists. We will go to work when we please, quit when we please and the boss will have to pay us our price. The boss will then say, 'It is terrible.' The whole system of capitalism will crumble away and we will finally have to carry on our production without the capitalists. Dogs breed dogs, cattle breed cattle, solidarity breeds solidarity."

THE SOCIALIST LABOR MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

By W. Z. Foster.

The German labor movement presents widely varying types of unions. There are Socialist and syndicalist unions, Catholic and Protestant Unions, Hirsch-Dankerschen and independent unions, etc., not to mention the "yellow" or bosses unions, of which latter type the railroaders' union, 400,000 strong is a prominent example.

The workers forming these organizations, although having economic interests apparently in common, have allowed themselves to be hypnotized by their religious and political priests, and divided into so many warring sects, with the usual mutual scabbing and lamentable sacrifice of their common interests. The Catholic unionist is opposed to receiving instructions from the socialist popes, or to worship at the shrines of bygone saints of the same caliber; he takes his orders direct from Rome, and nominates St. Joseph, or some other Catholic saint, as patron of his union. The Protestant unionist objects to the religious and political views of his Catholic and socialist fellow workers, and fights the class struggle on lines laid down by his particular spiritual and political leaders. The Hirsch-Dankerschen unionist is patriotic, and wishes to defend "Der Vaterland" against the attacks of the socialists. The socialist unionist don't like the color of the ballots of the non socialist unionists, etc., etc., to the production of the present economic-tragic situation.

Only one organization—the syndicalist with but 20,000 members—refuses the aid of spiritual and political popes alike, and stands on the solid ground of the all-sufficiency of the organized economic power of the working class to solve all the workers' problems. The rest look for various sorts of intervention and help from either spiritual or political "ahours" or both.

Of the about 2,500,000 workers organized, excluding those in "yellow" unions, some 1,800,000 are organized into the socialist unions, or "Die Gewerkschaften Deutschlands." This organization is practically the German labor movement, it vastly outweighing in importance the other unions, with their combined membership of about 700,000. It is the organization that is so fondly dubbed "the progressive German labor movement" by our American socialist writers.

The following rapid sketch of this organization will enable American readers to judge whether or not it is worthy of such a title.

Forms of Organization

"Die Gewerkschaften Deutschlands" is the national alliance of 37 national trades and "industrial" unions. The central, or executive committee is the "Generalkommission" composed of 18 members, who are elected at the national convention every three years. Karl Legien is the president. Though the national unions officially retain their autonomy, the "Generalkommission" is possessed of large dictatorial powers, which are constantly on the increase. What the "Generalkommission" says usually "goes," whether it concerns national or international labor questions.

The national unions are composed of local and district unions, much the same as A. F. of L. unions.

In Germany, as in all European countries, the natural tendency of the workers is to organize themselves into larger industrial, or semi-industrial unions, in which craft lines are more or less obscured. This tendency is not hindered by the existence of such a vast difference between the rate of wages of skilled and unskilled workers which is so largely responsible for the sharply drawn craft lines of American labor unions. Where the mechanic is paid but little more than his helper, it is a very easy matter for both to see the advantage of combining their forces. Nevertheless, the socialist unions are largely of a craft form, and almost wholly imbued with craft union ideas. This is partly due to their guildish traditions, but mostly due to the baneful influence of their political leaders, who see in unionism at the best only a palliative but political action, and who never permit their unions to take a step forward until there is no other alternative.

The syndicalist conception of organization strictly on industrial lines, for the double purpose of controlling and striking an industry under capitalism, and operating the same after capitalism has been overthrown, is practically unknown in Germany. At the last convention of the socialist unions—Hamburg 1908—the brewery workers proposed that all com-

paratively large numbers of them are in a special profession engaged in different industries should be obliged to join with unions of said industries. This was aimed particularly at the teamsters and cooper workers in the breweries. Its adoption would have committed the movement to the industrial union principle. After a long debate the brewery workers, seeing themselves overwhelmed, withdrew their motion and the convention adopted a craft union resolution worthy of the A. F. of L. The gist of it runs: When members of various crafts are employed in an industry, they shall only be accepted in the unions of their respective crafts.

Since this convention, however, several of the craft unions have fused with either their industrial or closely related craft unions. Notable fusions were bricklayers with building laborers, and marine workers and longshoremen with transportation workers. These fusions were caused by stern necessity, and took place only when they could be no longer delayed by the "absorbed" union officials.

The transportation workers presents the highest type of organization form. It is composed of railroaders (a hand full), street car workers, teamsters, chauffeurs, cab drivers, sailors, longshoremen, warehouse employes, etc., etc. In spite of its scope, it is organized on craft union principles and insists that it be given jurisdiction over teamsters, shipping department workers, etc., no matter which industry they may be employed in. Other unions stretch in on its territory and steal workers, who should belong to it. The Metal Workers, a giant union of 455,000 members of practically every category of metal workers, in common with its smaller brothers, proceeds on the same principle. It stretches its tentacles into all industries in which metal workers are employed. There are several of these large so-called "industrial" unions. The building trades offer a fair example of the predominating form of union. There are fourteen national unions covering the same categories of building trades workers which in France are organized entirely into the National Federation of Building Trades Workers.

From this it will be seen that socialism and industrial unionism do not necessarily complement each other, as the "revolutionary" wing of the American socialist movement is maintaining.

(To be continued)

MIDDLE STATES AGITATION

On Sunday, Sept. 24 the delegates to the I. W. W. convention from the middle states met in special conference, and drew up plans for more active and concerted action on the part of the locals in that section. An organization was formed subject to the approval of the locals, for agitation and organization purposes, whereby speakers will be routed, circuits laid out, and efforts made through co-operative effort, to organize locals and carry on propaganda in unorganized sections of the middle states. More about this organization will appear as soon as plans are completed. In order to facilitate the work, the delegates in this conference proposed at the present time the levying of a special per capita tax of 5 cents.

PRACTICING CRAFT SCABBERY

New York, Sept. 14.
 The previous articles in *Solidarity* on the longshore situation were good, but I want to give a few more facts from New York harbor. About a year ago, 140 Poles were getting short changed in their pay envelopes, and decided to organize. They applied for a charter from the I. L. A., stuck together like men, and got the \$900 back which the company tried to rob them of.

About that time the local boat captain seeing the success of these unskilled workers, became disoriented in turn, but did not have backbone enough to take a stand. They were pleading for better wages, but pleading will never get the workers anything. A few live ones among them tried to get the captains to take a stand, and succeeded to the extent that they went out on strike, stayed out a few hours, and then got stuck fast.

The Poles went out in sympathy with the captains, and were double crossed. Result: I. L. A. coal trimmers on striker I. L. A. carpenters having seized coal and longshore men on the coal dock on their boats; I. L. A. longshoremen putting scab coal on the ships.

Then they will tell you the industrial unionists are impractical!
 JOHN WALSH,
 Member Local 791, I. L. A.

MODERN INDUSTRIALISM BY JUSTUS EBERT

A Series of Descriptive Articles Written Especially for Solidarity.

ARTICLE FIVE. COMMERCE AND BANKING

Modern industrialism is co-operative industrialism. It is national and international in extent and scope. It is operated primarily for the profit of a small class of capitalists and financiers. This class controls the land, railroads, ships, factories, warehouses and banks which industrial evolution has rendered necessary to social existence. Through this control they are able to set aside society's laws, as expressed in legislative enactments and judicial decisions contrary to their interests. They are the real rulers—the real government of society.

Both of these features of modern industrialism—its co-operative nature and the social domination of a small class through its control—were pointed out in previous articles of this series. In article one, they were set forth in the study of the Steel and Harvester trusts, therein presented. In article two, their growth was traced from the beginning of modern industrialism. In article three, they were exhibited at work in farming, fishing, lumbering and mining; and in article four, in transportation and manufacture. In this article, they will be shown in full force in commerce and banking.

Ultra Conservatism Typified.

Despite their importance, workmen and women are not interested in commerce and banking. The latter are too far removed from the productive activities of the most of the former to prove interesting, or to be understood. And those who labor in these subdivisions of modern industrialism are regarded as useless sycophants and supercilious fools—as floor walkers and clerks more intent on sycophancy and parasitism, in imitation of their employers, than on serious thought or effort in behalf of the working class and society. But this feeling is breaking down. It is beginning to be perceived on all sides that the workers in warehouses, department stores and banks are also wage slaves and as such maintainers of society and sufferers in consequence with their fellow industrialists from the modern industrialism.

Justice existing against commerce and banking is not altogether unjustified. It is, on the whole, a prejudice against ultra-conservatism and capitalist domination which these two institutions typify. Both are a means to the transfer of the ownership of wealth. Both favor stable property conditions; though both are factors in their revolution and must necessarily be so.

To distribute goods or commodities, through purchase and sale, is the function of commerce. To facilitate buying and selling is the function of banking. In this latter function, it included everything that is essential to purchase and sale, such as the promotion of manufacture and transportation. In complex, modern industrial society, both commerce and banking are important factors.

Commerce and banking are closely related. John Moody, the eminent trust authority, traces a direct descent from the dry goods merchant prices of the last century to the giant financiers of the present day (1). The fortunes reaped in commerce furnished the capital for financing. In article two of this series, it was shown that the early capitalist class of New England was derived from its still earlier commercial class. Prof. John R. Commons lays great stress on what he terms "the merchant capitalist period" in American industrial development, a period which he claims lasted until 1880. During this period, the merchant turned capitalist in order to supply the ever-widening market for the goods he was engaged in selling (2). Thus the close relationship between commerce and banking is shown in their origin and operation.

The Revolution in Commerce.

In the various stages of production and distribution there was formerly a constant change of ownership of commodities. The mine owner, for instance, sold his ore to the furnace man. The latter, in turn, disposed of his pig iron and ingots to the maker of unfinished products, billets, blooms, steel bars, etc., who next sold them to the maker of finished products;

1. John Moody, The Masters of Capital, U. S. News's Magazine, Nov. 1910.
2. Commons, Introduction, Vol. III, Documentary History of American Industrial Society.

who sold to a jobber, who sold to a retailer, with the result that finally all the transactions were closed by the purchases of the consumer. In this procession, there were six purchases and sales, six different transactions involving six different profits. In all these transactions, money, and the promise to pay money or its equivalent, credit, were used in one form or another. These the banks supplied, of course at a profit to those interested in them: Sometimes, through adroit manipulation, more than profits—entire properties—were secured. But more of that anon.

In all of the foregoing transactions there was an element of risk and uncertainty, caused by fluctuations in prices and conditions. The buyer or seller could not always calculate changes in production which might decrease or increase prices and thereby give rise to loss. And the buyer or seller often had to build new factories or warehouses in order to survive the changes involved. This condition of affairs gave birth to the speculator, who sought to foresee or create conditions in which raw supplies and the securities offered for sale in order to raise capital for new enterprises, would be at his future option, or command, for his own profit. In pursuit of this purpose, the speculator had recourse to stock exchanges, to "corners" and the banks, which advanced him the cash and credit wherewith to carry on his operations; and which profited from them.

Today, these conditions are changing; a revolution is going on in commerce and banking. Modern industrialism means consolidated industrialism. It is an uninterrupted process from the land to the consumer. There is no buying of raw supplies, pig iron, unfinished products, etc., in modern production. The modern consolidation has abolished the mine owner, the furnace owner, the unfinished product mill owner, etc.; it has swallowed them all and now stands forth as the embodiment of them all in one compact organization. This has already been shown in the case of the Harvester and Steel trusts, in article one. And it is becoming more general with other corporations. In distribution, the consolidation tends to create precisely similar conditions. The harvester trust sells directly to farmers, through one of its own subsidiary companies, the International Harvester Co. of America. The harvester trust extends long credits to its customers, even accepting unborn calves as security (3). The 1907 report of the harvester trust showed outstanding "receivables" amounting to \$41,000,000. In the 1910 report the amount is \$57,000,000. The harvester trust is tightening its hold on future farming. The United States Steel Corporation, through its subsidiary the United States Steel Products Co., sells its products direct to contractors and builders in the markets of the world. Both the harvester and steel trusts maintain an elaborate system of warehouses, both at home and abroad. Money and credit do not figure in the transactions between them and their subsidiary companies; the charges for and against each other are only a matter of book keeping.

Other corporations besides the harvester and steel trusts, show the same tendency to eliminate the jobber and retailer, notably the tobacco trust, with its chain of cigar stores, and the Singer Sewing Machine, with its chain of agencies in many parts of the world.

The tendency to eliminate the jobber and retailer also means a tendency to eliminate labor, or, what is the same thing, secure a vastly increased output without an increase of employees.

Of course, this commercial revolution tends, further, to eliminate the element of speculation. The tendency is to secure all parts of the modern industrial process from risk and uncertainty, as far as possible. Trusts, like the harvester and steel trusts, own and control immense ore deposits, coal, timber lands, patent rights, etc., in order that they may be insured many years of supplies free from fluctuation and manipulation by adverse interests. There are no prospects for gambling in their necessities; they are in a position to wait the time when the necessities of society will be their golden opportunity even more so than now. And such a time is coming, as facts already presented demonstrate.

Other corporations tend in the same direction of freedom from speculation in the raw supplies necessary to their profitable operation. The paper trust owns immense timber lands; tobacco, textile,

breakfast foods and other corporations are taking precautionary measures to insure safety to their own interests.

Not only speculation, but also banking may, in due time, be effected profoundly by this tendency. The trusts are going into banking. In article one, it was shown that the steel trust is a banker of no mean proportions, having a cash capital of between \$55,000,000 and \$60,000,000 always on hand; and is at all times a lender of money. This is significant. It reveals the trust's powers of absorption in a new light. It presents possibilities of new complications that alarm, when seriously contemplated (3).

[Owing to the great length of this article it will have to be published in two sections, the second of which will appear next week, beginning with the subdivision "Consolidated Retailing."—Editor.]

S. McVey, Modern Industrialism, Chapter on Commercial Institutions. Meade, Trust Finance, Chapter, Capitalization of the Trusts.

MOVING PICTURE MORALITY

I have just come from a moving picture show, and I want to write down what I saw, and what I thought, while it is fresh.

I saw a wage-slave leaving his wife and child to go to his daily toil; he, and his wife, and his child, were contented because he had a job, and through that job he was able to provide the bare necessities of life for the three of them—what more should a wage-slave expect?

He gets fired for some mistake, some fault in his work, and that is the beginning of a long period of slow starvation and that humble begging for permission to be somebody's slave which grinds manhood out of a man. At last, weary of watching his wife wasting away over a wash tub, he decides to steal the living he is not permitted to earn by his labor, and chance leads him to begin in the home of the slave-driver who fired him.

It happens that while the amateur burglar is at work, the slave-driver's wife becomes frantic because her child has accidentally drunk poison and is in danger of death; she finds the burglar; mother love, stronger than all the barriers of wealth and all the prejudice of caste, brings her to her knees before the slave, the criminal, the outcast, to beg him to bring a doctor to save the child. The slave, at sight of a dying child and a mother's grief, swayed by the purest instinct mankind knows, forgives the mouth of misery he and his have endured, forgets the prison longing dark for him in the future, and goes in search of a doctor to save the enemy's child. After bringing the doctor he tries to make his escape but is met by the slave-driver, the father of the child, and is brought into the house again as a criminal. Explanations follow, and he is permitted to go home, and he actually receives thanks for saving the child.

Of course, the story must end right, the slave must have his reward, and he gets it—the permission to go back to his job. The scores are even, justice has been done; nay, the slave-driver has been merciful, he has put the slave to work when he could have put him in the pen.

The slave has paid for a mistake, the spoiling of some of his own labor, by months of worry, by months of job-hunting, by watching his wife killing herself over a wash tub and his child crying for bread; prompted by the noblest human sentiment, he overlooks past injuries and faces the open prison doors to save a child, and he is rewarded by getting back the job he had held for years.

The slave-driver, in a burst of temper, has condemned a willing slave, who desired no more than the chance to earn a living for himself and his wife and child, to a two-month-term in hell. He, or his wife, suffers one hour's agony for which the slave was in no way responsible, and then the slave is rewarded for saving a child by being forgiven for the sin of trying to save his own starving child by providing it with bread which legally belonged to someone else who did not need it. And yet it is the slave-driver who is a good and great and noble hero, while the slave is the repentant sinner.

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

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

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

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USE COMMON SENSE

M'NAMARA AND THE CAPITALIST PRESS

(Suggested by Fellow Worker Earl B. Ford of the New York I. W. W. and drawn by Jack Smith.)

Courtesy of the New York C.

Chicago, Sept. 28. The cooks and chefs have started a movement for a 10 hour workday in Chicago. They had a mass meeting on last Thursday night, which was well attended. The organizer of the Lake Seamen's Union was the principal speaker. In closing his speech he said that the cooks should try to organize all the rest of the hotel and restaurant workers.

After the chairman spoke for about half an hour, I asked for the floor, stating that I was not a cook, but a kitchen helper and dish washer. He said go ahead. So I started with telling the men present that the cooks and chefs, waiters, waitresses, silver cleaners, dish washers, in fact every body working in and around hotels and restaurants should combine together and fight together for a 10 hour workday. My short talk was as heartily applauded as that of the principal speaker. They all liked the one union idea.

The chairman then stated that the cooks would organize first. If the dish washers wanted to organize they had to form a separate union, or else it would cause endless craft squabbles. He advised me to gather the names of 30 dishwashers and bring them to an executive member (a lady present) of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Alliance, and she would start the organization of the hotel and restaurant help.

At this time, a Western delegate of the I. W. W. got the floor and told the audience of the A. F. of L. scabbery in Goldfield, Nev., some years ago. This immediately caused an uproar, and my intentions to take part in this movement were spoiled. A lady (member of the Waitresses' union of Chicago) rose and excitedly stated that the I. W. W. always tried to disrupt the labor movement and made a motion to throw the I. W. W. out of the hall. A report in the Daily Socialist stated that a crowd of I. W. W. men tried to disrupt the meeting, but were well taken care of. After the meeting closed an A. F. of L. slagger grabbed me and told me to get out of the hall or he would kick me down the steps.

I wish members of the I. W. W. would learn to use different tactics in different parts of the country.

Yours for a shorter workday,
F. R. JAKEL.



SIXTH I. W. W. CONVENTION

(Continued From Page One)

Pacific Coast District Organization came in for a thorough discussion in which much of the ill feeling heretofore generated by this much discussed organization was plainly dissipated. Although the amendment was voted down it was generally agreed upon that the need exists for better co-operation between the Western locals, and that this co-operation can be brought about under the constitution as it now exists.

SATURDAY FORENOON.

General Organizer Trautmann explained his proposition to reduce the number of I. W. W. departments from 18 to 6, as expressed in his chart in the pamphlet, "One Big Union." In the lively discussion that followed, several fellow workers believed to have located faults in the new chart, but it was finally unanimously adopted, being recognized as an improvement over the present one.

AFTERNOON.

The afternoon session brought some more resolutions to clip the G. E. B. power, but as usual they were voted down.

After a long discussion of the old debt of the Industrial Worker to the Spokane locals, an exchange of receipts between the General Office for old debt and the Spokane locals amounting to \$88 was decided on.

Convention decides in order to facilitate committee work, no Sunday session will be held, and adjourns to Monday morning at 9 o'clock.

W. Z. FOSTER.

NOTICE, EASTERN LOCALS

Joseph J. Eitor, on his return to New York from the Chicago convention, will be prepared to fill speaking dates. Those wishing Eitor's services will please write to Vincent St. John, Room 518, 180 N. 5th Ave., Chicago, Ill.

ST. LOUIS I. W. W.

Local 84, I. W. W. St. Louis, Mo. has just moved into larger and better headquarters at 1214 Franklin Ave., right in the heart of the slave market. All wage workers welcome at our headquarters.
Wm. YOUNG, Fin. Sec'y.

INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

(From the "Bulletin International.")

Revolutionary Minority in the Syndicalist Movement.

On several occasions lately the role of revolutionary minorities has been discussed, especially in connection with the visit of the French syndicalists to Berlin and the Conference of Budapest. The question has risen whether revolutionary syndicalist organizations, if in a minority, had not better dissolve and enter the large conservative unions in order to carry on a strong propaganda for direct action, anti-parliamentarism and anti-militarism, etc.

In our opinion this question has to be solved in each country according to its own economic and political situation in general and the historical evolution of the syndicalist movement in particular. Often the comrades of one country judge from their own movement are unable to understand the difficulties of the movement in another country, even if they are neighbors.

In England for instance many revolutionary syndicalists cannot see that the I. W. W. occupies any different position towards the A. F. of L. than their own few groups of English syndicalists towards the large trade unions; besides they are not sure whether syndicalism will assume a special character in England or will simply follow in the path of the American I. W. W. In the same way, because owing to special circumstances a minority of anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists succeeded in giving the whole French labor movement their character, many French comrades are too ready to believe that in Germany for instance the revolutionary comrades can, if active enough, conquer in the same way the centralist labor unions.

Again these critics forget the different economic and social conditions of Germany, the different natural character, the different organization of the trade unions which may be centralized to a certain extent, or be federalistic and leave a certain liberty of action to local branches.

Let us take a few examples. A fusion is possible between the "Confederacion

Nacional De Trabajo," the revolutionary labor organization of Spain, with its central bureau at Barcelona, and the "Union General de Trabajadores," with its parliamentarian and social democratic tendencies, having its headquarters at Madrid.

Also it is feasible that in Italy the revolutionaries belonging to some large national or local labor union (as the Camera del Lavoro de Parma) would do a good work if they entered in great numbers the "Confederazione Generale del Lavoro" and influence thus this large Italian labor organization. But the revolutionary comrades of these countries alone are able to judge if the time has come.

The case is different in Holland where the "National Labor Secretariat," the revolutionary labor organization of that country, would do no good by fusing its existence in that of the new, parliamentarian "Netherlands Labor Union," also in Germany if the revolutionary syndicalists of the Free Trade Union (Freie Vereinigung Deutscher Gewerkschaften) should sacrifice their organization to let themselves be swallowed up by the masses of disciplined members of trade unions affiliated to the "Generalkommunion"; as useless the sacrifice would be if the I. W. W. of America with their splendid future were to make common cause with the privileged and conservative workers of the A. F. of L.

In Holland the position has become such that the "parliamentarians" from fanaticism try even to break strikes directed by revolutionaries; their organs are often more hostile to any movement of direct action than the bourgeoisie. In fact it has come to this point that these parliamentarian trade unions have furnished seats to break a revolutionary strike. Under such conditions unity is impossible till the workers themselves see the disadvantages of such tactics.

In Germany there undoubtedly exists a growing opposition to the centralist spirit, especially in the large towns. In the printers', compositors', and metal workers' unions for instance, the large towns often openly oppose their committees which are supported by the large masses of narrow and often conservative provincial workers.

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In critical periods the large towns will feel the need of a really revolutionary labor organization. But if our revolutionary comrades should enter the large centralist unions where the directing committees are absolute masters, they would find it impossible to make propaganda for direct action to which the whole constitution of the large German unions is opposed.

In the United States, the I. W. W., by particularly occupying itself with the organizing of the floating population and the thousands of immigrants who are often refused by the A. F. of L., is doing a much more useful work than by trying to convert the A. F. of L.

And if nevertheless in all countries the moment should arrive for the revolutionary syndicalists to make common cause with the large conservative unions - this can be done only if the revolutionary unions can enter the large unions with full honor and flying banners, and not as conquered or as representatives of ideas prohibited beforehand.

CHICAGO I. W. W.

Local 25, branch 2 (English) meets every Friday night at 123 West Madison St., (near Fifth Ave., Chicago).
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