



FEUDALISM, WAR, AND THE A. F. OF L.

The First Is Growing, The Second Is Threatening and The Third Is Lamenting.

Feudalism is growing in this country. The executive committee of the American Federation of Labor, in its report to the Philadelphia convention, shows that it prevails in Colorado. But the Colorado condition is not exceptional; it is increasingly typical of most coal-producing communities, and applies, also, to many steel and iron centers, in which the corporation rules supreme in every walk of life.

"Land-holding conditions," the report said in dealing with the Colorado strikes, "have enabled operators to establish what amounts to a feudal system. They own tracts thousands of square miles in extent and control all roads that traverse the land; they own the miners' dwellings, their villages, the school houses, the churches which minister to the spiritual needs of miners, the stores from which they must buy clothing and food, and the post-offices.

"In time of strike the owners have the power of eviction, and they have forced hundreds of strikers and their families to seek shelter in tent colonies. In addition, they have assumed police power.

"These conditions begot violence and industrial disputes, and many districts are now practically in a state of civil war. Use of armed troops and subversion of civil government are some of the most serious of modern industrial problems.

"We recommend and urge that State Federations of Labor endeavor to secure legislation prohibiting these brutal practices and conditions, which are subversive of all industrial justice and freedom."

Is not this report and recommendation a confession of weakness on the part of the A. F. of L. The Colorado situation grew out of the defiance of state laws regulating mining, and it continues in defiance of federal executive attempts to end it. Wherein then can relief be secured by state legislation, when such legislation is openly violated and rendered impotent by the very conditions which it was intended to remedy? Would it not be better to organize the working class as to make such conditions impossible? And can this be done so long as the A. F. of L. is content merely to placate and defend the present system of capitalism, even though it is forced to revolt against it occasionally, while opposing every radical attempt at the re-organization of labor? The A. F. of L. is strong in numbers, but it is weak in principle and form of organization. To this defect is due its impotent nature, and the growth of feudalism in this country.

The A. F. of L. has spoken on war.

"Working people of all lands bear the brunt of war," the Executive Committee declared in its report to the Philadelphia convention (Continued on Page Four Cols. 1 and 2)

A. F. OF L. CONVENTION PHILADELPHIA

Report of Executive Council Reveals Some Interesting Correspondence On Butte Situation.

(Special to Solidarity)

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 9. After a parade around the city hall, headed by a big brass band and numerous American flags, followed by a number of "Philadelphia's finest" mounted policemen, the delegates to the 34th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, composed of a motley crew indeed—socialists, pure and simple, democratic and republican ward heelers, delegates from the American Federation of Catholic Societies, and representatives of the Episcopal church, last but not least, "syndicalist" delegate Max Deetzell—filed through the half-finished "court of honor" arch into the Horticultural Hall, and there Sam Gompers formally opened the convention.

Probably because of the great criticism of the Seattle convention, this year no servant of the Lord was called upon to shower blessings and invoke God to help the delegates settle jurisdictional squabbles, yet there were quite a few black ravens present as delegates and visitors, who could be distinguished by their collars buttoned the wrong way.

The reform mayor of the city welcomed the delegates to Philadelphia, yelled out loud his love for labor, and turned over the mythical key of the city to the delegates.

After some more speeches of "welcome to our city" by local labor leaders, the light of delegates was turned on.

What promised for a moment—to the novice—to develop into a lively scrap was started by Schlessinger, socialist president of the Ladies' Garment Workers, who moved that the delegates of the legal affairs of the United Garment Workers of America—one of the male clothing workers unions—be given the floor to state their cause and show why the Schlessberg—yes, this is the same Joseph Schlessberg, once editor of the Jewish S. L. P. paper—faction's delegates should be seated instead of Rickert and his pals. It once a point of order was raised that the claimants are seceders and by the action of the Atlanta convention they have no standing before the convention.

Foxy Gompers ruled that it was a matter for the convention to decide, whereupon Vice President James O'Connell rose to insist on the point of order and made a long speech that "right or wrong" the seceders had no right to any consideration whatsoever, because they had bolted at the Nashville convention of the U. G. W. of A. last month. At once the question was put, and "No" rattled on the heads of the "rebels" like a huge peal of thunder. From the weak "yes" heard, there were no more than 15 who did not feel at once crushed. It was noticeable from the positions occupied by the "socialist delegates" about the hall, that most of them voted "no" in spite of the fact that the legal affairs of the convention are in the hands of socialist attorneys—Jacob Ranken and Morris Hiquit, and are backed by the New York Call and the Jewish "Forward."

This Schlessberg faction was not satisfied at having been thrown out of the convention hall at Nashville by the police at the last election, and they had their "medicine" at the A. F. of L. convention by an overwhelming vote, and unceremoniously get put out of "the American labor movement" officially and decisively.

This afternoon we were treated to a reading by First Vice President Duncan, who was called upon by Gompers to "give a synopsis of the printed report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L." Duncan is a fine leader indeed, but by far a more skillful politician. Knowing that very few delegates will forego the necessary wire pulling to read the 210 pages small print report, he emphatically emphasized and read the necessary points in a very carefully left out such matters as "Montana." Even in the printed report an effort is made to hide the Butte situation. For while all other subjects are captioned with black bold type—such subjects as "Miners of West Virginia, Colorado, Michigan," an effort is made to obscure them by the use of very small, high-faced type, same as "Montana" on Page 96.

In view of the close political line-up between the executive council and President Wilson's administration, can it be a mere accident that the West Virginia, Colorado, Michigan miners' strikes are mentioned in the case of Butte? It is not an accident that Duncan made no reference whatsoever to the Butte situation, for the printed report contains much valuable information to show what is what and how much the labor fakirs have helped Gompers to Montana in spite of their clamor about its rumrunners' murderous work in Colorado. The U. G. W. is said to "stand out most conspicuously" in having "secured control of the Miners' Union, and pursued its usual methods of disruption." Some of the correspondence makes interesting reading:

TELEGRAMS ON BUTTE SITUATION
Chas. H. Moyer to Gompers, Butte, Mont., June 19.—Situation here serious. Influence at work to destroy organized labor. Wire me at once pledging support of American labor movement in defense of unionism in Butte, Montana.

Gompers to Moyer.—Labor situation in Butte as published in newspapers gives comfort to labor's enemies and is enough to cause heartache to our most devoted men. In the name of labor's humane cause, I appeal to all true men to put aside their differences and stand in one solid phalanx. You may rest assured that the Western Federation of Miners will have encouragement and support of the A. F. of L. in maintaining its entity and integrity.

D. M. Pertelew, secretary Trades and Labor Council of Butte, to Gompers, June 21.—Conditions such that strong representatives of the A. F. of L. would officers representing all internationalists here as soon as possible. I. W. W. element active and in control of main situation. All locals subject to declaration of open-shop will fight. Need active men and support; urge all internationalists to get on scene.

Gompers to M. M. Donaghue, organizer A. F. of L., June 22.—Received telegram from President Moyer and made reply. Received telegram from Secretary Pertelew; you should see copy of both. I request you to represent A. F. of L. in effort to straighten (Continued on Page Two, Cols. 5 and 6.)

THE IRISH SHERIFF

But a Company Owned Sheriff Is Left On The Job, Thinks He Can Handle the Situation. "Religion" And Capitalist Interests.

(Special to Solidarity)
Butte, Mont., Nov. 13. By virtue of a proclamation issued by Sammy Stewart, martial law ceased to exist in Butte, Silver Bow county, at 10 A. M. today. The soldiers have all departed and the town has once more resumed its normal appearance.

The company army of gunmen, however, are still on the job and while their activities are confined to the hill there would be a feeling of greater security all around if they were disarmed and chased out along with the yellow-legs.

Realists of what we may think of the militia or of any workman so lost to honor and decency as to become a member of it, we must admit that their behavior while here in public at least was on the whole fairly good. The officers realized that any overt act on their part would have precipitated a riot, and they would have been unable to handle, so they were very careful what they did.

The company thugs on the other hand are under no restraint and are bent to main and kill at any see fit. The company-owned sheriff dare not arrest them, for he is not a sheriff, which he doesn't. In fact he doesn't seem to know of their existence. The city authorities have no jurisdiction as all the mines except two, strange as it may seem outside the city limits, although several of them are within half a mile of the business center of town.

The departure of the troops takes from our midst two undesirable characters when we are left alone to lose. Major Donohue goes back to the cow town of Glendive there to resume his practice as a surgeon. The experience gained by him in finding the working class of Butte will probably be of inestimable value to him in his business. Provost Marshal Conly, who has been entrusted with the task of protecting the public, must take care of his own benefit. This man's wealth is estimated at nearly a million dollars (\$1,000,000) and every cent has been ground out of the convicts through the pernicious contract system which has been abolished in every civilized community in the country.

The improved conditions "military necessity" under which they have been holding Ed Evans, has been withdrawn and Evans is shortly now under \$4,000 bonds.

Bradley and McDonald were taken to Boulder today and will be tried Tuesday by a jury of farmers, and the county attorney has given them a term of at least five years.

Our blistering direct action sheriff notified the public through the medium of last evening's "Post" that he would not tolerate any more parades during his term of office and that he would prevent them even if he had to shoot his way through. All women and children were ordered to keep off the streets at night, and it begins to appear that he is anxious to start something now that he has the field to himself.

Some of the boys were having a time in the jail today and were placed in the dunce box orders of this degenerate Berkin. He has placed a charge of destroying public property against the boys and probably try to railroad them on this charge as all others have failed down.

This company-owned sheriff, whom I mentioned before, is a man who is contrasted how absolutely brainless and servile he is in his attitude toward this afternoon. The Mine Workers' Union at their last meeting elected a committee to be present at the interview the miners at the "mine gates." A young, inoffensive, happy-go-lucky fellow by the name of "Charlie" Williams was one of that committee and had the honor of being a crime (1) which, though not covered by any statute of the state of Montana, in the case of a man against the master—the A. C. M. Co., a charge had to be trumped-up to stop this criminal from molesting the mines. Here is where West-Butte Sheriff Berkin's humors came out. Williams wouldn't harm or threaten even a kitten, yet this young fellow had been arrested on charges of threatening to kill the new sheriff.

received the enthusiastic support of such notables as John M. O'Neill, manager of the Continental Oil Co., and the head man of the local K. of C. organization; John J. O'Meara, president of the United Irish societies and a big stockholder in our largest brewery; Big Mike Sullivan, owner of the "Hibernian," the unspasable Mulcahy of the Butte Independent; P. J. Brophy, a retired business man; C. J. Kelly of the Hennessy Co., and practically every prominent Irish Catholic in Butte. Every company tool in Butte, regardless of race, color or creed, was lined up solidly for Henderson.

The garden variety of Irish are expected to realize that the matters here now no nationality or religion when their interests are jeopardized and far but are envious of the united working class. Many of them herefore strong company men, are joining the ranks of the A. F. of L. and freely predicted that the Hibernians, K. of C. and kindred organizations will be put out of business through the defection of the Discoll adherents.

Here are the names of some more runnins: Frank Ball, Charles Beall, One Gallagher at Berkeley Mine, James Ford, Dan Murray (delegate from W. P. E. S. saloon); John Sullivan, the man who is said to have fought the Butte Miners Union No. 10, who is now about 70 and against whom Thos. J. Walker, the then county attorney, refused to file a complaint.

The following information was received this morning from the boys now confined in "jail."

Everything seems to be quiet on Silver Bow, while, here in jail, several new rules have been inaugurated. For instance, while heretofore prisoners were receiving their visitors in the boys' thoroughfare, the cells must take place in the sheriff's office only, thus doing away with the great progress to the country is everywhere apparent in working out from under the burdens imposed by the war.

"The avalanche of European litigation which overwhelmed us late in July is now being succeeded by European buying movement of food-stuffs, materials and munitions of war so extended as already to foot up over \$300,000,000 in contracts known to have been placed. Every day brings news of industries starting up which had been made idle and industries resuming full time which had been forced upon part time.

Is this a case of whistling to keep up courage, or a case of psychological treatment? Is the worst over? Building operations in the United States in October showed a steady tendency, according to "Bradstreet's." The aggregate expenditure last month was \$29,150,476, against \$30,211,356 in September and \$34,609,234 in October, 1913. The decrease was 3.8 per cent from September and 16.8 per cent from October last year. Only 25 cities reported increases, while 46 noted decreases as compared with October a year ago. For the ten months, the expenditure for building at leading cities in the United States amounts to \$661,967,612, a decrease of 9 per cent as compared with the same period a year ago. Labor in the building trades has a HARD HIT BY THE BAD TIMES.

The day after election Pittsburgh despatches were sent all over the country telling of a big return of labor to the mills in the district. Later it was announced that the return to the district was a large concern in this district have increased or are arranging to increase their working forces are premature to say the least. The most important company mentioned in this respect is the Jones Laughlin Steel Co. Officials of that corporation have reported that they had made any increase in their force and what the future would bring was largely a matter of conjecture.

Moral: Don't believe all that you read in the newspapers. The Civic Federation fears the unemployment problem. It is in a state of inquiry, from which it expects replies that "will be of great benefit to the workers." It has an effort to reduce unemployment and its resulting distress to a minimum. The present bureau states: "In this connection, it must not be forgotten that these forces of destruction which have already given us taste of their revolutionary methods will seek

IS THE WORST OF THE PANIC OVER?

The New York World editorially expresses the belief that "the worst is over." It says, with evident joy, "Great progress to the country is everywhere apparent in working out from under the burdens imposed by the war."

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This opportunity to preach their doctrines of class hatred in furthering their propaganda for the overthrow of present social institutions, and other words, capitalism must decrease the number of workers who are employed. It will have to risk its own neck, for capitalist profit requires an unemployed reserve army of labor press bureau notwithstanding.

The November letter of the National City Bank of New York, which has been widely distributed in the country, gives expression to this noteworthy analysis of present conditions.

"The first effect of the war was a profound shock to industry and credit. But a shock wears off and people soon accept even a state of emergency as a new normal. It is just their affairs accordingly. With in the warring countries there must be a new distribution of labor, to allow for men in the army and the conditions of trade and consumption, and there must be a similar adjustment of trade between other countries. In the long run imports and exports practically offset each other so that even a great country may be cut out of the world's trade, and when the other countries are connected up, and their industries reorganized, the situation shows where trade will go on in balance as before.

"The cost of reorganization, and of the cost of reorganization, or to intimate that the whole world is not affected by the war, is not less than that of the great nations are turned from peace and industry to war. It is evident that progress toward a new state of order is being made."

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SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD... B. H. WILLIAMS Managing Editor

"The people," that is, the working class, will do the "wiping" at the proper time. This is most likely the thought and purpose of the really big capitalists, who do not allow themselves to be quoted for publication...

In view of this obvious tendency, it behooves the working class of this country to be on its guard—if disarmament fails in Europe. And disarmament must extend to the navies as well as to the armies and the air forces...

But American capitalists are shrewd enough to perceive that this anti-militarist sentiment among the American workers IS NOT ANTI-REVOLUTIONARY. They will not be able to cope with the capitalists' scheme. The discipline of the revolutionary industrial union is of a higher order than that of a military body...

Will the American capitalists reckon without their host? That depends entirely upon the development of the REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNION. Nothing else will be able to cope with the capitalists' scheme.

A Scream And A Suggestion

The other day in a bantering conversational duel with an adherent of the Progressives, I mentioned the respective merits of various radical creeds and organizations. I mentioned the I. W. U. and said: "There is still an I. W. U.?"

At last! We said to ourselves when each of these creeds broke upon us, "we have passed the stage of those feeble travesties on organization, the mixed and chaotic organization, the ubiquitous crank and perennially militant."

The Unemployed

By John Proletaire. Macaulay, the historian, stated that: "Our modern civilization will never be overthrown, because there are no great hordes of modern barbarians to overthrow it."

The unemployed man and his children are to be pitied. The unemployed man is to be feared. Working women and children are totally unnecessary. Unnecessary, because they are the forcibly created product of that monstrously abnormal conception of the twentieth century slavery.

Briefly stated, the workmen of the U. S. are divided into two categories—the employed and the unemployed. Those who are being jobbed, and the jobbed.

With devilish cunning, capitalist society is able to array these against each other, to the ruin of both. At present the REAL conflict between masters and slaves appears to be lost sight of by the issue of a false issue, raised by the unemployed men; a false issue forced upon both against their will.

Under the control of slave masters, so many of the workers as are employed are forced to work eight, ten, and even twelve hours per day; while other millions of workers can get no employment whatever. Thus, all employed workers are forced to unwillingly scab upon all unemployed workers.

Similarly, it becomes clear that the organization of the unemployed is just as vital a necessity to the EMPLOYED as it is to the unemployed. Capitalism, with its most devilish cunning, makes of these two categories of workers a working class itself—a line of cleavage as false, as cruel, as unnecessary as the forced battles between slaves in the Roman arena.

Neither can they equally figure in the "citizens' political party." Only in a purely class union can they cease to destroy one another.

The working class, the society of the future, cannot raise itself in parts, spot or categories. It must rise en masse, as a CLASS—or remain slaves. A partial solution will not do.

Even in "boom" times there are six and one-half men for every five jobs. In "dull" times, once a given number of men are laid off, seldom or never are a like number of men re-employed in the same industry.

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Further the report concludes, saying: "From the previous attitude and established practices of the operating companies in the West, it is not clear that they would be willing to enter into agreements for a union shop provided there was unity among the miners themselves."

We shall continue to watch and listen, and report more for future issues. JOS. J. ETTOR.

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The Rising American Militarism

And The Only Antidote For It

A syndicate of American newspapers, of which, locally, the Cleveland Press is a member, is just now conducting a symposium on the question, "Shall Uncle Sam have a Bigger Army and Navy?"

For instance, George M. Reynolds, president of the second largest bank in the United States, says in part: "History tells us that all great wars have been waged for commercial supremacy—jealousy of one power of the commercial greatness of another."

Admiral Dewey, of the U. S. Navy, is quoted as having, in his report to the secretary of the navy, made the recommendation that "our navy equipment should be increased at such a rate that 'our navy' should have 48 battleships of the first class with the necessary lesser units and auxiliaries, with personnel to man them on a war basis at all times."

Wm. D. Haywood, of the I. W. U., is allowed to make the following statement: "The United States should abolish rather than strengthen its standing army. The industrial class of the United States does not need soldiers to protect it."

Other capitalist opinions are of similar tenor with those above quoted. Clarence Darrow and Amos Pinchot dissent from the general capitalist view, and are opposed to a larger army and navy.

This whole thing brings up the question, "What is brewing?" What sort of a scheme of world-conquest is our commercial class conceiving for their future? Obviously, "we" are going to expand commercially, with equal certainty "we" are afraid of something in the nature of war, that may happen as a result of such expansion.

ZAPATA

The below sent to Solidaridad editor of "La Haywood, Call pleased to get mention as a revolutionary and is intensely indignant regarding the handling of the revolution. Our Zapata very much interested in the revolution and does not mind the social order of the oil, mining industries in Mexico.

Manifesto Emiliano Zapata and thirty-five 1914. The revolution attained its zenith, after the execution of the truth.

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