



# THE "STEAM ROLLER"

## Of A. F. of L. Officialdom Rides Roughshod Over the Rochester Garment Strikers.

(Special to Solidarity.)  
 Rochester, N. Y., Feb. 7.  
 "The cutters and trimmers at their meeting last night in Liberty hall adopted the following resolution:  
 "Resolved, That our men having been now locked out, that we do not return to work until demand of tailors be complied with. Be it further  
 "Resolved, That we also ask for same conditions as the tailors."  
 The resolutions were passed unanimously. Over 200 members of the Cutters' and Trimmers' Union attended the meeting. One of the members reported that a committee selected by the employees of the Michaels, Stern & Co. asked for an interview with the members of that firm and were told that they would give a reply at 9 o'clock. The cutters and trimmers say that the appointed hour arrived and the officers of the firm told them that an interview was impossible."  
 Arrangements have been made whereby the only union factory in Rochester will re-open Monday. Employees in the factory of Goldwater & Co., 182 St. Paul street, have been ordered by the union to return to work Monday. This is the only union factory in Rochester. EMPLOYEES STRUCK AGAINST THE WISHES OF THE ORGANIZERS. While the company and the union were considering an agreement.  
 "Post-Express, February 1.  
 These two excerpts from local press reports of the garment workers' strike now on here serve to show that there can be no "general strike" under A. F. of L. auspices either in conception, scope or conduct.  
 With the return of Goldwater & Co.'s force the solidarity of the striking garment workers is broken, and one more act of the basest treachery is chargeable to the officialdom of the A. F. of L. The demands for which the garment slaves are striking have not been conceded yet by this firm, but the proprietors do pay the union dues of its employees and this is a strike for PER CAPITA. Of this more further on.

## HOTEL STRIKE IN PHILA.

(Special to Solidarity.)  
 Philadelphia, Feb. 8.  
 On January 11 a general strike was called in the Hotel Majestic of this city by the International Hotel Workers' Union, and every man in the solitary department went out—cooks, porters, kitchen help, waiters, also the bus boys. In all, 150 men came out.  
 The Majestic, while not the most modern or ornate hotel of the city, caters to the "highest" class of customers, and the cuisine is of the finest.  
 The men are standing firmly; they will stick until the strike is won. The hotel has negro scabs for waiters, and very inefficient kitchen help generally. The hotel is working about one-third its full force.  
 Volunteer organizers of the I. W. U. are the leading spirits of the strike; they have put solidarity into the hearts of the strikers and created a fighting spirit in the rank and file.  
 The membership of the I. H. W. U. is growing rapidly in every hotel in the city, and a general strike is likely soon in the city of brotherly love. For the hotel workers here receive wages as low as any in the country, and are organizing fast. Demands have been sent to all the hotels for an increase of from 10 to 40 per cent to wages, and there will be strikes in the other hotels here as fast as they are organized.

Hand this paper to some slave!

trimmers in turning what was not only a lockout but a kick-out into a strike protest might provoke a laugh if you were not made aware that at a meeting on Saturday evening, January 25, just two days before, a motion to strike in support of the other garment workers was laid on the table. To say that the strike of the cutters is making a virtue of necessity is putting it mildly and charitably.  
 Last week's report mentioned that our inexperienced members were confident that they could outpoint the A. F. of L. veterans. Of course they relied upon their own honesty and sincerity, and the soundness of the I. W. U. doctrine to bring home the lesson. The counsel is thoroughly taken out of them. They have been steam rolled and fattened out; they have been bullied and browbeaten; they have been terrorized and disrupted; they have been manhandled and abused until they are cowed enough to admit that the lot of the laborer-within is not only uncomfortable and unsatisfactory, but that hell is a summer resort in comparison with it. Every protest against the high handed manner in which the officials were conducting the strike met a response from the strikers, but our boys did not know how to follow-up this advantage. Every contention raised by them won the approval of the rank and file, yet the cry of "discussion" paralyzed our fellows into inactivity until now, with a few notable and praiseworthy exceptions, they drift with their fellows struck dumb with fear to the rocks they see plainly ahead.

The workers are not consulted about the management of the strike; they are allowed no part in the discussion, and unless their suggestions meet with approval of the Flett gang they are ignored. For instance, Fellow Worker Rubinski was the unanimous choice of all the Adler Brothers & Co.'s shops for their representation.

(Continued On Page Four)

## THE I. T. U. SCABS ON ITSELF

Max Hayes was in New York recently to tell how the A. F. of L. is developing industrial unionism. Max didn't say to hear the other side, as told by Joe Ritor. He had to catch a train. If Max could linger in New York a few days he would see how A. F. of L. "industrialism" works out, not in the United Mine Workers, to which he cites as proof, but in his own industry, the typographical industry. The illustration is a "beast." It is as follows:

There is a strike on in the Jewish newspapers, waged by writers, all members of the International Typographical Union. Not only are the other A. F. of L. organizations outside of the I. T. U. working, but so also are two unions belonging to the I. T. U. itself, viz., the Jewish compositors' union No. 88, and the Malters' Union No. 6, helping to beat the strikers. That is, members of the I. T. U. remain at work while other members of the same union are being whipped by the bosses, for that is what is occurring. This is even worse than the situation in Chicago, where the I. T. U. scabbed on the printers, who were organized outside of themselves, though also members of the A. F. of L.  
 Now the next time Max comes to New York to tell us how the A. F. of L. is developing "industrial unionism" we hope he will prove it by the I. T. U. and not the miners. Proof, like charity, should begin at home.

NEW YORKER.

Agitate for the 8 hour day.

## TO AKRON WORKERS

All workers employed in the Babber, Automobile and all factories of Akron must now organize for the coming storm.  
 Last summer there was a cut in wages in the tire department of the Diamond Rubber works (now the B. F. Goodrich Co.) and the Akron workers walked out. By not having an organization of any kind they went back to defeat.  
 When the superintendent saw that the workers had left their machines he got busy. He asked to see the strikers' committee, but they had none. The superintendent then picked his own committee and took care that he got his chosen few on that committee, such as company eyes and men who had no will of their own. Then the superintendent and his committee retired to the office to talk the matter. After some time the committee returned with the sad tale that the company was short on money now, and if they didn't cut the wages they would have to shut the plant down, but agreeing that there would not be any more cuts for another year.  
 The strikers, not knowing any better at that time, went back to work.  
 "No more cuts in wages" was overlooked by the company, and in two months they were out again 50 per cent.  
 Now when the first cut came the men in the tire department were working eight hours per day, three shifts in 24 hours. Wages were 25¢ per hour. After the reduction wages were 27¢, but the workers were supposed to make up the difference in amount by working two shifts of 11 and 13 hours per day.

As soon as the men went back to work, they were speeded up so they could make the wages they made before the cut by making twice as many tires. Also the company saw where they could cut the wages again, so on October 1st cut No. 2 went into effect.  
 Before this cut, one worker built 19 three and one-half inch tires per day; now one worker builds 100 three and one-half inch tires per day, doing the work of five men; taking the bread out of the mouths of other workers' children; making the unemployed angry; making your job the job of the unemployed, the first time you do anything individually.

Fellow workers, when you get you must all set together, as one, instead of one after the other.  
 The Diamond, Goodrich, Firestone, Goodyear, Miller, Buckeye, Star, Swinhardt and all of the rubber works of Akron are united into one great rubber trust. Why not organize a LABOR TRUST?  
 In other words, join hands under the banner of the Industrial Workers of the World. Form One Big Union of Rubber Workers, and then we will work:

Eight hours per day for nothing less than 88¢, in sanitary workrooms, and thus have more time for education and pleasure.  
 Now, all workers who are interested in more of the good things of life, come to the meeting advertised below. Speakers in four languages—English, Spanish, Italian and Hungarian.  
 Meeting called to order Sunday, February 9, 8:30 p. m., at 46 South Howard Street, 2d floor, Akron, Ohio.

## ALDAMAS GETS 18 MONTHS

(Telegram to Solidarity.)  
 New York, Feb. 1.  
 Alexander Aldamas gets only one year and a half, in face of a combined attack by the district attorney and Brooklyn ring, together with a hostile press and indifferent public. Defense committee considers above verdict a victory. Will arrange other protective steps immediately.  
 WM. SANGER

Agitate for the real thing.

# WHAT DO YOU SAY?

## Shall Little Falls Mill Owners Railroad Innocent Strikers to the Pen? If not, Act Quickly!

Little Falls, N. Y., Feb. 4.  
 Many of the workers on the outside do not realize the gravity of the situation in these parts where there are 14 of the boys held in jail on charges which mean the prison in event of their conviction. Since the end of the strike, there is little publicity and little help from the outside. The trials come up March 1 and at that time the available funds for defense are almost nothing. There is practically no one on the outside speaking for the defense.  
 The time to raise money is very short now. The enemy is making every possible effort to railroad the boys to the pen. They have even hired the notorious ex-Senator A. M. Billa, to help with the prosecution. This shows where the mill owners stand. They do not even take the trouble to disguise the fact and Mills has been seen in company of mill owners visiting offices where preparations against us are going on.  
 On the other hand there is an organized "Citizens' Committee" which has begun agitation against us, similar to the Lawrence "Good and Beautiful" organization. The community outside of Little Falls, in the county is practically all farming, occupying a few villages. These are already prejudiced. Here is where the jury will

come from. Every worker knows what that means to those who will stand trial.  
 Some of the workers here have been beaten up inside the jails, by those who are supposed to give protection to every one—especially prisoners in their care. Many of the prisoners have families, mostly small children. But the mill owners in their quest for vengeance care nothing for that. They have had a good many girls and women stabbed, choked and beaten up during the strike. What they did to the men cannot even be described. No man need to expect mercy or justice from such a gang.  
 Our only hope is to have everyone get busy on the outside and get busy quick. The time is short. After March 1st it will be too late. Will you stand idly by and see the mill owners and their tools do their dirty work? They are after the boys in jail with an intention of railroadng them to the pen. They may after you tomorrow. Raise money. Send protests. Raise hell and pull the sky down. But don't let the enemy put our innocent brethren back of the bars of a prison house. The time is short. Get busy.

Send all funds to Little Falls Defense Committee, Box 458.  
 J. S. BISCAY.

## Our School of Action

There was a time when the Socialists Party of Germany was revolutionary. You do not believe it? It does sound incredible. But it is a fact. History tells us that long before it donned the garb of bourgeois respectability, long before the cancer of middle class intellectualism attached itself to it, the German Socialist Party was revolutionary.

In those days the participation in the capitalist circus of law giving and law enforcing was considered unworthy of a socialist. He abhorred the idea of sanctioning by his presence and acquiescence the existence and maintenance of the political state.

When Wilhelm Liebknecht was for the first time elected to the Reichstag he announced that he will appear at the first session, tell the assembly what he thinks of it, and turn his back on it forever.

How strange these words sound to a "broad-minded" comrade in this age of Bernstein and Kler Harly, Berger and Spargo, when the election of a socialist to the exalted office of a jail keeper, sheriff, chief of police or prosecuting attorney is heralded as a great victory, as a step toward the Co-operative Commonwealth.

It was only after a long struggle that revolution was replaced by reform, and the Social Democratic Party of Germany became what it is now—more adjacent to the liberal parties of capitalism, a barrier against the rising tide of real proletarian activity.

The pure and simple parliamentarians of those days were not practical or constructive enough to declare that real good can come of all the high sounding reforms on their platform. This discovery was left to their American descendants.  
 What they argued was that the management of the production and distribution of the nation is a complicated affair. In order to fit itself for this task the working class will have to pass through a school of experience and training; it must rear up among its members a contingent of efficient organizers and capitalists of industry. Political activity is the school for it.

This argument sounded plausible in

bureaucratic, monarchial Germany, and the revolutionary socialists began to crowd the halls of legislatures and assemblies. The results are known to every rebel.

Even the capitalist highbrows admit that representative government is a failure. The political game is a mere farce. It is at the economic end that the center of gravity lies. The legislatures and congress are composed of lawyers, intellectuals, sleek talkers and spellbinders—men who, at their best, know little or nothing of the real needs of the people. Laws favorable to the workers remain dead letters as long as there is no revolutionary economic organization to compel their enforcement, and, given such an organization, the workers will get what they want, party or no party, law or no laws.

We know too well the educational influence of the legislative halls upon those of our fellow workers who are smooth enough, respectable enough to be admitted there. We let too many of them to the enemy. And the greater majority of the representatives of the working class parties are middle class philosophers and intellectuals. Moreover, in order to keep these favorite sons of our flesh to false resolutions, to talk to empty chairs and learn how to be respectable and constructive, we must wear allegiance to the law, recognize the present order as legitimate, submit and wait till our representatives will be in the majority, if this will ever happen, and if they will remain O U R S till then.

Education? By any means. Training? The more of it the better. None of us expect the sudden coming of the millennium. We admit that the working class will grow into the industrial democracy by a gradual absorption of new, interest and power. We know the value of organization and training and we are building a school for it—the school of our revolutionary economic activity.

Get what you can and ask for more. Enforce by ANY means shorter hours, sanitary conditions, shop regulations. Watch carefully for the crucial moment to

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# SOLIDARITY

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**WATCH FOR YOUR NUMBER.**

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## THE SAME OLD STORY

Our Rochester correspondent's account of the garment strike, in this week's installment, repeats a tale of A. F. of L. official treachery that should have been sufficiently impressed upon the mind of unskilled workers everywhere in America to date. The Rochester strike is an exact replica of what has taken place in A. F. of L. strikes generally in the past two decades at least. The "official" machine dominates the situation completely and rides roughshod over the aspirations of the mass below towards unity of action. Moreover, that mass, clinging to the A. F. of L., does not appear to have developed in the slightest degree the necessary minority or group initiative to throw off the leaders of craft officialdom. Consequently, this latest fiasco of the garment workers offers no more hope of A. F. of L. progress than did the preceding ones. The whole process is a vicious circle, which, completed, leaves the workers in a state of apathy until the bosses' whip again lashes them into revolt—only to repeat the process.

The reason is not far to seek. It has been stated over, and over again in these columns. The A. F. of L. is a "privileged" or "skilled" workers' organization. In order to maintain their privileges, the "skilled" workers must surround themselves with barriers against the "unskilled" below them. A 94-day strike does not propose to "even up" with a 93 man if he can help it. An organization dominated by the higher-paid workers does not propose to surrender its control to the mass. Consequently, in the A. F. of L. we see high initiation fees, nepotism, rules, craft contracts, and in such industries as mining where craft lines are wiped out mostly, district contracts and the check-off. In other words, the official craft union "machine" whose task it is to maintain this system and their own positions, does so by forming alliances with the employing class to protect the privileges of skilled workers against the "mob" of poorly-paid unskilled workers.

Often the "mob" rebels. The revolutionary character of those rebellions strikes terror to the hearts of the bosses. Clubs, guns, injunctions, jails and other moves of the political state are unavailing to quench the fire of rebellion. But left to itself, the revolt will subside in time, leaving the rebels as fit as fiddle or worse position than before. Lately, however, these revolts of unskilled have in many cases sought org-

anized expression through the I. W. W., an organization expressly designed to give them proper scope and latitude. The I. W. W. clearly embodies the aspirations of the unskilled. Its form of organization and its fighting methods also are adapted to their economic status. They are very small, and its members are scattered in all parts of the country, but its members are not so scattered as to be ineffective. As a consequence, the A. F. of L. machine, ever alert to its own and to the interests of its constituency—the privileged workers—gets on the job and disorganizes and takes the spirit out of the revolt. It is an old story, oft repeated.

The garment workers, miserably exploited as they are, have been repeating this A. F. of L. fiasco about every two years for at least two decades. Great revolts break out in New York and elsewhere; the "swastika" is to be abolished; "subcontracting" is to be done away with; an "increased wage scale is to be secured," etc., which all slumbers down in the end to "recognition of the union," which means recognition of the A. F. of L. officialdom and their right to dicker with the garment bosses. A "sweeping victory" is announced at the close of the strike—only to materialize two years later in another and similar revolt. The initiative of the rank and file always remains in limbo.

There is no remedy for this state of affairs, short of building up the I. W. W., and, through it, promoting the initiative of the unskilled. The I. W. W. has no excuse for failure except that it does not imagine that the masses from the outside are there only to aid the strikers to conduct their own strike. We want them to decide upon their own demands; organize their own picket and relief systems; negotiate through committees from their own ranks with the employers, and decide as a body whether they shall accept or reject the overtures of the bosses. In short, every effort is put forth by the I. W. W. to make the workers free and understand that it is their fight, and that they alone should be responsible for its success or failure.

The I. W. W. principle of working class initiative is bound to prevail in the end. Meanwhile I. W. W. militants everywhere should take a clear view of the situation, and prepare themselves more thoroughly for the task that lies before them. Education is needed. For the ideas, forms and methods of the industrial union before the unskilled mass. Waste no time with catch-phrases and side issues that our enemies are trying to lead us astray with. Agitate, educate and prepare the soil for the organization of the unskilled that is bound to follow. Build up the I. W. W.

## AN IMPOSSIBLE LINEUP

The Seattle "Herald," an organ of the Socialist Party, on being asked its "position in this matter of industrial unionism that is agitating the minds of so many socialists at the present time," quotes Robert Blatchford, of the English "Clarion," as follows:

"What I should like to see is a united army of labor; and a Socialist Party outside that army to do the necessary work of propaganda. . . . What I am anxious to see is the complete organization and thorough training of the army of labor for the great campaign against the parasitic classes. Anything I can do to help that organization and training I will do very gladly; and I think the first essential to any substantial progress is the removal of the debris of mistakes and misunderstandings which now block the road."

Probably the above is an ideal statement of the "two-winged" theory of the labor movement as we could hope to find it being iterated and reiterated in some form by the so-called "red" socialist papers throughout the country, and also by the "yellow" papers with the accompanying tune, "No compromise with the I. W. W. I believe in industrial unionism, but not the I. W. W." In opposition to this "two-winged" conception, let us put that of the C. G. T. of France, as stated by its secretary, Leon Jouhaux, in a portion of an article appearing in this week's *Solidarity*. Jouhaux says:

"Since the C. G. T. looks towards the transformation of society it is not an organization to adapt itself to the capitalist world. The syndicalists declare: 'Syndicalism must be self-sufficient in the task it has laid down for itself.' And in order to give it this power we direct our efforts to developing class-consciousness in the minds of the masses. In the struggle we

are not merely guided by sentiment, but also by our interests and needs. Through the C. G. T. the working class at the same time is constantly strengthening its various divisions for the everyday struggle against capitalist exploitation; and by an education based on class interests, making the divisions ready for the proclamation of the capitalist class and to proceed on the economic field to the new social organization. Our aim is not at all to bring about a political transformation, which could bring no change in the situation of the wage workers, but an economic transformation. According to us, the workers should always keep in their possession their own power of action and that of making decisions. They should act by themselves, in order to take account of the power they have in themselves. It is not the complete application of the old International's motto: 'The emancipation of the workers must be by the workers themselves.' These two principles, above enunciated, by Blatchford and Jouhaux, form the bone of contention between "political socialists" who believe in industrial unionism and industrial unionism, who know what industrial unionism is and must be. Blatchford wants to see a Socialist Party OUTSIDE of the labor unions carrying on the educational work for those unions and that union movement; Jouhaux wants to see that work of education carried on by the union itself. Blatchford's conception, clothed in the false garb of "scientific socialism," is that of the politician, the intellectual or the privileged worker, who views the great "unskilled" masses from afar, and can not imagine that the masses from the outside are there only to aid the strikers in their own interests. It needs a saviour—in this instance, a political party, outside of itself, and if we are to judge by present actualities, composed largely of and dominated by non-working class elements, to act as its guide and mentor. From a revolutionary standpoint the simplicity of that conception is only equalled by the tragedy of its practical application—that is, those holding the very conception, or unconsciously, develop oftentimes into the worst enemies of the labor movement.

In order to make that clear, let us first consider another phase of this question. Jouhaux says: "Since the C. G. T. looks towards the transformation of society it is not an organization TO ADAPT ITSELF TO THE CAPITALIST WORLD." Not so a political party, however, so matter what may be its label. A political party aims primarily and ultimately to capture the machinery of the political state. It can only do so by adapting itself to the political forms, laws, rules and regulations imposed by the existing and "legal" order of society. For instance, it cannot "capture" Congress without cloaking and seating a majority of congressmen in the way "provided by law." It can not "capture" the Supreme Court without getting Presidents of its own political faith to appoint judges of its own color to the present vacancies on the bench. It can not get possession of a policeman's club without electing mayors and councilmen to city offices, and it can not have those cops who that club in the "interest of the workers" without "violating the laws" designed and shaped to protect the masters' property and interests. Consequently, the political party logically and inevitably adapts itself to the "world of capitalism." This desire to "adapt" themselves, is the basic reason for the failure of the C. G. T. of the Socialist Party constitution, and for the violent assaults of the "yellows" against the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. militant has no desire to adapt himself to the capitalist world. He has come too often in contact with that world's business, its brutality and viciousness, its repression of the ignorant. Every fibre of his being is in rebellion against it. Yet he is not like a broncho who has never known a bridle. His training in the depths of wage slavery has not only deepened his rebellious spirit, but has also taught him patience, discipline and the necessary forbearance in the face of apparent apathy of his fellow workers. The tactics he employs in his battles with the ruling class are not "articles of faith" to be written in a book and memorized for all occasions, but are rather "GENERAL MEASURES" to be used with judgment and intelligence when occasion arises. For instance, he does not make a fetish of "sabotage," but he knows how to terrorize the boss with its very name. Why? Because the boss is wiser than the politicians—he knows what sabotage has done to him on occasions. He knows that in the hands of men who have declared terms

war on the capitalist world, it is a weapon of no little menacing possibilities. In this matter, as well as in others, the I. W. W. is demonstrating that, not a political party or politicians will "adapt" themselves, but the slave workers themselves, on the job, in a position to know as to what is good for them. And by insisting upon their own initiative, the workers gain more and more confidence and self-reliance, and develop more and more the class spirit and the revolutionary fibre necessary for the supplanting of capitalism with the new society.

For these reasons, we insist that Blatchford's conception proposes an impossible lineup, from a revolutionary standpoint. Just as the C. G. T. militants resent the attempted usurpation of the union movement in France by the Socialist Party, so the I. W. W. "refuses all alliances with political parties" in this country. We will compel members of the Socialist Party to support us in our struggles; but just because they are struggles of slaves against their masters, and because those S. P. members are workmen themselves with class instincts and sympathies. We ask no sympathy from the Party as such, and will have nothing but contempt for socialist politicians who accuse us of "ingratiation." As to the S. P. carrying on the educational work and propaganda for the industrial union, our experience along that line justifies us in declining without thanks. Just as the emancipation of the working class cannot be achieved by politicians, but only by the workers themselves, so must the propaganda and education of the industrial union itself be carried on by the industrial union itself. No compromise with politicians, or other "self-adaptors" to the capitalist world!

## MAKING A STRIKE A CRIME

Little Falls, N. Y., Jan. 20.—The trial of the 20 defendants in the now famous Little Falls strike case has been continued till March 1. Fourteen of the defendants have already been in jail since October 31, and now must remain there several weeks more, the amount of bail required being prohibitive. Notwithstanding the fact that they are charged with comparatively minor offenses, bonds for all would amount to a total of \$10,000. Such a sum is altogether beyond the means of their fellow mill workers.

It will be remembered that 46 persons were imprisoned following the attempt of socialist speakers to address a throng of strikers in a public park here, and immediately after an effort on the part of the police to break up a parade of pickets which resulted in the wounding of two policemen and injuries to many strikers. Speakers were pulled down from their platforms while quoting from the Bible, from a speech by Abraham Lincoln, from the Declaration of Independence and from the Constitution of the United States.

Among those arrested and locked up in the Little Falls jail, since described as "a hell hole," was Dr. George B. Lann, the socialist mayor of Schoenstadt, N. Y., who, according to the information written on the police blotter at the time, was taken in custody "for speaking." He will be tried on February 17 for "inciting to riot."

A few days afterward came the clash with the police and in a raid on their headquarters strikers were arrested by wholesale and several of them were terribly beaten after being locked into their cells. They have since been confined in Herkimer jail.

Former strikers have since organized a defense committee and are making an appeal for funds with which to fight the cases. The issues, they point out, are the rights of free speech and peaceful assembly and the right to strike. Contributions may be sent to Mrs. Matilda Robinson, Secretary Little Falls Defense Committee, Box 458, Little Falls, N. Y.

## THE POWER OF TOIL

Where once the hot winds swept the plains  
A farmer garner golden grain,  
Where wolf and lion used to roam,  
The peaceful sheep now makes his home,  
Where men and tigers were the same,  
We now can hear the clucking hen,  
Frenzied beasts have passed away,  
The meek and peaceful now hold sway.

It wasn't the cluck of the clucking hen,  
That started the farmer to the cover den,  
It wasn't the peep of the peaceful sheep,  
That put the lion and the wolf to sleep,  
It wasn't the caw of the calm-eyed kine,  
Nor really the growl of the rampant swine,  
It wasn't the cluck of the clucking hen,  
But patient work of the working men.

We watched our cunning and strength and

skill  
Against the tiger's and lion's will,  
With whetted knives and with slugs of lead,  
We laid them low in our fight for bread,  
Twas us of the working class alone,  
At cost of labor and sweat and bone,  
Through summer's heat and through winter's blast  
Brought forth the present from the past.

No cultured voice of a Jeany Lind,  
Nor put an end to the scorching wind,  
Which blew his blight like a furnace  
Against the farmer's and his wife's bread.

But the fields we planted further south  
By arduous toil, year after year,  
We wrought this change in the atmosphere,  
Reclaimed the forest and swampy lands,  
And planted seeds on the desert sands.

We conquered fire and we tamed steam,  
We leaped mountains and tumbled stream  
We sprinkled cities o'er hill and dale,  
Connected oceans with dam and rail,  
We dug the gold that the miser aches,  
We wore the garments the princes craves  
We built the houses and baked the bread,  
And yet we are homeless and poorly fed.

With all the wisdom our work attests,  
With all our conquests, cost and sweat,  
Our babes work in the rich man's mill,  
At labor that stifles, stunts and kills,  
Our wives must toil for the rich men's wives,  
Mental and servants, while waste survives,  
This is the system throughout the land,  
Shall the working class be the system stand?  
R. C. THOMSON

## MORALITY AND HISTORY

Our friend, the "scientific" socialist, John Spargo, is very solicitous about the morale of the working class in connection with the use of sabotage. That the opportunism, which he represents, is detrimental to that same morale, appears to have escaped our dear John. That opportunism produced Millard and Viviani in France; John Burns in England and Bernstein in Germany; all side-camps of capitalism. In the guise of socialists in this country, it gave rise to a dilution of the socialist program that resulted in political corruption such as caused the expulsion of socialist mayors in Ohio and elsewhere. Surely when our dear John speaks of saving the morale of the working class, he and his tribe do not consider our dear John.

They have done more than any other to destroy and vitiate that good quality in the workers. But not only is our dear John a teacher with unclean hands, but also a teacher whose lack of historical perspective is amazing. For instance, where, in history, have the methods of sabotage proven fatal to the moral of any great revolutionary movement?

For years the American revolutionists defied the English navigation laws by smuggling and other secret illegal practices. They answer to the English stamp act was to practice sabotage on a certain cargo of tea in the Boston harbor. Did these acts destroy the morale of the American revolutionists? If they did we can only say we hope that some day Berger, Ghent, Spargo and Hunter will become afflicted with an overdose of this same lack of class morality.

But let us not digress. Let us come on to the abolition movement, with its underground railroad, fugitive slaves and John Browns, "whose souls go marching on." Did the abolition movement, as a result of these and other acts of sabotage on chattel slavery, lose its morale? If it did we only hope that Berger, Ghent, Spargo and Hunter will suffer considerably from the same loss—the sooner the better.

Now finally we come to the socialist movement itself, under the Bismarck laws in Germany. For 18 years, the German socialists defied law and order by secret means and violent means. They smuggled papers and literature into Germany from abroad; organized a secret organization of trusted men to carry on organization and agitation; visited and captured meetings of the Progressives and Socialists-Democrats with clubs and shuttle-cocks, such as long pins and pepper used on opponents; destroyed the property of the government, worn by gendarmes, and damped the latter into the ditch, and did much more of a similar character. Did this destroy the morale of the German working class? Decidedly not; the only destruction of the morale of the German workers has come from the German prototypes of the Berger, Ghent, Spargo, etc., etc.

No movement for the inauguration of a new order is moral from the standpoint of the old. It creates a new morality in keeping with new conditions and new aspirations, as history repeatedly has shown. We believe to be guided by history; the Spargos are weak-purist politicians compared to it.

J. E.

## FRENCH

By LEON J.

(Address delivered at the Peasants' Congress for Solidarity)

(Continued From No. 1)

Present Status of the C. G. T. C. G. T. numbers at 1911 \$50,000 (free-paying) and \$1,000,000 (total). If account is taken of dues paid it exceeds that and its real strength might be 800,000.

The following dues are paid: G. T.: Federations, six francs members per month; Labor (Bouvier), one sou per member. These dues are collected in stamps placed on a card. Cards are the same for all. The gain of the Confederation is "People" (The Voice of the Peasants) weekly. Every year subscribes for it.

The ceaselessly growing French labor organization is following figures. (They are our answer to those who pretend to be simply marking time.)

In 1905 the Federation of contained only 605 syndicates; number had increased to 869; working class unity realized; no more bats already counted; dues in 1905, 1,280; in 1906, 3,399; in 1908, 2,598, 3,619, and the enlargement. Let us note the fact that we have nearly five times as many industrial syndicates.

The number of federations increased; for in accordance with the unions which are going on in manufacture, a good number of federations have fused so as to form industrial unions. It is also true that in France the union of below ten sou per member program has been raised to four francs per month.

Here is the article of the reform the origin-base of the Article 101. The Conference of the Travaill, governed by statute, has in its aims:

1. The grouping of wage workers for the defense of their moral interests, economic and professional interests.

2. Aside from every political organization all workers who are of the struggle to be carried out by the abolition of the wage system employing class.

No one can make use of membership in the Confederation office of the Confederation, is elected and whatever.

## The Syndicates (Local)

The C. G. T. is composed of industrial federations, and of federations of Labor (Bouvier) composed of local unions. Two doublet exist: uniformity; but it must not be that it is far from easy to classify the crafts with industry or another.

If the forces of progress centralize the resistance of class, we wish to see to force enough elasticity so that the union is not a hindrance to our dash for the future.

In the federations the complete autonomy.

We consider that the syndicate remains free in the midst of the syndicate. We wish that when the syndicate moment for fighting has should be able to act freely in the circumstances and in the time as they arise.

We ask of the workers enough consciousness to be exactly when to carry on the harm to the fellow workers branches. And so far we no serious inconvenience.

To be sure not all strikes but that is the fortune of some attempts, some defeats after a loss we have general of syndicalist sentiment.

The syndicate represents the grouping of interests according to locality or profession, the offensive and defensive of labor. Our military puts one syndicate in a position of inferiority to another study in common of demands.

# FRENCH SYNDICALISM

By LEON JOUHAUX, Secy C. G. T. of France.

(Address delivered at the People's Hall, Brussels, Belgium, Dec. 6, 1911. Translated for Solidarity by Herbert Stunges, Painesville, Ohio.)

(Continued From No. 102)

**Present Status of the C. G. T.**  
The C. G. T. numbers at present (Dec. 1911) 450,000 dues-paying members, and if account is taken of dues paid irregularly it might be said that its real effective force exceeds 900,000.

The following dues are paid to the C. G. T.: Federations, six francs per 1,000 members per month; Labor Exchanges (Bourses), one sou per member per year. These dues are collected by means of stamps placed on a card. Stamps and cards are the same for all. The official organ of the Confederation is "La Voix du Peuple" (The Voice of the People) which appears weekly. Every syndicat has to subscribe to it.

The ceaselessly growing power of the French labor organization is seen in the following figures. (They are the victorious answer to those who pretend that we are simply marking time.)

In 1895 the Federation of Exchanges comprised only 600 members; in 1896 the number had increased to 822; in 1902 the working class united realized upon an economic basis already counted 1,648 syndicates; in 1905, 1,280; in 1904, 1,702; in 1906, 2,390; in 1908, 2,586; in 1910, 3,013, and the enlargement continues. Let us note the fact that craft syndicates have nearly disappeared to make room for industrial syndicates.

The number of federations has decreased; for in accordance with the transformations which are going on in methods of manufacture, a good number of craft federations have fused so as to form only one industrial union. It is also to be noted that in France the union dues never go below ten sou per member per month, to reach as high as four francs per member per month.

Here is the article of the statutes which form the organic base of the C. G. T.: Article First—The Confederation Generale du Travail, governed by the present statutes, has as its aims:

1. The grouping of wage workers for the defense of their moral and material interests, economic and professional.

2. Aside from every political school, it organizes all workers who are conscious of the struggle to be carried on for the abolition of the wage system and of the employing class.

No one can make use of his title of membership in the Confederation, or of an office of the Confederation, in any political electoral act whatsoever.

**The Syndicates (Local Unions)**  
The C. G. T. is composed of craft and industrial federations, and of the Federation of Labor Exchanges (Bourses du Travail) composed of local syndicates.

There doubtless remains a little want of uniformity but it must not be forgotten that it is far from easy in many cases to classify the craft with accuracy in one industry or another.

If the forces of progress compel us to centralize the resistance of the working class, we wish at least to give these labor forces enough elasticity so that this centralization is not a handicap to syndicalist action in our dash for the future.

In the federations the syndicates enjoy complete autonomy.

It is considered that the syndicat ought to remain free in the midst of its federation. We wish that when the syndicat feel the moment for fighting has come, they should be able to act freely without asking permission of any one, taking advantage of circumstances and favorable conditions as they arise.

We ask of the workers that they have enough consciousness to be able to decide exactly when to lay on the fight without taking to the fellow workers of other branches. And so far as we have to regret no serious inconveniences from these tactics.

To be sure not all strikes are victorious; but that is the fortune of all movements; some triumph, some defeat; but even after a loss we have perceived a renewal of syndicalist sentiment.

The syndicat represents the best possible grouping of interests. It sets up, according to locality or profession, or industry, the offensive and defensive power of labor. Our ordinary representation never puts one syndicat in a position of superiority or inferiority to another. By the study in common of demands and by the

common struggle to obtain them, it binds together the workers of the same trade by fraternal bonds. Not confining its activity to battles for immediate and craft interests and not confining the benefits or the results obtained to those who are organized, it takes on a character of social solidarity which develops the communist tendencies inherent within itself. It is for this working class the first apprenticeship in solidarity, the basis of all organizations which aspire to constitute a real force in the world.

Since it represents the socialized workshop it has, apart from its present role, a part to play in the future. In the society of the future, which we all dream of seeing established, it will be the local administrator and regulator of production, by profession or by industry.

### The Federations

In the C. G. T. the national federations are of two kinds—those of craft, and those of industry. However, since the resolution of the Congress of Amiens (1904), confirmed by that of Marseilles (1908), the confederal organism can no longer admit craft federations. Furthermore, those which still exist tend more and more to become industrial federations.

The federations contain all the syndicates of the same craft or of the same industry. In the great majority of cases, the federation is administered by a federal committee composed of delegates from each syndicat in the federation; each delegate is always subject to the recall of his syndicat. That is the practical application of the spirit and tactics of federation.

The activity of the federation radiates over all the country. Its role is to organize and fortify the syndicates, to undertake campaigns of a general nature, and to reinforce resistance to the employing class. They constitute, in a higher sense, the schooling in social solidarity. The federation is nationally, by corporation or by industry, the offensive and defensive power of the workers. Like the syndicates in their midst, the federations enjoy a complete autonomy by the C. G. T. They participate in the confederal campaigns, not taking account of detailed prescriptions which might be given, but of what they can or can not do at the moment.

Every year, or every other year at most, the federations hold a national congress to consider results obtained and tasks to undertake or to carry out. Since a labor organization should never shut itself up in unchangeable rules, but should conduct itself according to the necessities of the moment, the statutes and rules are always subject to the reconsideration of these congresses. The federal dues range from two sou per member per month to twelve, fifteen and forty sou.

The present role of the federal organism is to co-ordinate, without at the same time neutralizing, the action of the syndicates. Syndical independence must always be respected; it is, besides, the best way to foster the blossoming out of individual initiative, of which the labor movement has need. The repression which would result from extreme centralization would end in the opposite.

### Labor Exchange—District or Local Union of Syndicates

The Labor Exchanges have a very distant origin, since on March 3, 1790, M. de Corcelles agitated the project, in a report which he presented, and since on February 5, 1857, M. Ducoux proposed a very complete plan for the organization of a Labor Exchange. However, it was not till February 8, 1897, that the Parisian workers had their first labor exchange. Since then, thanks to the activity of Fernand Pelloutier, the Exchanges have developed a little in every town. To be sure they were then only municipal buildings of which the workers had use but not the ownership; in short, they were not "at home."

Let us note, however, that their administration there was at their pleasure, the municipal authorities having nothing to do with the internal administration of the Exchange. Today, thanks to the propaganda and penetration of ideas of independence, the Exchanges, although still the property of the municipality, are something more than premises sheltering the syndicates. Aside from the real estate they have established local or district unions over which the municipality can have no control. So when the municipal

officials think the syndicates too revolutionary, or from hatred of the C. G. T., wish to put them out of doors by closing the Exchanges in the hope of annihilating the movement, we have an organization ready to function immediately without delay in propaganda or action. Moreover, thanks to these district unions, syndicalist battles are beginning to be built to a certain extent in every town; and the day is not far off which will see, in every department at least, the erection of a Workingmen's Hall.

The Labor Exchanges are composed of all the syndicates existing in the district or locality, and have as their first result the formation of solid and permanent relations among these different bodies. They produce that fraternal education whose absence would be an insurmountable obstacle to the development and efficiency of the syndicates.

They are founded on the same autonomous principle as the federations, and the syndicates are obliged to join both the federation and the local central body—the Exchange.

"Why," you will say, "impose a double affiliation upon the 'syndicat'?" We reply: "Our movement not only represents an effort for better wages and for the diminution of work, but also a class movement destined to create a new labor mentality, based on the spirit of solidarity, without which labor organizations could not exist. We wish to break down the dividing lines between organizations, which have on the one hand been set up on the part of the labor unions themselves."

That is why we insist on the affiliation to the Labor Exchange in addition to the trade federation, in order to organize the local movements common to all the syndicates of a district. That is the school of interunion solidarity.

Yet in spite of their autonomy the Labor Exchanges are bound not to oppose the movements of the C. G. T. We ask them to make use of their efforts for an educational purpose, to penetrate every nook and corner of the workers to get ready, in their own way, to open the way of man to the future.

In response to this summons we find militant workers who go everywhere, telling the peasants how necessary it is for them to join the great labor army, leaving behind the snare of an ancient and deceptive democracy.

The campaign against the high cost of living has given us the opportunity of making a happy use of this method.

In time of strike, Labor Exchanges are the places where the workers in the little concrete and plan their organized action. In the general or country-wide movements, it is they who are charged with organizing and materializing the propaganda or action for their district. They form the debating centers of confederal activity. On the other hand, possessing libraries and reading rooms, putting up of young soldiers, are members of the syndicates, they keep up in them what they are in, in the bonds which unite them to the world of labor, and thus perpetuate that anti-syndicalist spirit without which the great movements of demand and protest would become abortive.

They also permit the workers to emerge victoriously, or at least unharmed, from the conflicts in which the employers' organizations see the new form of attack or defense—the lock-out; for example, at Goussers, Mamont, etc.

It is these district organizations which have made possible the Vindicators' organization of the South and that of the Timberworkers of central France.

Playing another role, the Labor Exchanges are given the duty of organizing the confederal congresses. Central unions and Exchanges to the number of 100 are today distributed over all France. In a revolutionary period, these 100 centers of activity and influence are important forces. To decide employment, free of charge is also a duty of the Exchanges, as well as legal and often medical aid, which the workers always need when they are injured at work.

Their internal administration grows out of the same spirit of federation as the confederal organization. The Executive Council is composed of one delegate from each syndicat, always subject to the recall of his organization. The term of service of these delegates is ordinarily one year.

After each confederal congress the Labor Exchanges hold among themselves a convention of exchanges.

The dues collected by the Exchanges or Central Unions vary from two to eight sou per member per month. They have charge of the commissary,

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## L. W. W. PREAMBLE

The workers class and the employing class have nothing in common. They are separated by the wall of their mutual hostility. The struggle between them is a struggle for existence. The workers class, being the weaker, must defend itself against the attacks of the stronger. It is the duty of the workers class to organize itself into a body of protection, and within the walls of this organization to defend itself against the attacks of the stronger class.

We find that the combining of the management and the labor is a very old story. It has been tried in every form of industry, and in all instances it has failed. The only way to win the victory, thereby liberating the workers from the bondage of the employer, is to organize themselves into a body of protection, and within the walls of this organization to defend themselves against the attacks of the stronger class.

These conditions can be changed and the workers class can win the victory only by an organization of their own. They must be organized in their own industry, or in all industries if necessary, to win the victory. The workers class must be organized in their own industry, or in all industries if necessary, to win the victory. The workers class must be organized in their own industry, or in all industries if necessary, to win the victory.

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necessary in time of struggle, and some passports to traveling laborers, whatever may be the nationality of these fellow workers provided that they are members of organizations. Most of the passports are in fact given to foreign workmen, Germans, Austrians and Italians.

The present role of the Exchanges or Central Unions is, especially by education, to cause the disappearance of professional or craft spirit and in this way to give greater solidarity and power to the organization of labor. In the future equity the Exchanges will have as their mission, the existing municipal machinery having been removed, to take charge of the administration of things and to distribute products according to the maxim, "To each according to his needs." And this will be possible on account of new improvements having been brought about in agriculture and in industry, each one performing some useful work.

### The Confederal Committee

The Confederal Committee is formed from the junction of delegates from the Committee of Federation with delegates from the Committees of Exchanges or Central Unions. Two such delegates are named, one incumbent and one associate, by each national federation and by each Exchange or Union of Syndicates. In addition to this, each section meets separately once every month.

As in the syndicates, federations and exchanges, it is the same spirit of federation which presides over this organization. Each delegate is elected for one year and is always subject to the recall of the organization which elected him.

The Confederal Committee is not a directing committee, giving orders. Even when immediate action is called for we do not send out orders, but describe the situation, at the same time asking the help of the syndicates. And if it presses an exchange or a syndicat to delay action, they are free to do so.

The Confederal Committee is analogous to a self-registering telegraphic apparatus; its role is to register the expression of will from below, to co-ordinate them, and to organize the general movements in the best

interests of a fall.

It is of a false contention that it is this committee which decides strikes, which are the free acts of those concerned; its role is confined to backing them up; whether in organizing national appeals to solidarity, or by sending militant workers to the field of battle, or to the directors of the strike to bring the support of their words and counsel to the strikers. It is equally erroneous to pretend that the C. G. T. gives the strikes their characteristic of violence. This characteristic is determined by the circumstances which arise during the strike. The latter is violent or peaceful in its manifestations according to the possibilities of success left to the strikers.

A role of co-ordination, of education, of moral elevation of the working class, together with the defense of general interests—such is at present the task of the C. G. T. Reflecting the life of labor in shop and factory, the syndicates are the reflex of the economic sentiments of the workers. These sentiments find expression in the pursuit of well-being and the aspiration for liberty from economic servitude.

The C. G. T. has to be this new force, pursuing on the economic field the liberation of the exploited class.

It is the power of labor marshaling itself in opposition to the power of wealth.

It constitutes, through its organization, the national economic power.

In the society of tomorrow its functions will be to co-operate with the syndicates, the federations, the exchanges or unions of syndicates to regulate the production and distribution of the nation.

**Confederal Congresses.**  
Each congress marks progress, both in the number of adherents and in the degree of consciousness of the organized workers. That of Montpellier (1902) marked the realization of labor unity in France. Bourges (1904) listened to the great discussion on proportional representation, its rejection, and the maintenance of unitary representation, each syndicat having the right to one vote only. The campaign for May Day, 1905, was also decided upon at this congress, not with the idea of realis-

THE CHAINS OF LABOR

The industrial workers of all countries have nothing to lose but their chains.

The political state is a big gambling lay-out. The laws of the game are made by the house and they give themselves a big percentage.

Religion is an anesthetic which deadens the pain of this life by the promise of pleasure in another.

"Conscience don't make cowards of us all." The godfit of the lowest class, the machine proletariat, is with all classes above them.

William D. Haywood will be available for dates in Illinois and Indiana during the month of March, 1913.

Joseph J. Ettor will file dates beginning March first in the states of Washington, Oregon and California.

Any wage worker, wishing to become a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, may proceed in the following manner:

If you live in a locality where there is a union of your industry or a mixed (recruiting) union already in existence, apply to the secretary of that local union.

If you agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization? "Will you diligently study its principles and make yourself acquainted with its purposes?"

Do not write to the General Secretary for a Charter Application Blank. Get no less than TWENTY signatures thereon.

We are now prepared to furnish E. S. Nelson's Appeal to Wage Workers in the following languages: Swedish, Hungarian, Slovak.

SOLIDARITY

The I. W. W.; the largest salary is \$80 per month for National Secretary.

We ask you, rubber workers, to investigate the I. W. W.; and we know that where men seek the truth there can be but one conclusion.

Yours for a Real Union, COMMITTEE I. W. W.

OUR SCHOOL OF ACTION

(Continued From Page One)

strike the right blow in the right spot. Keep the masters and their legislative flunkies in a constant fever of warding off and patching on their crumbling citadel.

There is no place here for the middle class, for a spoufal-at-a-time philosopher, no place for a tough tongued intellectual who flock to the political organization by the thousands at the merest shadow of success.

It is a school of life, struggle and action—direct, effective, talking action, by ourselves, through ourselves and for ourselves.

THE STEAM ROLLER

(Continued From Page One)

sentative on the Adjustment Committee, but Pett & Co. could not use him and he is not on that committee.

Surely you don't want that kind of (dis)organization, although I see by the press here in Akron, that the A. F. of L. is "going to organize the rubber workers of Akron."

"But," say the A. F. of L. organizers, "we are going to do this job." Yes, and the Central Labor Union was going to organize as the other time, and that body is a part of the A. F. of L.

Rubber workers, it is house cleaning time in this country, and the A. F. of L. begins to realize that the cleaning is going on now.

Read this schedule which the workers were led to believe they are fighting for: Schedule to be Presented

A MESSAGE FROM HELL

You don't have to die to get to hell. Just come to Akron, Ohio, and get a pass to enter any one of the many rubber shops through their employment offices.

After you get what is known as a job, and are sent down into the pit where the "innates" are curing tires for rich men's automobiles, you, my friend, would enjoy a few women's change to a good made hell from the man-made hell of the rubber factories of Akron.

Here have spies looking at us from every direction, hoping to get something to carry to the more fiendish devil in authority, so as to give them (the spyingimps) a more solid stand-in with the devils that boss the job.

Let many reading this who have never worked in these hells think it to severe, let me say to you that no language can be too strong to indict the rubber robbers of the working class in Akron.

It is hardly worth while to mention the trifling amount the slaves get for spending their lives in these factories; for when the Rubber Robber Co. can declare 700 per cent dividends, this is a conclusion enough that the slaves get but little of what is left.

It is hardly worth while to mention the trifling amount the slaves get for spending their lives in these factories; for when the Rubber Robber Co. can declare 700 per cent dividends, this is a conclusion enough that the slaves get but little of what is left.

Yes! Don't Want Craft Union

There is only one way to better conditions in these rubber hells, and that is for you slaves to organize. Not as the American Federation of Labor would organize you—in craft organizations, each signing a separate wage agreement, dividing you so that in time of dispute with the rubber companies you could not assist one another but would help the companies to break your employer to better conditions.

Surely you don't want that kind of (dis)organization, although I see by the press here in Akron, that the A. F. of L. is "going to organize the rubber workers of Akron."

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Rubber workers, it is house cleaning time in this country, and the A. F. of L. begins to realize that the cleaning is going on now.

Contrast this organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World. In the I. W. W. the workers are not divided into crafts. No contracts signed. All workers in the shop and the industry are in one union, organized with an understanding that they are workmen regardless of the nation they are from or the color of their skin; that they have a common enemy—the rubber robbers and all other robbers; and that an injury to one worker is an injury to all.

There are no fat salaries connected with the Industrial Workers of the World.

FRENCH SYNDICALISM

ing the 8-hour day all at once, but to bring a decrease in hours of work all along the line. At Amiens (1906) the question of confederal action with regard to political parties was brought up.

The syndicalist congress had also decided to hold national conventions of federations and of exchanges at Paris for the consideration of questions of administration.

Since the C. G. T. looks towards the transformation of society it is not an organization to adapt itself to the capitalist world. The syndicalists declare: "Syndicalism must be self-sufficient in the task it has laid down for itself."

Based on these foundations, French syndicalism cannot help but give birth to a theory, conception, and an idea which are all its own.

Our theory of action all comes from this ideal of social transformation. The experience of past revolutions has shown us that to be effective the revolution must be by the people and for the people.

Local 884, I. W. W., Omaha, Neb., has moved headquarters from 108 13th St. to 1817 Cass St. All rebels take notice.