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TENTH I. W. W. CONVENTION BEST YET

"One Big Union Passing Out of Propaganda Stage Into That of Constructive Organization"—Some Important Changes.

The 10th convention of the Industrial Workers of the World began its deliberations in Chicago Monday morning, November 20, and is still in session at this writing. The sessions have been held in Bush Temple, at the corner of Chicago Ave. and North Clark St. Many of the delegates and old-time members present remembered this building as the former general headquarters of the I. W. W. It was here that a provisional headquarters was established "on the financial basis of a postage stamp" by the newly elected secretary and executive board following the seizure of the Madison St. headquarters by Sherman and his cohorts in 1906, just at the close of the Second convention. General headquarters was still in Bush Temple at the time of the historic Fourth convention (1908), when DeLeon and his political sectarians were routed by the "overall brigade" from the Pacific coast.

But no traces of these heartrending struggles were in evidence in 1916, to disturb the atmosphere of the 10th convention. Those former crises had passed, to be succeeded by others, perhaps, but all marking steady advances in revolutionary education and organization. We I. W. W. men and women of 1916 take for granted many things that required hours and days of acrimonious debate to make dimly perceptible in 1905; while experience has forced us to discard much of the "irrefutable logic" of eleven years ago. "Times change and we change with them."

The 10th convention is remarkable as denoting the decline of the "soap-boxer" as a dominant element. Speeches listened to by the writer, sometimes showed a bit of confusion, were occasionally unnecessary, but nearly always brief and seldom tedious. The dominant tone was CONSTRUCTIVE rather than CONTROVERSIAL, and the general demand was for such constitutional and other changes as would make for greater efficiency in the work of organization. "The I. W. W. is passing out of the purely propaganda stage," exclaimed one delegate, "and is entering the stage of constructive organization."

The A. W. O. held the center of the stage in this convention, being represented by seven delegates with 36 votes each. Although instructed to vote as a unit on proposals introduced by the Minneapolis meeting of the A. W. O., these delegates were not disposed to abuse their power on roll call. The voting on nearly all propositions was on a one-vote-one-man basis, by show of hands only. And ofttimes the vote was very close, in this way.

Some of the important work of the convention to date, is summarized below, from the daily reports of the convention secretary.

EDITOR SOLIDARITY.

November 20, 1916

Convention was called to order in the usual way, by General Secretary Haywood. A temporary chairman and recording secretary were elected by the uncontested delegates, and a credentials committee chosen.

At the afternoon session, following report of credentials committee, Joe Foley of Local 85, was elected permanent chairman, and Wm. D. Haywood, recording secretary. Committees on Constitution, Ways and Means, and Literature and Press, were elected.

Some 25 delegates, including three members of the G. E. B. and the General Secretary, were in attendance. The delegates were almost entirely from the East and Middle West, only one coming from the Pacific Coast, C. L. Lambert of Sacramento.

November 21

The committee on telegrams of comfort and cheer reported the sending of 12 telegrams to our fellow workers imprisoned in the jails and penitentiaries of this country and Australia.

It was decided that the usual method of voting in the convention should be by show of hands; but on the demand of five delegates the vote on any question should be by roll call.

Resolutions and Auditing Committees were elected, and it was voted that the Ways and Means Committee should also act as a committee on headquarters.

Minutes of the General Executive Board were read by the General Secretary-Treasurer, and accepted as read.

The report of the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau was then read by summary and referred to the Ways and Means Committee.

A number of communications and resolutions from various individuals and unions were read, and referred to the proper committees.

At the afternoon session a communication was read from the Work Peoples' College at Smithville, Minn., the stock of which is owned by members of the I. W. W. and sympathizers, proposing that this school be made an I. W. W. educational institution, and offered until such time as the transfer can be made to open the class rooms, laboratories, etc., to the members of the I. W. W. free of charge. This caused a great flutter of enthusiasm among the delegates and spectators. A committee on education composed of three delegates was then elected to consider all recommendations in regard to education, and especially in regard to acquiring the Work Peoples' College and making it an I. W. W. institution, as proposed in the communication.

It was decided that delegates who are not under pay from their local unions should be paid $3 per day during the session of the convention by the general organization.

Report of the General Secretary was read by Wm. D. Haywood.

November 22

Ways and Means Committee reported: In regard to the communication from Tobacco Workers' Industrial Union 102 at Ybor City, Tampa, Florida, announcing a general strike against the cigar manufacturers on November 10, and asking for the aid and protection of the I. W. W., the committee recommended that the I. W. W. extend financial and moral support to the tobacco workers in this strike and give it the fullest publicity, and send for a list of sack cigars to be used in the publicity campaign. Convention concurred in this report.

Union 102 is that heroic little body of Spanish and Cuban tobacco workers, who have so long battled on the southern field, and are deserving of the most whole hearted support of the workers all over the country. As an evidence of their wonderful spirit, it is only necessary to state that this one small union raised more than $1,400 for the striking miners on the Mesaba Range in Minnesota.

The convention calls the membership of the I. W. W. to aid the tobacco workers in every way possible.

The Ways and Means Committee recommended the removal of Solidarity and the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau from Cleveland, Ohio, to Chicago, Illinois. The convention concurred.

Committee recommended that a Business Manager for Solidarity and the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau be nominated by the convention, and elected by referendum of the membership. After considerable discussion, the convention on a roll call decided by a large majority to concur.

Continued on Page Four

MESABA STRIKERS TRIED FOR RIOT

State Masses Gunman Stories in Effort to Convict.—Hardest Case Yet on Range

It is seldom one is privileged to see a tragedy with forty villians, repeating with the earnestness of actors, the lines they have previously rehearsed; yet if you had been in the court-room at Hibbing, Minn., last week, such was the scene that would have met your gaze.

Raffael Pette, Steve Ronjak and Eli Monovich were on trial for rioting June 29. The state was trying to lay the base for further charges against these men of assault to kill, as on that date Martin Teller, local commander of the Oliver gunmen, and his brother, Charles, were stabbed in a melee on the picket line.

It was proved in this trial that the gunmen were so drunk or crazy, that they clubbed one another over the head in the excitement that day; also, it appeared, a certain scab, who started the fight, very likely had a program arranged to "start something" with the strikers. This scab is of course, an "American citizen."

Martin Teller told the doctor who dressed his wounds, that he did not see who cut him, and didn't know he was hurt until he saw some blood; yet this brigand chief swore on the stand, that he saw Dronjak plunge a knife into him during the fight. All the other gunmen had "Teller-made" stories, ready to wear when they appeared in court, holding up their bloody fists to swear to "th' role truth an' nothin' but th' truth."

Attorney John A. Keyes of Duluth, tore their stories to pieces as the conflicting in their testimonies disproved the whole batch of yarns they told about Dronjak running up and down the street waving a bloody knife.

Edward Boyle appeared for the state, as this case was too important to allow Fink-Punch, the fatuous fanatic to fool with it. Boyle at least takes his dignity along with him and, being an adept at sophistry, sprung a lot of bunk on the jury about his "sympathy for workers," saying in part: "I believe I have as much sympathy for wage-workers as any one in the court room, more even than Mr. Keyes or Mr. LeSueur—why, my father was a workingman and used to tell me how he went down into the mines." But as all prosecutors do, he worked around to where he pointed his finger at the three wage workers and asked the jury to send them to the penitentiary!

Keyes, in a quiet, though brilliant address, said in part: "The riot laws of Minnesota are taken from those of the feudal days of England, when the people rebelled and rioted against starvation, before the passage of the 'Corn Laws'; a situation similar to the present, when the worker forced by hunger to rebellion, is met with the laws of his economic master—then, the gibbet and the ax—today, the jail and the gallows. Today the modern serf stands before you for judgment. He has built your towering cities, he has dug the iron from the earth and with it he has joined city to city with bands of steel, with his labor he has raised your civilization—yet he stands before you with empty hands and he asks only for justice. Gentlemen, if you do not grant him that, if he and his kind are to learn that there is no justice to be had in courts of law, then our race is done and our nation doomed, as surely as was that of Greece and Rome, to fall and fall forever."

The jury evidently refused to consider the gunmens' tales and shut off further charges against the strikers, although a complete verdict was returned. Monovich was judged not guilty; Dronjak and Pette "guilty of riot but did not have weapons nor intent to violence."

These trials indicate the ferocity of the Steel Trust and it is up to those who do not want to see our men convicted to get busy and keep busy for defense. THEY STOOD BY YOU—YOU STAND BY THEM.

HARRISON GEORGE.

SUCCESSFUL JOE HILL MEMORIAL IN CLEVELAND

The Joe Hill Memorial held by Local 606, I. W. W., on Nov. 26th, was a huge success. Over 500 people were present. The forepart of the meeting was an entertainment of 16 numbers consisting of musical and vocal selections and addresses in English, Hungarian and Russian.

The Joe Hill Memorial was a "differ ent memorial." There was no wailing or lamenting, as is common at most memorial meetings, but the spirit that prevailed was one of rejoicing because we had obeyed Joe's injunction, "Don't mourn, organize."

GREAT EVERETT MEETING IN FRISCO

Indignation For Vigilante Murderers, and Enthusiasm and Support for I. W. W.

(Special to Solidarity)

San Francisco, Calif., Nov. 20.

'Twas a very enthusiastic and liberal crowd that gathered at the Averill Hall last Sunday to listen to the speakers outline and voice their sentiments regarding the Everett massacre, which they did in an exceptionally able manner.

The faces of the audience were literally burning with indignation when the situation was presented, and the bursts of applause that were continually interrupting the speakers, told only too well, that the people of this country still have a little of the blood of '76 in their veins. As one well-known conservative person expressed it to the writer: "Truly, I should be glad to be called an anarchist if this action of the 'law and order' gang is the way to maintain peace and order."

Strong resolutions were put and carried unanimously, the same to be sent to Woodrow Wilson and Gov. Lister.

Meetings of this description should be encouraged, so as to get the situation and facts before the great mass of working people, commonly called "public," and the right to organize (as this is a fight for that and nothing else) should be maintained even if it requires the blood of every single member to uphold the same.

HERBERT R. COLLIE.

HIGH GRADE ORE FROM MESABA

Scene—Train on Mesaba Range. Mine operator and friend talking. Operator: "Yes, we had a hell of a time this summer with our miners. They went and joined the I. W. W. and then wanted more pay and caused us all kinds of trouble."

Friend: "But dog-on it, they were absolutely right about some things, you know. This contract system ain't square an' they know it as well as you do. The whole thing is a lack o' confidence y'know. Now, say, if you fellows would fix it so as when a man ordered so much powder an' fuse an' stuff, he'd get a duplicate; an' when he sent a car t' the dump he'd get a slip t' show for it—why that would settle a lot o' trouble!"

Operator: "Yeh, but damn it, the trouble is—we couldn't slip anything over on 'em that way."

Scene—Preliminary hearing at Duluth in strike cases. Court officer reading from complaint: "It is charged that the defendants did thereby willfully disturb the peace and dignity of the state of Minnesota by rioting; and also, when called upon, refused (aside to court: "the typist has made an error, instead of 'disperse,' it reads 'disburse'") ".

Attorney Keyes: "Your Honor, the defendants demurr to the charge of rioting, but as to 'refusing to disburse,' after the proven extortions of money by mine captains from these strikers, I feel it necessary to plead guilty to the charge that 'they did refuse to disburse.' "

ONE OF THESE "AMERICAN CITIZENS"

Scene—Courtroom, Hibbing, Minn. Chas. Teller, gunman, on cross-examination.

Attorney Keyes: "When you reached Third avenue, was there many people on the street?"

Teller, the gunman: "Do you mean people or strikers?"

Teddy Roosevelt says that the I. W. W. is a bunch of nature fakirs because they insist that salt cats exist. He says there "ain't no such thing." I wonder what the western ranch owners think about it.

In Cleveland, O., the coal drivers in the A. F. of L. want to go out on strike. The Central Labor Council says that the winter is an inopportune time for coal wagon drivers to strike. It is rumored that the Federation is getting up a seasonal strike schedule which will lead something as follows: Coal miners, coal wagon drivers, snow shovelers, ice cutters, overcoat salesmen and so on will be allowed to strike in the summer only. Ice men, harvest hands, fruit pickers, ice cream factory employes and kindred workers will be allowed to strike only in the winter time. Great, good and glorious is the A. F. of L.

T. S. Keohane kindly communicate with the secretary of the A. W. O. Important. Write to Box 1776, Minneapolis.

R. R. BROTHERHOOD CHIEFS AT A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

Possible Affiliation of the Four Road Organizations With the Rest of the Craft Union Movement.

(Special to Solidarity)

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 21.

For the first time in the history of the A. F. of L. the representatives of the railroad brotherhoods appeared before its convention. The first one, W. S. Stone, gave the delegates the story of the campaign for the eight hour day. He told them of the subsidized press manufacturing public opinion for the railroads, how the president fought for the side of the unions; how the president showed his remarkable courage by declaring that the eight hour day was just in the judgment of society. The brotherhoods did not ask congress for the eight hour day he said, but that congress had stepped in and that they, the chiefs, as open minded American citizens, seceded from their original demand for time and a half for overtime just to show that they were fair, but the railroads were not fair in fighting the Adamson law, thereby proving that they would not even go half way.

Carter told us that more than ever does he realize the grip that the master class has upon the public press, that through their control of the press they are in a position to form the opinions of the workers against their own class interest. Every time, he said, his brotherhood tried to join the A. F. of L., the railroads, through their publicity scheme would teach the firemen that if they joined the A. F. of L. they would live and sleep with the niggers and the race prejudice that was played by the roads kept his membership out of the A. F. of L. He gave by far the most class conscious talk of all the chiefs.

Lee, of the trainmen, told the convention that the workers at last realize that unless "we hang together we'll hang separately." In a great laudation of President Wilson and his friendship to labor he said that three of the four brotherhood chiefs were lifelong Republicans except Carter, and he was from Texas, but now for the first time in their lives they cast their lot with the friends of labor and they hoped to live down their past mistakes of staying with the Republicans. Meeting with great cheers he went on and said that the charges that the four brotherhoods were used as a weapon against the rest of the workers on the railroads may be true and may not, but that they will in the future give all moral and financial support to help organize the unorganized. They would of course not break their contracts to help organize nor do anything illegal but help with all their might and try to go hand in hand with the railway department of the A. F. of L. The various charges of scabbing that are laid to the doors of the brotherhoods he said were not true, claiming that the instructions of the chiefs to the men in case of strikes always are to keep on doing the same work they had always done, no more, no less, and that to him was not scabbing. This time he did not meet with so much applause. They charge us four with being anarchists but if that means eight hours for the men, they were willing to accept the verdict he added.

Stone said that arbitration proved a failure with them and the railroads, who through the lying press, were crying that the unions were breaking the sacred principle of arbitration, would not arbitrate a great many of the roads where they had the upper hand, but where they felt they were licked they were only to glad to arbitrate, showing conclusively that he who holds the club gets the justice.

Sheppard, acting president of the conductors, said that when they organized they avowed themselves not to strike and thereby took their own protective arm away, but since time past they found out that they were trodden on and naturally had to withdraw the anti-strike clause and protect themselves.

Sam Gompers greeted the chiefs cordially and told them that now since they were about ready to join the Federation they were welcome, but the Federation did not believe in force and therefore welcomed them to come in voluntarily. Amid his welcome Gompers stated that "the labor movement in its fight for righteousness sometimes has to show its claws and teeth, although it would not be wise to do it often."

JACK LEVER.

THOMPSON ENTHUSES MESABA RANGE MINERS

Within the Finnish Opera House at Gilbert, Minnesota, before a stage curtain upon which is painted the figure of Liberty, with the Red Banner of Freedom unfurled, looking across the ocean toward the Crimson Dawn of Social Revolution, James P. Thompson, the "rough-neck Isaiah" of the I. W. W., on Monday last, pictured to the miners of the Mesaba Range the lesson they had given to the world of the unquenchable fires of revolt.

He said: "Your strike has taught the master class a lesson, that nothing they may do can stop the march of revolutionary labor. You have given to the men who run the ore trains and boats, to those whose lives are burned away in the hellish heat of Gary and Pittsburg, a new hope and a lasting lesson of class solidarity. In their palaces of luxury and splendor the rich were wining and dining—thinking you were but as beaten dogs to only cower and whine for favors; when into their clear horizon, there broke a black cloud of stormy revolt, shot through with lightning flashes of the I. W. W. It was the Mesaba Miners in thunderous rebellion, a precursor of the revolution that is to be."

Tapping the red flag on the curtain behind him, the speaker continued, "Yes, there is going to be a revolution, and your battle on the Range has hastened the day when this beautiful banner of freedom shall kiss the winds from every shore and wave about a world-wide Industrial Democracy."

"Yes, there is going to be a revolution, and the masters had best learn that the workers can and will fight; the battle fields of history are white with the bones of the working-class, workers who died for those who sat upon a throne, and if the workers can fight for a lot of syphilitic kings, they can go to battle and to victory for themselves."

"In this fight as in all strikes the masters have tried to jail and hang the leaders, the ones in the limelight; little knowing that the sacrifice of leaders is but a call to action and to unexampled solidarity on the part of the workers. When they shot four bullets through the heart of Joe Hill a year ago last Sunday, they started the fires of revolt that shall never be extinguished till their cursed system shall be overthrown forever. When they selected for victims of this fight of yours, the leaders, Sam Scarlett, Joe Schmidt and Carlo Tresca, they opened the eyes of countless workers to the struggle of the classes."

"About the courts, some say there is no justice to be found there and that we should not do battle on the field of the enemy. Yet it is plain to those who think, that when we take our cases to the capitalist courts, it is these courts and not our prisoners, that are on trial in the eyes of men. Everyone knows that if our boys were millionaires they would not now be where they are, and it is to show the world that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor, that we hire lawyers to bare the story of the conspiracy of corporations with the courts. When the gunmen get upon the stand to tell their stories, the most expert legal talent will show them up for what they are and the searchlight of publicity shall be turned upon their murderous schemes while all the world shall see and listen. Then you and thousands of workers like you shall render your verdict and if the Steel Trust dares to send Scarlett or Schmidt, or Tresca or any of the others to their damnable pen to be behind their walls of stone, in your hearts will die what little respect is left for laws and for courts and in the minds of millions will be born the knowledge of class tyranny that shall soon or late herald the General Strike and the Social Revolution."

HARRISON GEORGE.

MESABA CASES POSTPONED

According to advices from the publicity agent for the Mesaba prisoners at Virginia, Minn., the trials of Tresca, Schmidt, Scarlett and the others charged with murder, have been postponed from December 5th to December 18th.

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"Helping Hand" or "Iron Heel"?

Now that Jack London is dead, many are seeking to determine his place in literature. Some see in him "a man's author." Others think he has given voice to the brute world, in his animal stories. For ourselves, we like to think of Jack London as the writer of "The Iron Heel." Herein we have a writer who is at once a virile story-teller and a social seer; possessing the gift of prophecy which is said to be the hall-mark of genius, and always revolutionary in character.

Other men have written of the combination of benevolence and feudalism by which the capitalists aim to maintain and perpetuate their system. Still others have published books telling of the social legislation and governmental ownership that is launched for the same purpose. But Jack London saw a different aim—a different spirit—more pronouncedly prevalent in all history—past and present—the aim to crush out and to kill off all opposition—and it was of this he wrote.

He saw a rising, defiant and triumphant working class met by the forcible suppressing of the capitalist class—he saw the revolution drowned in a sea of blood, spilled by a class determined to preserve its own supremacy.

Who does not recall the discussion at the aristocratic literary Club, The Philomats? Who does not recall Wicksam's answer to Ernest Everhard, the labor advocate?

"When you reach out your vaunted strong hands for our palaces and purpled ease, we will show you what strength is. In roar of shell and shrapnel and in whine of machine guns will our answer be couched. We will grind you revolutionists down under our heel, and we shall walk upon your faces. The world is ours, we are its lords, and ours it shall remain."

London wrote that in 1907—nine years ago—years full of the proof of his clear-sightedness. Nine years of West Virginia, Ludlow, Bayonne, Mesaba Range and Everett—topped by a war and a "neutrality" as bloody and as sordid as ever exhibited the fiendish characteristics of a ruling class at any period in social history. Who, reviewing those nine years, will doubt the terrible purpose of the capitalist class, as seen by Jack London? Who fails to see that "The Iron Heel" is not fiction, but fact?

London wrote, in 1907, as a political socialist, the revolution which he foresaw doomed to violent destruction was the revolution of political socialism. But the economic revolution of the working class, coming much nearer home to the capitalist class, has anticipated the same results; it is, in fact, the revolution upon which "the iron heel" descends most brutally. "The Whine of macine guns" is already heard in the land, when strikes occur and "the roar of shell and shrapnel" is apparently not far off.

London wrote as a political socialist. But he did not die one. Shortly before his death, he resigned his political socialist membership. He could see and hope for nothing in the immediate successes of that school, to which everything fundamental in the social revolution is sacrificed. He was, however, an ardent friend and sympathizer of the I. W. W. He saw, *in its aim at the control of industry, through the solidarity of labor, a concrete means by which the blood both for capitalist supremacy might be rendered impossible*. Industry is the pivot of modern militarism and war. With it in labor's control, both would end, if labor so determined. And so Jack London, author, prophet and seer, was also an I. W. W. man, advising his friends to join it; The Cleveland Propaganda League, last summer, receiving an application for membership, due to his advice, as the applicant stated.

Jack London is dead. But "The Iron Heel" is still grinding Labor's face.

J. E.

Organize

The working-class are realizing as never before, the absolute necessity of organization—not craft or group organizations—but the organization of THE ONE BIG UNION.

Never before in all history has there been such a general discussion of SOLIDARITY-ORGANIZATION. It is discussed on the job, on the street, and in the household. From the lips of every thoughtful person comes the word—ORGANIZE. It is high time we heed the warning.

Strikes, riots, lockouts, bloodshed and wholesale murder is being doled out to our class as never before.

The capitalist class is drunk, intoxicated with the power of the almighty dollar—the AMERICAN GOD—and in their brutal drunkenness resort to every and all dastardly methods, to discourage, to create fear, to subdue the workers, but too late; the seeds of discontent have been sown, the harvest is here—we shall never SUBMIT—but we will win, and our route is via the ONE BIG UNION, for we know by experience that all other routes are useless, their bridges are washed away.

Forget—forgive? No; no, a thousand times no. We never forget, we never forgive—how can we forget, or forgive the countless millions of times that our fellow workers have been beaten over the heads into unconsciousness by the policeman's club, an article that some ignorant working man in his blissful ignorance created, created for no other purpose than to beat some other working man over the head with.

Forgive the thousands of Plug-ugly-cutthroat-brutes, who have killed, maimed, murdered and burned the men, women and children of our fellow workers? Forgive the brutes who shot our Joe Hill's life away?

Organization must be the watchword. Here in Tulsa, Okla., we are putting fourth strenuous efforts and we are getting new members every day. Though we have only been organized into a branch here for a few days, the powers that be are already becoming nervous, and excited.

Every Fellow Worker here is doing his utmost, and there is all kinds of opportunity, so if any live wires see this and want to help knock the wrinkles out of the Plutes' bellies, just get your credentials and come to Tulsa. There is lots to do for all here.

MELL A. HATHAWAY

How The Steel Trust Got It

By Harrison George

It is the custom for an employer when faced with a demand for a wage increase, made by organized labor, to emit loud howls of purse-stricken pain, to cry "confiscation" and complain that the "predatory poor" are rendering valueless his immense holdings, into which he has sunken—at great personal risk—his life, his fortune and perhaps—his "sacred honor."

Let us review in brief, just wat this argument is worth when applied to the U. S. Steel Corporation in its acquirements of the larges iron ore deposits in the world on the Mesaba Range in Minnesota.

Iron was discovered on the Mesaba Range in 1890. As the U. S. Steel Corporation was not formed until 1901, we must deal with those whose acts led to its formation. The swarm of speculators which over-ran the Range upon the discovery of iron ore can be roughly divided into three groups; The Merritts and their friends, a group of local capitalists; Henry W. Oliver, a wealthy Pittsburg man; and the third group, a lot of get-rich-quick pure—or impure—speculators, who grabbed everything in sight and then lay on their "ores" waiting for something to happen. Something did happen—though not to their liking. The first question was that of transportation and the Merritts, who were real developers, built a railroad from Lake Superior to the Range. This required more money than they had, so they borrowed the necessary cash from Rockefeller and, with child-like simplicity, mortgaged their entire interests—mines and railroad—to the Oil King.

The panic of the early nineties came on and it, together with costly and ill-advised management, resulted in Rockefeller taking over the whole works of the Merritt group. He refused to renew the loan and the real developers were left with empty hands. The hard times had also pressed Oliver to the wall and he was in way of financial collapse when he was approached by the Carnegie Steel Company, and seeing a way out, he hurried to Pittsburg.

It was there that the Steel Trust, the most pitiless exploiters of labor the world has witnessed, conceived itself in the mind of Henry Clay Frick, chairman of the Carnegie Steel Co. Frick knew Oliver needed money and he enforced a most amazing contract upon him which Oliver, having no alternative but bankruptcy, accepted. The Carnegie Steel Company loaned Oliver $500,000, to be spent in development work. This loan was secured by mortgage and, of course, was to be repaid with interest. Yet a condition of the loan was that Oliver must GIVE to the Carnegie Steel Co., HALF OF HIS PRESENT AND FUTURE HOLDINGS. In other words, Oliver was held up for half his ore properties, worth untold millions; and the Carnegie Steel Co. afterward to become the nucleus of the U. S. Steel Corporation, came into control of half its present vast interest on the Mesaba Range without costing Carnegie SO MUCH AS A POSTAGE STAMP!

However there was further work to be done, and Frick and Oliver now working together, dickered with Rockefeller and by a contract with Greasy John, secured leases on all the mines Rockefeller had taken away from the Merritts et al., agreeing, in consideration of the small royalty he assented to (25c per ton), to ship not less than 1,200,000 tons of ore each year over the Rockefeller roads. Rocky caught them coming and going.

This was a great advantage to Carnegie and Oliver, as the combination between them and Rockefeller sent the third group into hysterics of fear, and they fought with one another to get out from under. This was just what Frick and Oliver had figured on, and after much trouble in forcing Carnegie to accept the fortune thus to be obtained, finally won his consent and they bought up the best remaining locations on the Range, acquiring for what was to be the Steel Trust—incredible riches for a song. Says Oliver, writing to Carnegie, July 27, 1897, in an effort to get his assistance: "I desire to impress upon you, that if it had not been for our Rockefeller deal, with the consequent demoralization caused by the publication thereof, it would not have been possible for us to now secure the other Range properties I propose to acquire. Now let us take advantage of our action before a season of good times gives the ore producers strength and opportunity to get together." Sure, while he's down, kick 'im in the slats.

All perfectly legal? Certainly! Organized wealth has always at its elbow the cringing corporation lawyer to see that it stays out of jail tho not necessarily within the law. The only one to be accused of lawlessness, to be convicted on the slightest offenses, on the most transparent frame-ups, is always—the worker who demands a raise, the organizer who shows the worker the road to power.

This, then, is the sum of Steel Trust control on the Mesaba Range; The employer, whose capitalization is the staggering sum of $1,404,000,000, acquired the greatest part of its ore properties without the expenditure of a single dollar. This gigantic employer, whose dividends this year will exceed $300,000,000, refuses the right of its miners to organize or demand any wage increase. This is one of those firms who yell "expropriation" when labor asks for a nickle a day to be added to its wage-pitance; despite that they hold their property rights in natural resources by reason of no virtue, by chicance and by trickery. This is the firm that backs with its grimy millions, the persecution of brave men; the firm who desires the conviction on a framed-up murder charge of Carlo Tresca, Sam Scarlett and Joe Schmidt—organizers—who brought their loyalty to labor into the miners' strike and who are guilty of no other crime.

"Stockbroking Secretaries"

Editor Solidarity:

I would like to voice an objection to an article that appeared in the issue of November 4th, entitled, "Solidarity and Mixed Locals." In his article the correspondent intimated that Solidarity, in order to be put on a firm financial basis, should issue shares, for instance the same as Kerr Publishing Co., or the Masses, these shares to be sold at $10 per, to be paid according to the purchaser's convenience as low as $1 per month.

He also pointed out that if there was any danger of the control of the Publishing Bureau getting into the hands of any other than the membership, it would be necessary to confine the selling of these said shares to the secretaries of locals, with the object as I understand him, that shares be sold to bona fide members of the I. W. W. only.

I do not wish to take up the space required to point out what effect business enterprises of this character have had upon the members of the Socialist party, especially the Finnish groups, notwithstanding that the S. P. platform cannot be construed to prohibit the same. But I would like him to explain how he would retain the proletarian platform of the I. W. W., when he consents to make stock brokers of its secretaries, to say nothing of the tendencies it would have, of complicating the standard upon which an applicant would be eligible to membership.

M. H. M.

Max Hayes says that the I. W. W. is dead. And yet the A. F. of L. devotes more time to fighting us than it does to fighting the boss. Strange how some people will fight a dead cat.

Subscribe for Solidarity.

Working Class Solidarity Inevitable

"Disgusted Rebel," by letter to Solidarity (No. 359) dolefully laments the "damned hopelessness" of the servile working class, and sees no prospects of workingclass solidarity. He observes a class struggle consciously participated in by only the owning, employing class.

This latter-day Jeremiah is devoid of hope and despairs of progress through a workingclass alignment. The suggestion of the editor that he take to the "woods" for a time, in order to clear his mental atmosphere of the smoke caused by too much association with radical ideas, is a good one. An overheated think tank, like an overheated engine, is likely to become clogged. (I give the guy credit for having a moderate quantity of brain stuff.)

Let me take "Disgusted" up to the mountain-top of social vision and point out to him a few indications of the rapidly rising tide of workingclass solidarity. The "words" are already full of just such hopeless cases as "Dusgusted." He may recuperate by taking a "rest cure" but his prospects of recovery are better if he will but adopt the empirical method of discovering the truth. He has probably been taking a narrow view of things, and events, and is in danger of becoming a hopeless misanthrope.

One swallow does not make a summer, but a workingclass only ten per cent alive to the "vision" is capable of turning this old world upside down. Just a few people constitute the directing energies of the present regime of industrial despotism. Conditions are ripe for a great social upheaval and events, during the past half century have moved with startling rapidity. The transition from the "competitive" stage of capitalism to the "trust" or "cooperative" stage has covered but a few decades. Ideas germinate in the race mind, unnoticed by the closest observer, and there then takes place an apparent spontaneous manifestation sweeping everything before it. The writer, who is young, can remember when a man who advocated prohibition was looked upon as a curiosity or a crank, and one rash enough to predict 15 years ago the present public sentiment on the subject would have been hooted at. There is a good prospect of the entire United States going "dry" in the next generation. Twenty years ago a man proposing an eight hour workday was popularly regarded as an enemy of progress. President Wilson now talks about the judgment of society being in its favor.

The specific fundamental idea advocated oy industrial unionists is understood by but a small proportion of the workingclass, but many a genius are at work which are making the working class ready for a rapid assimilation of this Big Idea. The capitalist newspapers are constantly harping on the subject of efficiency in economic production and distribution, elimination of waste, cooperation between industrial units, etc. Of course this is for the benefit of the employing class, but the idea of industrial efficiency and cooperation urged by the servile press, turned the other way around, means simply industrial unionism, i. e., an organization of industry for production as opposed to organization for profit. Some fine day the great inert mass will suddenly perceive this and there will be "hell to pay," for the capitalist class. They teach efficiency, the slaves learn it, and will some day make use of it for their own account. The industrial revolution will come forth, when that time arrives, like lightning out of a clear sky. The feudal system and the slave holding system contained within themselves the pregnant elements of their own destruction. The present system is full of possibilities for its transformation. Every invention, every improved device, method or policy, adopted by the industrial overlords (which after all originate in the mind of some intelligent member of the working class) brings the days of working class solidarity, working class organization and control of industry nearer. Every scheme for the elimination of labor power in production by the substitution of machinery hastens the day of industrial solidarity. Progress makes for industrial solidarity. Evolution is with the revolutionary working class movement and nothing—not even the present stupidity of a large section of the working class—can withstand it.

It is a wonderful age we are living in and each and every one of us ought to be glad to be alive to participate in the great events even now casting their shadows before us. The future calls for men and women of broad social vision, men and women of constructive ability. We want organizers, scientists, engineers—men and women possessing, or able to develop, the directing intelligence necessary to take advantage of, and manage industry for the coming cooperative commonwealth. We do not want politicians, scheming to trade one advantage for another, rolling an endless ball of red tape around all our activities, but men and women who are capable of getting to the desired end by the shortest and most practical route. The present political government, which our socialist friends seek to control, acts like a brake upon the wheels of progress; takes millions of words of testimony of experts to find out what ought to be done—and then does nothing. We want expert management and control of industry, and education, and we shall have it. Industrial working class organization must develop it, and is developing it.

Labor organizations are getting together The craft forms of organizations are rapidly losing favor with the rank and file of their members. Industrial unionism is growing by leaps and bounds. Wake up, "Disgusted." Look into the open book of current events and do your bit towards accomplishing the thing you despair of.

J. STEPHEN DODD.

A Lesson In Solidarity

Mr. John Haggart, honorable contractor of Wendell, Minn., sent an employe to Fargo, N. D., to hire a gang of six or seven willing slaves, but unfortunately for him he hired six men, three of whom were rebels of the I. W. W. There was one on the job already, so it was an easy matter to make the whole gang stand pat.

We were supposed to have work at $2.50 per day and board until Christmas at least. He got us out on the job and hired a foreman, a farmer and brother mason of his who was supposed to be a good slave driver. But the first day we slowed him down to perfection.

They saw the job was well organized, and did not know what to do, so they picked out three men and one of the foremen and separated us two miles from the rest. They had been giving us sandwiches for dinner the last two days, instead of eating at a farm house where we had been eating, to cut down expenses. Well, the foreman heard us say we were satisfied if they were; we would work accordingly, and we did. The foreman told Haggart we worked in the forenoon, but in the afternoon we would do nothing. So J. Haggart, thinking his name was Johnny Wise, came at 11 o'clock, in time for the noon train, and took us, the undesirables, to town. He told us to pack up and get out on the noon train. We did not. He said, "I have enough men on the ditch now; the topping is done, they can lay tile." We told him he would not have them after supper. He refused to give us our dinner after working a half day. We kept him in the office until 2:10 that afternoon. Four of us were among the fired. When the men came in the evening, John Pables, unorganized, and one other not organized, called for their time and left him alone.

When the boss saw that he was alone, and so far we had made good, he asked John Stoegis to go to work and also Ben Abraham, as they were not organized. Stoegis (good slave) said he would work, but was afraid the I. W. W.'s would hurt him, so he agreed to go to Breckenride with us, then drop off and come back to work, but Ben Abraham refused, and told us about it. We convinced Stoegis that he did not want to go back to work or get off at Breckenride, but come with us to Fargo, which he did.

Foot-loose Wolfs looking for a job, get on this job and make her good. Show John Haggart what Solidarity is. He says it is idle talk. We have given him his first lesson. Also remember that Dan Boyd is a farmer near Wendell, and may need harvest help next year. He claims to be in sympathy with us, but it is because he has the backbone of a jellyfish. He was the stool pigeon for Haggart. Also take a good supply of stickers, as he likes them, and we want to give them what they like. Try and help him to finish his job, as he says this job may break him, and we don't want to shake hands across a bier with him. Don't forget or delay, but get on this job, help him out and do all you can to keep the men together. He ships men from Minneapolis.

The boss had a headache from staying up all night—we did not suffer.

GEO. GINTON,
Delegate A. W. O.

Passaic, N. J., branch of the Minnesota Strikers' Defense Committee, held a mass meeting in that city Sunday evening, Nov. 5th, with an attendance of 360. The committee held a large ball on Saturday, Nov. 11th, and cleared over $70 for the defense. Nicholas De Carlo, a member of the S. P., also an industrial unionist, was chairman of the local committee, and his efforts contributed greatly to the success of the meetings. J. S. D.

A noted divine says that he sympathizes with the I. W. W. because it has only 100,000 of the 40,000,000 workers in the United States, organized. We return the sympathy. Think of the 400,000,000 Chinamen that he has yet to convert to Christianity.

WATCH YOUR NUMBER

EACH subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the paper or wrapper enclosing SODIDARITY. For instance 359. That means your sub expired last week, add you should renew at once.
THIS IS NUMBER . . 360

Italian I. W. W. News

The macaroni workers' strike, declared about a month ago in Greater New York by Locals Nos. 301 and 302 of the Industrial Workers of the World is over. The strike started in Long Island City, where 75 men employed by the Atlantic Macaroni Company went out as a protest against the attempt of the company to abolish the Union. In the space of one week 550 men in Brooklyn, N. Y., and Jersey City had gone out in sympathy. All of these men asked an advance of twenty per cent in wages and the fifty-four hour week to be substituted for working week previously in effect, ranging from sixty to seventy-two hours a week.

The strike lasted three weeks, the resistance being most efficient and enthusiastic in Long Island City, where the organization had existed for over a year.

As a demonstration of economic power the strike was a complete success. All the stores in New York were beginning to run out of macaroni towards the end of the strike. The bosses merely held out in the hopes that the strike would collapse because of the inexperience of the workers in labor struggles. The workers would have won a complete victory had they been used to the discipline and habits of old time union men. As it stands the Macaroni Workers in New York were completely victorious. In Brooklyn advances in wages ranging from ten to twenty per cent were secured with a working week of fifty-seven hours.

When account is taken of the fact that similar strikes pulled this year in Philadelphia and Chicago without organization were complete and dismal failures it becomes evident that organized action and I. W. W. tactics are very useful in labor struggles.

Our attention from now on will be given to keeping the union on its feet so that when the next strike is called we shall have a group of workers thoroughly trained in the spirit of solidarity and a more extended organization of an industrial character which will make possible a general tieup of the entire industry.

THE I. L. A. IN BROOKLYN

Sunday, November 12th, a meeting of the members of the Italian locals of the International Longshoremen's Association in South Brooklyn was held as a protest against the discrimination of the English speaking members of the organization toward the Italians. Protests had already been sent to Samuel Gompers by these locals but he had refused to take them into consideration. This fact is illustrative of the system of political graft and favoritism existing in the A. F. of L., where many times the great majority of members, who, because foreigners or for other reasons cannot make their voices heard, are made the victims of repugnant methods of favoritism and injustice. The Italian members of the I. L. A. asked the Brooklyn Propaganda League of the I. W. W. to furnish speakers for this meeting. We sent Fellow Worker N. Cuneo, who spoke, illustrating the inherent faults of the A. F. of L. form of organization. The workers were very well satisfied although a good number of paid A. F. of L. delegates who were present could not conceal their discomfiture and disgust. These gentlemen were ready to start trouble but our men showed them that they were just as disposed to give as take after an un-Christian manner, so trouble was avoided. The workers decided to forward another protest to Gompers and in case he should refuse to remedy the present evils action of a more drastic nature will be taken.

The conditions on the docks in South Brooklyn, where over fifteen thousand men are organized in the I. L. A., are decent were it not for the usual systems of petty graft and abuse at the expense of the workers. Pay is 40 cents an hour for day work; 60 cents an hour for night work and 80 cents an hour for Sunday work. The admission fee to the I. L. A. is $2.65. Any foot-loose Wobblies who are out of work might find it profitable to work on the docks for a living and for the I. W. W.

THE CARLO TRESCA AGITATION IN ITALY AND SWITZERLAND

News has been received in this country of the agitation for the liberation of Carlo Tresca and other Minnesota prisoners in Italy and Switzerland. It seems that this agitation will be as enthusiastic and impressive as the Ettor-Giovannitti agitation movement of four years ago. All the labor and revolutionary organizations of the peninsula have voted their support; meetings are being held all over the country and pressure has been brought to bear upon the minister of the government to secure diplomatic action.

Bissolati, a reformist socialist cabinet minister, has tried to escape the responsibilities which the agitation of the workers is placing upon his shoulders in the situation by basely insinuating that Carlo Tresca is an emissary of the German Government and that therefore His Majesty's Government cannot interfere in the case. However, the vigor with which the agitation will be carried on may force his excellency, Bissolati, to change his mind in the matter and take definite action.

In Switzerland the Federation of Socialist Clubs has launched an appeal in its newspaper to all its local groups to give themselves to the agitation with all the vigor that is in them. The Federation of Building Trades has issued a similar appeal to its local unions. The members of this union are in great majority Italian immigrants who realize the position of the emigrant worker in America as well as that of the labor organizer or agitator who is forced to face the double menace of race prejudice and capitalist oppression.

It was these workers who in 1912 proclaimed a twenty-four hour general strike in protest and assaulted the American consulate.

There is reason to believe that the agitation, both in Italy and in Switzerland, will assume such an intense and general character as to have an effect in this country.

G. C.

THE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

By Abner E. Woodruff, C. E.

(Continued From Last Week)

THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION

The historic mission of the proletariat is to overthrow the present master class and to replace this civilization with a new and better civilization. In the meantime it is under the necessity of making growth and developing itself within the framework of modern capitalism in preparation for this great transformation. Let us see what are the transforming processes going on in modern society which promote the growth of the proletariat and on which we may predicate the structure of its new society.

The greatest of these processes are: First, the perfecting of the machinery of production and distribution, which goes on by means of invention; second, the perfection of the processes of manufacture; which goes on by means of chemical and engineering experimentation; third, the perfecting of management, which goes on by means of the study of cost data and automatic systems of superintendence; fourth, the centering of wealth in the hands of a few great Plutocrats, which goes on by means of manipulation and stock jobbery; fifth, the development of the proletariat, which goes on by means of the intimate contact of the workers with the machinery of production and management; and sixth, the awakening of the proletariat to a realization of the fact that it must take over and operate the industries in order to save itself from an impending condition of Industrial Serfdom and preserve such culture as the genius of man has handed down through the ages.

So great is the inventive faculty of the human animal, that, in all of the civilized countries, great bureaus are maintained for the examination and classification of the inventions; and each great industrial plant keeps a corps of trained men constantly at work trying to perfect the machines and make them truly automatic. Prizes and bonuses are paid to workmen, who suggest valuable changes or bring in useful hints; and so great are the improvements, that, at times, entire plants are scrapped to make way for new devices that have actually revolutionized the methods in a particular line of production. New combinations of chemical elements and new facts in regard to the qualities of old materials are constantly being discovered, with the result that new industries spring up to make and supply new wants of the people. The craftsmen are constantly threatened by the machines and whole crafts are, at times, swept off the boards to be replaced by an automatic device that can be operated by unskilled labor.

When the machines seem to be perfected, the workers themselves are experimented upon to discover new ways of doing old tasks. Motion studies are made to develop methods for increasing the output and efficiency of individuals. Rearrangement of plants and team work are devised to get the most and best work out of gangs and working forces. Automatic systems of management, by which the workers practically drive themselves, are introduced; and profit sharing, piece rate and bonus systems of payment, which are intended to induce the slaves to work themselves to death for a supposed increase of pay, are instituted.

Although the middle class, which is being consistently wiped out, screams with agony and uses every possible reactionary device, the process of the centering of wealth goes steadily forward. The personnel of the Plutocracy may change from time to time, but the number grows beautifully less and the control of industry centers into fewer hands. So also, the real government centers into these same hands; though a show of democracy is maintained to keep the ignorant and patriotic deceived as to the true state of affairs. Salaried managers, engineers, chemists and accountants, together with the workers specialized at the machines, carry on production, while the Plutocrats thimblerig the middle class with Stock Exchanges, Boards of Trade and other similar gambling devices.

The numbers of the proletariat and the "slum proletariat" are constantly increased by craftsmen, whose skill is no longer needed, and by members of the middle class, who have lost out altogether in their efforts to buck the gigantic brace game that the Plutocrats maintain for their special benefit.

The tendency of the machines toward perfection, naturally causes the great majority of the workers to become machine attendants and to approximate a level, so far as skill is concerned; thus breaking down the craft and other artificial barriers that formerly divided them. The machine process of production prevents the separating out of individual outputs and results in a practical equality of wages. This equality of wages naturally standardizes the livings of the various workers and causes them to flow together as a class. They find themselves subjected to almost identical conditions in all sections and begin to recognize themselves as a class, regardless of races, nationalities or creeds. Recognition of class generates that sense of duty known as the social conscience—the moral sense of the working class. They study their class needs and, through their identity of interest, associate so that they may harmoniously promote those interests.

The workers now become critical of their environment. They tear it to pieces and examine its parts—they study its effects upon themselves—and see to what depths of degradation they have been reduced. They perceive the growing numbers of the unemployed (displaced by the perfecting of the machines and the long hours of labor) and the steady operation of the law of wages towards further reductions of the standard of living. They learn also that there must be a constant effort to raise the rate of pay to keep pace with the increased production and cheapening of gold, on which the prices of all commodities, including labor power, are based.

The proletariat is at bed rock. It views the world and the institutions of society from the standpoint of utter disillusionment. Everything is naked before it and its attitude is one of absolute disgust and uncompromising hostility. In fact, it is at bay—its back is against the wall—it has turned upon its tormentors. The "social revolution" is on.

POLITICAL MEDDLERS

The modern socialist parties, which pretend to represent the workers upon the political field, but which are almost wholly "middle class" in their aspirations and tactics, and are obsessed with a reverence for statute laws, propose that the direction of industry shall be placed in the hands of the "government," thereby illustrating their own fatuity, for *government can only operate industries through the agencies of bureaus—and bureaucrats are primarily despots.* In their keenness to be social saviors the politicians, who usually know very little about industry, fail to realize that the workers must control the industries through their own associations, if the spirit of democracy is to be preserved and promoted. Working class control of the industries means democratic participation and control in all production and in the social life flowing from it; therefore, *the workers are not to be hampered by administrators appointed by some delegated authority*, as would surely happen under a territorial political system. To adopt such a policy, would defeat the ends of the social revolution and set up a new form of servitude, since the bureaucrat could only secure efficiency by adopting coercive measures.

If, by some chance, a purely political Socialist party should accomplish the overthrow of the present master class government and divert the control of industry—the administration of production—into the hands of the working class as at present developed and organized, nothing short of chaos could result. A recession in civilization is all that could be expected, since the Industrial Democracy is not to be had as a gift from above, but is a growth—a development—a thing to be achieved through the economic training and disciplining of the working class. Our good Socialist friends must remember that "the nations and classes which, in the past, have acquired the right of self government, have demonstrated their ability and have laid the foundations of their new governments while they were struggling for freedom." The workers must do the same.

The workers must undergo a training for voluntary co-operation in production, and engaging in political contests at the polls is no such training. That is a game of "follow your leader," or a mere counting of noses—an enumeration of those people of all classes, who, for the moment, adhere to the same sentiment, or hold the same opinion. It is no indication whatsoever that these people are so organized, trained and developed that they can harmoniously and effectively operate and manage the complex industrial life of today and build up the new social institutions in the face of a determined opposition on the part of a large minority of the people, who will have voted the other way. The development of the social consciousness and altruistic emotionalism no doubt cause many persons to vote the Socialist tickets, but that does not mean that these same persons would remain steadfast in their allegiance when they should see their present economic security threatened with wreck at a time of crisis in the real struggle. No. Industrial Democracy comes only by the desire and with the consent of a conscious class—an organic division of the people—and that class is the machine proletariat; the workers trained in the processes of industry, experienced in social production, living and working on an identical plane of material interest, subjected to the same economic influences, constant, stable, harmonious, and capable of discipline and responsibility. Nor is the change likely to come as the result of a general election; but more likely, it will come at a time of great economic and social turmoil (lockouts and general strikes threatening) and as the result of a "plebiscite," or election held by the workers only. Even then, *it can properly occur only after the working class has been thoroughly marshalled, drilled and disciplined for the event*—"when the proletariat has had sufficient training in voluntary co-operation and self-government to be able to demonstrate its ability to successfully continue production and handle distribution so that all may be fed."

Marx, the great economist and social philosopher, has well pointed out that political action is a mere reflex of economic power; that as a class grows in wealth and conscious economic importance, it endeavors more and more to take part in political activities; that the government, in a class society, is an instrument of class domination—strong, as the class it represents is strong, or weak, as that class is weak. He also declares that the mission of the working class is to overthrow Capitalism, with its class government, and establish a new order of society based on economic equality, and therefore without classes or the forms of government that flow from class dominion. Frederick Engles, commenting on the later French revolution, concludes that the working class can never ("*niemals*") seize upon the ready made powers of the state and convert them to uses of its own. All our thinkers are quite agreed that the State, as such—the coercive instrument of economic class power—must disappear with the classes that have upheld it, and, in its place, must appear an "administration of affairs," an economic institution conforming to the needs and aspirations of an economically free and fluid industrial society. Therefore, the prime consideration of the proletariat is not to take over the powers of government by a mere conquest of the political state at the ballot box, but to develop and organize its economic powers, so that it may proceed by methods of its own to destroy the class power of its opponents and the hateful, hurtful institutions which that class power bolsters and maintains. Economic power constitutes the entire force of the capitalists—all modern institutions are based on that foundation—and when that power is undermined, when its protecting strength weakens and fails, all these institutions must naturally totter and fall.

Man is like the bug—he travels in the direction of the food supply—and institutions are like men—they perish when unfed. The master class, besieged upon the economic field by an aroused and class conscious proletariat holding the sources of wealth in its determined grasp, must go down in defeat and its class institutions must be drawn down with it into the abyss, thus clearing the field and making room for those better and fairer structures which the genius of the new society will erect.

(To be continued)

PROF. NEARING FOR INDUSTRIAL UNION

Gives Forcible Argument for One Big Union of R. R. Workers

Professor Nearing addressed the Labor Forum, at Stuyvesant High School, New York City, on Sunday evening, November 12th on the subject, "The Railroads, The Public and the Eight Hour Legislation." After stating that the railroads of the country were probably worth their paper capitalization of about twenty billion dollars, though the actual investment put into them was not more than about eight billions, he analyzed railroad earnings. At the present time the railroads have outstanding about eleven billion dollars in bonds and about nine billions in stock. The total amount of the capitalization had doubled since 1890. They had about nine billions then and have twenty billions now of capitalization. In 1890 two-fifths of the stock paid dividends; in 1896 less than three-tenths of the stock, 29 per cent of it, paid dividends; in 1890 forty per cent of the stock paid dividends; in 1914, the last year for which we have figures, seventy per cent of the railroads' stock paid dividends, and those dividends averaged eight per cent. Since 1891 stocks had doubled in quantiy and dividends has risen four fold.

The professor then discussed wages paid employes on railroads, and the hours of work, showing that only the employes actually engaged in train operation, members of the four Brotherhoods, were paid even fair wages—as wages are commonly regarded today. Hours are long, the time limit being sixteen hours by Act of Congress. In the shops, in the construction camps, among the track men, etc., the hours are as a rule 9½, 10 and 10½ hours per day. The risks are excessive, compared even with other occupations regarded as extra hazardous; the risks are excessive even in the shops. The engineers and conductors' pay averages over $5.00 per day. On the trains one man in ten is injured every year, and one in every 250 is killed. Twenty-one in every one hundred of railroad employes get an average wage of over $3.00 per day; the over 79 per cent get an average wage of less than $3.00 per day. Over four hundred thousand trackmen and switch tenders get less than $2.00 per day. Station agents, section foremen and laborers get between $2.00 and $2.50 per day. Sixty per cent, two-thirds of all railroad employes, get less than $2.50 per day. The income necessary to support in comfort and decency a man, wife and three children ranges from $1200 to $1500 per year, according to location.

I will quote the following from the professor's speech as reported by me relating to industrial unionism:

"The railroad property pays very high; the hours of railroading are long; the risks of railroading are high, even for the men who do not operate trains, and the wages of railroading are very low. That, as I understand it, is the economic situation forming a background for the Adamson Bill. You know as much about the Adamson bill as I do, because you have all read about it, heard about it, and seen the conditions surrounding its passage. The men decided to strike. They refused to arbitrate the question of eight hours. They said, 'That is not a matter for arbitration; it is a minimum demand.' And they stood one that and the railroad managers refused to settled with them. The president called Congress to Washington, and they, after some conversation, finally decided on a compromise. They fixed by a bill, they whipped it through Congress, and it became the Adamson bill. There was no deliberation on the Adamson bill. There was no debate on the Adamson bill. There was no appeal to public opinion on the Adamson bill. It was passed at the order of the president, whipped through with every appearance of an effort to get votes. (Applause.) The Adamson bill is not in any sense a democratic measure. (Applause.) * * * You will observe that the Adamson bill does not fix an eight hour day. (Applause.) It creates what is called in the railroad industry a basic eight hour day, and over that time an economic penalty is attached. * * * This bill begins by creating an eight hour basic work day, and continues by making a Commission to study the conditions under which the eight hour day should be established. In other words, they begin with the cart and then go on with the horse. To me that is the most serious criticism that can be urged against the bill. The second provision should have been the first provision and the only provision in the bill. * * * The president did something which the Czar of Russia might have done under exactly the same circumstances. He adopted the I. W. W. direct action method of stopping a strike. (Laughter and applause.) Now, I tell you it is better—I am not defending strikes; I think they are undesirable economic disturbances; I don't believe in economic disturbances (applause) but I say to you that it is better to have a general railroad strike than to break down (interruption and applause) than to break down our system of organized orderly governmental procedure. (Applause.) I don't believe in railroad strikes, or in any kind of a strike, but I am not afraid of them, and I would rather have a temporary disturbance in our economic life than to have the machinery of our government broken down in the interests of a small special class. (Applause.) Now, what do I mean by that? Why, I mean that this demand was a demand from less than 20 per cent of the best paid men in the railroad business. Those are the only people practically, in the railroad business getting a living wage, and some of them do not get that. Some of the firemen and trainmen don't even get that, but this is the only group in the railroad business, practically, that gets a living wage at the present time. It was an ultimatum from them. * * * I don't believe in legislation under pressure. I believe it is a profoundly unwise thing. There is no possible connection between a government by discussion—which is democracy—and the method which was used in forcing through the Adamson bill, and therefore I believe that the method adopted in the creation of the Adamson bill was wholly reprehensible, and should be condemned. * * * (Applause.) Just as we would have denounced similar action taken on the part of the president at the behest of the Morgan interests, or Standard Oil interests, or the Pennsylvania railroad, or any other special group, in the community. * * *

"I believe that the time is coming in the United States when as a matter of business it will be found better to have an eight hour day than a ten or an eleven or a twelve hour day. (Applause.) I believe that the Adamson bill, if it is an eight hour bill, will decrease accidents, will increase efficiency, will raise the standard of railroad service, and will provide the men with regular leisure. I know a number of fellows in the railroad service who do not know what regular leisure is. * * * I have a feeling—and I may be wrong about it, and I offer my apology if that be the case—but I have a feeling that the results of the Adamson bill are to be measured not at all in increased efficiency for the railroads, not in increased leisure for the men, but in its effects on the railroad unions. Why do I say that? First, I believe that unionism as we know it today—and it has, of course, many phases—is the one fragment of industrial democracy in the United States. There is not any other fragment of industrial democracy. What do I mean by industrial democracy? I mean that the people who are concerned in industry ought to have some say as to what industry does. (Applause.) Mr. Ford, for example, gives an eight hour day, absolutely, and a minimum wage that is a living wage, but he has no more industrial democracy in his plants than the Pennsylvania railroad. (Applause.) I say the fragment, and it is a mighty little chunk of it, that industrial democracy has in this country, at the present time, rests in our unions. * * * This bill was won by five craft unions. I don't know whether I must apologize, Mr. Chairman, for explaining at this point, but the craft union is a union that covers one trade; an industrial union is a union that covers an industry. The carpenters have a craft union; the United Mine Workers of America have an industrial union. Only carpenters belong to their craft union; anybody that works in the mines from the boys to the drivers, and the miners, belong to the industrial union, the U. M. W. of A.

"Now, those are five old line craft unions. Until the last three or four years they have fought one another consistently and vigorously; and they have therefore given the railroads very little trouble. (Laughter.) That is one of the reasons why they have lasted so well; and they have reason to believe that the railroads have rejoiced exceedingly in their tendencies because they had all the comeliness of organization without any of its disadvantages to the railroads. Now, in the last few years, brotherliness prevailed among them, and the brotherhoods stood together. Brotherhood is a good term. For the first time in the history of the railroad business in the last twenty years, the brotherhoods got together and exhibited a little of it. (Laughter.) Mind you, they got less than 20 per cent of the railroad employes together. Less than 20 per cent—between 15 and 20. And they made demands as a group, and they won their fight as a group. Then this bill was passed, and let me tell you what happened in a certain town that I am acquainted with. There were some men who were operating signals in the yards, the electric interlocking signals; eleven of them. They organized a union. The railroad found it out. They brought eleven men from another city and fired the eleven and put the other eleven men in their places. In that town there were fifty-two hundred Brotherhood men, and not a man of them raised his voice in protest. (Hisses.) In other words, during the past twenty years the railroads have used the Brotherhoods as a shield, and they have crushed out unionism in every other branch of the railroad business. (Applause.)

"Now, let me go ahead with my statement. If the Brotherhoods had gone on strike this time, they would have been skinned alive. The railroads had all the machinery to do it, and they would have done it, because four-fifths of the railroad employes were saying, "Hog, hog hog," all over the United States. If you know any number of railroad men you know that is true. Why, because the men who were making these demands, were as a rule, the highest paid men in the railroad service. They did not care a tinker's damn about the fellows outside of their Brotherhoods; they were making demands for themselves; they were not standing year after year and seeing unions in the other branches of the railroad business crushed out, without raising a hand or making a protest. Now they were coming out with demands for themselves alone, and the other railroad workers all over the country were saying, "Hog, hog, hog," and they could not have pulled off a successful strike in my judgment. Now, I say that is a wild guess. I may be wrong, but I believe that is the fact. I believe that you cannot maintain an organization when the economic basis for it is gone. The oil burner is about to put the fireman out of business, and the electric engine will in time put the engineer out of business. It does not require a craftsman to run an oil burner; it does not require a craftsman to operate an electric engine, and in the next ten or fifteen years there will be no craft basis existing for employes in the operating departments—the train operating departments—for anybody except the conductors, who are clerks. You will be able to get a fellow for two and a half dollars or three dollars a day to do the work now done by enginerrs and firemen, when mechanical improvements displace the present steam engines. * * *

"In other words, this is the point

Continued on Page Four

To All Workers On The Ships And Docks

Just a few lines to attract your attention to the conditions prevailing in the Marine Transport industry, on the Great Lakes and elsewhere.

Speaking of the Great Lakes, we wish to point out to you that the 12-hour system still exists, that is 12 out of every 24, while in various other parts of the world in the same industry they have the three watch system, which means 8 hours out of every 24.

By way of reviewing a little of the past history of the Great Lakes, those of you who remember the strike of 1909 will readily recall how fatal the tactics of the A. F. of L. were. And for the benefit of those who are new to the industry, we point to a few facts in the case. For instance, when the Lake Carriers' Association had reached that degree of organization, and thereby the control of the shipping, whereby it could dispense with the unions, what did it do? The L. C. A. simply refused to meet in conference with the joint delegates of the Seamen, Firemen, Oilers, Water-tenders, and other craft unions which were affiliated at the time.

This took place in 1908, and what was the result? Instead of going on strike and utilizing what little power had been developed, the unions accepted the open shop policy for one whole season, the officials of the organization recommending that the men go on the job with the object of keeping non-union men off. What happened the following year when the strike was called? The Lake Carriers' Association created an imaginary split on their part, and the unions involved fell for the game, namely, that of furnishing 50 per cent. of the men to carry on the traffic on the lakes; and in spite of this the strike was dragged along for nearly three seasons. Half of the men were on strike and the other half were scabbing and being assessed by the union to support those on strike.

What lesson are we to learn from that experience? Nothing more or less than that the workers, at least those who voted for the strike on that basis, were blinded by that accursed doctrine of the A. F. of L., namely, that of being fair to your employer. Had the men been organized industrially, with the welfare of the working class as their ultimate goal, there might have been a possibility of getting the co-operation of the dock workers, and the result, instead of being a dark splotch on the history of the labor movement, would have been illuminating and inspiring. But that would be allowing that the A. F. of L. could become a working class organization, which is beyond our wildest expectations, as long as it stands on the ground that what can be fair to the employer can be fair to the worker.

Let us consider the position of the longshoremen. Every attempt on the part of the workers on the docks to affiliate with the seamen was blocked by some one or the other of the officials or a group of them, with the result that today one can hardly approach either the seaman or the dock worker on the subject of affiliation without taking his life in his hands. It is not enough taht this state of affairs exists, but the longshoremen who are organized to some extent in what is known as the I. L. A., must be divided into districts and sign contracts expiring at various times, so that in case they might be persuaded to go on a sympathy strike with the seamen, they would still be bound in the majority of ports by the sacred contract to scab on their fellow workingmen.

As for the Atlantic and Pacific coast longshoremen, they are still dominated by that hidebound form of craft union, where one cannot even transfer from one local to another without paying an additional initiation fee, to say nothing about getting them out on strike together.

Now fellow workers, don't you think it's pretty near time to look the situation in the face, and decide to do something for yourselves and your class by joining a norganization that means business? As long as you stand back and wait for "George" to do it, these miserable conditions will continue to exist.

To those of you seamen and oilers who are expecting to be promoted to pilots and engineers, we wish to point out this fact: that by having a strong union on the lakes, your chances for promotion are not being jeopardized one iota; for, when all is done and said, your condition as officer in regard to hours and wages are governed by the supply of men below you in the same line of work that you happen to be engaged in.

Now, then, what do you say?

The Marine Transport Workers of the I. W. W. appeals to your better judgment. If you have any visions of a home and a family, and have any desire to establish yourselves as men who have the right to live as human beings, your place is in our ranks. Surely you do not hope to accomplish anything without putting up a fight for it. You must admit that it was by organization that the steel trust acquired the power it now holds. Therefore we ask you again, to get busy. Join the fighting organization of your class. Initiation fee $2; dues 50 cents per month.

Write to Secretary, Local 245, M. T. W. of the I. W. W., 530 W. First St., Duluth, Minn.

MARINE SLAVE

NEARING FOR INDUSTRIAL UNION

Continued From Page Three

that I want to make. If this Adamson bill is going to make the Brotherhoods more cock eyed; if this Adamson bill is going to make them more indifferent to the well being of the 85 per cent of the railroad employes outside of the Brotherhoods; if this Adamson bill is going to discriminate simply in favor of one special section of the railroad workers, so that they will not be compelled to organize the other four-fifths, then I think it is an exceedingly disastrous measure from the standpoint of industrial democracy in the United States. Why? Because craft unionism does retard the economic development of the workers. The only hope of the railroad workers in the United States, under the conditions that are sure to arise if this law is "handled," as it probably will be in the next year or so—the only hope for the railroad workers is to have the same intelligence that the managers have. Do you know how much of the manegerial intelligence was represented by the delegates representing the railroads at Washington? Those delegates represented five-fifths of the railroad business from the managers' side. Do you know how many of the railroad workers were represented in Washington by the Brotherhood delegates? One-fifth. The railroads were one hundred per cent united; the railroad employes were about twenty per cent united. The railroad Brotherhoods have been lined up, it is true, for the first time, but they are bound to fail in the coming years unless they become allied with the other eighty per cent of the railroad employes. They have got yet to learn their own strength; that in order to win they must have five-fifths of the railroad workers in an industrial union solidly behind the men who represent them. (Applause.) The railroad managers believe that in union there is strength. They have learned that lesson. I believe implicitly in the principle of co-operation. I am utterly opposed to competition; it is absurd and archaic. The abolition of craft lines which is fast coming to pass, makes imperative among railroad men, and all other employes, the industrial from of organization. * *. *"

REPORTER.

FINE DEFENSE ON THE RANGE

(Special to Solidarity)

Aurora, Minn., Nov. 21.

Last Sunday night, Nov. 19, we held a social gathering for the benefit of the fellow workers in jail. It was a great affair, in fact I haven't seen anything better on the Range yet. We had flowers for sale—the fellow workers bid from 50c up to $2.50 trying to get these flowers, and after we got through the secretary of the branch counted the money and it was found to be $96.45. Expenses were about $10, leaving the balance clear for the defense.

We are in hopes that the rest of the branches will do the same thing to help free our fellow workers. The miners all over the Range are sticking to the One Big Union. They all say that the I. W. W. is all right, and they are going to keep it. At this writing we are anxiously awaiting the arrival of James P. Thompson, who is billed to speak here in Aurora and other places.

F. R.

Missoula, Mont., Nov. 14.

Whereas, Past experiences have shown us that when a working man or woman is on trial for his life, the wheels of justice are not always turned with enthusiasm; and that violations of constitutional privileges and of state and national laws are of frequent occurrence, and,

Whereas, Carlo Tresca, Joe Schmidt, Sam Scarlett, Mrs. Phil. Masonovich, Phil Masonovich, Joe Nichich, Joe Cernogorovich and John Orlandich are facing trial for death or imprisonment, on a charge of murder, and that indications point to the fact that the accused parties are the victims of a brutal scheme, of an unscrupulous corporation, and

Whereas, The U. S. Steel Trust, being the accuser, will no doubt resort to some methods as have been used by corporations in previous cases of strikers on trial for life and liberty introducing false evidence, now

Be it therefore Resolved, That we, the members of Bonanza Lodge No. 194, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, located at Missoula, Montana, do hereby protest against such inhuman treatment of men and women, and.

Be it further Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Governor of Minnesota, appealing to him as the chief executive of that state and to his sense of fairness and honesty and justice, to use his influence in obtaining a speedy, fair and impartial trial for the accused.

(Signed) O. F. CLARKE,
Recording Secretary Bonanza Lodge, No. 194, B. of L. F. and E.

ANOTHER "LIKE LILY CALLETTI"

Mr. C. Tresca,
County Jail, Duluth, Minn.

Dear Friend: I am another little girl like Lily Calletti, who is very sorry to know that you and other good men are in prison. I am hoping that you will soon be out and free again and that the steel trust will get the worst of it. I know that you are in jail just for helping the miners to get more money.

Dadda says we can't be too careful in this free land of "ours" so I will only sign myself

Your little friend,
L. W.,
Andover, Mass.

PRESIDENT WILL INVESTIGATE

The following letter was received by a petitioner in Stamford, Conn.:

The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Melfi: Mr. Homer Cummings has been kind enough to forward to me your letter of October 4th in which you join with other members of the Italian Societies of Stamford and Greenwich in calling my attention to the case of the imprisonment of Carlo Tresca and others in Duluth, Minnesota.

I do not know whether the case falls under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government or not, but I will beg to assure you that I will have immediate inquiry made in order to ascertain if anything can and should be done.

Thanking you for the confidence you repose in me I remain,

Cordially and sincerely yours,
WOODROW WILSON.

SAN FRANCISCO NOTES

(Special to Solidarity)

San Fancisco, Calif., Nov. 21.

In spite of the statements of some o. the "graft unionists" that unionism is dead now and henceforth in this old burg, because the anti-picketing ordinance carried, things are looking more alive than ever. This so-called ordinance will have about as much effect on the I. W. W. as the action of the fellow who tried to bale out the sea with a pint pot, had upon the ocean.

Sentiment is growing everywhere; dissatisfaction is becoming rampant in the rank and file of the various groups of "orthodox" organized labor, and it will be only a short time until more will follow the lead of the culinary workers who organized an industrial union of hotel and restaurant workers with a start of over 200 members.

A mass meeting is to be held on Sunday afternoon, December 3rd, for the Minnesota boys who answered the call of the rebellious slaves on the iron range so gallantly. A good program has been arranged, the Averill Hall secured, and indications point to the reincarnation of Old Optimism himself. We know the bosses would like to see "Fighting Carlo" behind the bars, for he has been a thorn in their side for so long that if not put out of the way it may cause a swelling and perhaps old man capitalism will get sick and maybe die. Let the cry be, "Tresca, Schmidt and Scarlet will eat dinner with us on Christmas," and back it up with a little action.

Local 173 of Frisco is planning a smoker and entertainment on New Year's eve, also to be held at the Averill Hall, at 1256 Market street. We have plenty of excellent talent on hand and more is coming in every day. Judging by the spirit displayed, this town will know there is an I. W. W. local in it that can do something "real big" before long.

The International Workers' Defense League are still conducting their campaign for the liberation of Nolan, the Mooneys, et al., and are making great headway. In fact, so great is the advance they have made lately, by the exposure of the crooked jury system, that it looks as if it might be impossible for any court to convict Mooney, who comes to trial on January 3, if he survives the slander of the United Railroads' district attorney, who is busy giving false interviews to lying newspapers, while Mooney is helpless in the county jail.

While they are not members of our union, nevertheless they are fighters from the word go, and have always helped us in the past, and will certainly be needed in the future, in this greatest of all wars, the class war.

HERBERT R. COLLIE.

Tony Braborsky will please communicate with Michael Patten, secretary Local 16, at 50 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich.

The Bemidji branch of the Lumber Workers' Organization has moved to 205 Beltrame Ave., Bemidji, Minn. Sab cats wanted and will be given a hearty reception.—Nils Madison, Sec.

TENTH CONVENTION

(Continued from Page One)

Committee further recommended that the editor of Solidarity be appointed by the Business Manager of the Publishing Bureau, with the approval of the General Executive Board. The convention concurred.

Ways and Means Committee recommended that all reference to National industrial unions and Local industrial unions be stricken from the constitution, and that they be replaced by Industrial unions with branches. This recommendation being to suggest a change in the structure of the I. W. W. of far reaching consequences, the delegates settled themselves for an extended discussion.

By special request, Walter T. Nef was given the floor to explain the structure of the Agricultural Workers' Organization, and the practical consideration which form the basis of the resolution on which the committee's recommendation is based. Nef concluded his address at 11:55 and the convention adjourned until 2 o'clock.

On reconvening, action on the Ways and Means Committee's report was postponed until the reading of the general secretary's report could be concluded, it having been interrupted at the adjournment of Tuesday afternoon. Report was completed and recommendations referred to proper committees.

A vote of appreciation was extended to a fellow worker (name withheld) who donated $2,200 of an inheritance to the organization at a time when finances were badly needed.

Financial report of the general secretary-treasurer was then read by summaries, showing cash on hand Sept. 1, 1916 of $18,745.53. Referred to Auditing Committee.

Report of the General Executive Board was then read by Frank Little. Referred to Committee on Constitution and Organization.

There being no report from the general organizer, Joseph J. Ettor, it was decided to telegraph Fellow Worker Ettor to either send a report to the convention or appear in person on the floor of the convention to make his report.

Discussion on the report of the Ways and Means Committee was resumed at the point where it was interrupted by the noon recess. It was decided that no delegate be allowed to speak more than once until all other delegates had had an opportunity to speak. Twelve delegates took the floor in the discussion, up to the hour of adjournment.

November 23

After some more discussion on the matter before the convention at the time of adjournment yesterday, it was decided to refer the resolution back to the Committee on Constitution and Organization with instructions to bring back a report that will enable the A. W. O. form of organization to function alongside the present industrial unions directly affiliated with headquarters.

Continuing the report of the Ways and Means Committee, the recommendation that a compulsory assessment stamp of 25 cents be levied to be paid by the first of June, 1917, for the up-keep of the press, came up for discussion. It was finally decided that a referendum should be sent to the membership to decided whether or not they wanted a voluntary or compulsory stamp levided for the upkeep of the press.

The next recommendation of the Ways and Means Committee provided that the General Executive Board and the general secretary should co-operate with the Scandinavian workers in securing organizers for the East, Middle West, and far West. Convention concurred.

Recommended that the Executive Board appoint a committee to investigate the conduct of the Publishing Bureau and audit its books. The convention decided that the incoming Executive Board should make this investigation and audit, and report its findings with recommendations to the membership.

Report of Ways and Means Committee was completed at time of adjournment for noon recess.

At the afternoon session, the Grievance Committee reported. Recommended that J. J. Ettor's letter of resignation as general organizer be kept for future reference. Convention concurred.

It also concurred in recommendation of the committee, that the action of Fellow Worker J. Walsh in regard to sugar workers in Philadelphia be not approved, because it was not santioned by Local Union 8.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended that alternate G. E. B. members be elected. Laid on table.

The convention concurred in the same committee's suggestion that it is not advisable to call a convention of revolutionary labor organizations of all countries.

Recommended that Solidarity be put on a larger basis and that there be no reduction in price. Concurred in.

Recommend that secretaries of unions continue to accept dues for unlimited periods as previously. Adopted.

Recommended that all employes of the I. W. W. shall have been members for at least 90 days wherever possible. Concurred in.

Committee on Ways and Means recommended that Solidarity and the Publishing Bureau hereafter publish a quarterly report to all the unions. Convention concurred.

November 24

Telegram received from General Organizer Ettor stating that he would appear before the convention on Monday, or, failing that, his report in writing would be submitted.

Convention ordered telegrams of condolence to be sent to the widow and children of Fellow Worker John Allar, who was killed on the Mesaba Range, and the widow of Jack London, who dies on Wednesday of this week.

The Committee on Headquarters then reported the finding of a suitable building in a convenient location in the city of Chicago, to be used as a general headquarters for the organization. The report was referred to the Ways and Means Committee for a subsequent report.

The Committee on Constitution gave its report, recommending that the words "Local" and "National" be stricken from the Constitution and By-Laws wherever they occur. The convention concurred.

The effect of the recommendation is to abolish the National Industrial Unions, which have ceased to function within the structure of the organization. This recommendation is made fully effective by the further recommendation of the committee that paragraph (d) of Section 2, Article 1 be stricken from the Constitution, in which the convention concurred.

Recommended that Section 2 of Article 1 be amended to read as follows: "The Industrial Workers of the World shall be composed of actual wage workers brought together in an organization, embodying Industrial Departments, Industrial Unions, Industrial Unions with Branches, Recruiting Unions, Industrial Councils, and Industrial Members." Convention concurred.

If this proposed change is finally adopted the delegates are in almost unanimous agreement that we will immediately become the most flexible and mobile labor organization yet built by the workers; and that we will be able to expand and contract to successfully meet all industrial conditions that may arise to confront us in the future?

Committee recommend that paragraph (b), section 2, article 1, be amended to read: 'Recruiting unions shall be composed of wage workers in whose respective industries there does exist during their membership an industrial union or union with branches." Concurred in.

Recommended that (c) section 2, article 1 be amended by adding the words "or executive committee" after the words "central committee," wherever they occur, except in the third line of the first sentence on page 5 of the printed constitution where the words "central committee of the local" shall be stricken out. Convention concurred. This recommendation permits the formation of central committees by the industrial unions and executive committees by the "Industrial Unions and Branches," such as the A. W. O. for instance.

It was recommended that the number of members necessary to form an industrial department be increased from ten thousand to twenty thousand. Convention curred.

Recommended that section 5, article 2, be completely stricken out and that the office of general organizer be abolished. The convention, after a lengthy discussion, finally decided to concur.

At the afternoon session, the committee on Constitution and Organization continued its report.

It was recommended that the pay of the general secretary-treasurer be placed at $25 per week. The convention then decided by roll call to set the pay of the secretary-treasurer at $4 per day.

Recommended that in section 3 of article 3 wherever the words "General Organizer" occurred, the words "General Secretary-Treasurer" shall be substituted, and that in the last sentence of section 3 the words "Twenty-one" shall be substituted for the word "Eighteen." The convention decided to substitute the words "Four dollars per day" for the words "Eighteen dollars per week."

Adjourned at 5 p. m.

(Up to the hour of going to press, no further convention reports have been received by Solidarity. More details next week.—Editor.)

Industrial Union Literature And Propaganda Mediums

The following is a list of ALL the literature in stock at this time; additions will be announced from time to time as added. To avoid errors and delays, order from this list. Items marked with (*) are available only in single copies. Four-page and assorted leaflets are discontinued, at least temporarily. All foreign literature should be ordered from the foreign language papers as advertised in these columns.

BOOKS

The Trial of a New Society—Justus Ebert. Single copies 50c, 6 or more @ 25c.
Songs of Love and Rebellion—Covington Hall. Single copies 50c, 6 or more @ 25c.
What Every Mother Should Know—Margaret Sanger
What Every Girl Should Know—Maragaret Sanger. Single copies 30c, both for 50c, 6 or more @ 15c.
The New Unionism—Andre Tridon (paper). Single copies 30c, 6 or more @ 20c.
Report of The Industrial Relations Commission, Vest Pocket Edition—Compiled by Fred Warren, with introduction by Chairman Walsh. Ten cents per copy, 20 or more @ 5c. $4.00 per 100.

PAMPHLETS

*Mr. Block Cartoons—Ernest Riebe. Contains 24 drawings of this great series.
Sabotage—Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Ten cents per copy, $5.00 per 100.
The Advancing Proletariat—Abner Woodruff. Ten cents per copy, $5.00 per 100.
*Industrial Unionism—The Road to Freedom—J. J. Ettor. Ten cents per copy, $5.00 per 100.
Political Socialism—Capturing the Government—B. E. Nilsson. Five cents per copy, $3.00 per 100.
Eleven Blind Leaders—B. H. Williams. Five cents per copy, $3.00 per 100.
One Big Union in the Textile Industry—Ewald Koteegen. Five cents per copy, $3.00 per 100.
The Revolutionary I. W. W.—Grover H. Perry. Five cents per copy, $3.00 per 100.

BOOKLETS

How to Overcome the High Cost of Living—T. F. G. Dougherty.
Industrial Unionism and The I. W. W.—Vincent St. John. Single copies 2c, $2.00 per hundred.

SONGS

I. W. W. Songs (64 pages), Joe Hill Memorial Edition. Ten cents per copy, $5.00 per 100, $40.00 per 1,000.

SHEET MUSIC

The Rebel Girl—Words and Music by Joe Hill.
Workers of the World Awaken—Words and Music by Joe Hill. Single copies, 25c, 5 for $1.00, ten or more @ 15c.

FAMOUS REVOLUTIONARY PICTURES AND POST CARDS

Four subjects: The Last Strike, The Pyramid of Capitalism, Prohibition Dope, and The Tree of Evil.
16x20 inch pictures, each 15c, $1.00 per dozen, $7.00 per 100.
Post cards, 2c each, 15c per dozen, 70c per 100.

STICKERETTES

Striking sticker designs, dubbed, "The Silent Agitators." Eleven different original designs drawn by Chaplin and finely printed in red and black on best white gummed paper.
Put up in waxed envelopes containing 10 of each design or a total of 110 Stickerettes, price 15c.
Also in larger pasteboard boxes of ten of these envelopes at $1.00 each. A total of 1100 Stickerettes.

I. W. W. PENNANTS

Or One Big Union Banners, 11x16 inches of the finest quality red felt. The emblem and wording is done in three durable and striking colors.
Each 25c, 25 for only $3.75.

SPECIAL OFFER

An introductory package containing one each of all pamphlets listed, Song Book and Vest Pocket Edition of Walsh Report, value 75c, will be mailed on receipt of only 50c.

Prices given include carriage prepaid.

I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU
112 Hamilton Av. Cleveland, Ohio, U. S. A.

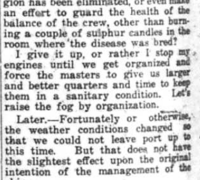
AT SEA IN A FOG

This is not an attempt on the part of the writer to narrate some miraculous escape from shipwreck. It's merely the effort of a poor, unsophisticated slave groping in the intricacies of capitalism for an explanation, of how a ship whose crew has been quarantined by reason of one of its members having contracted a contagious disease, can get clearance from an American port and proceed to a foreign port without first having ascertained that the danger from contagion has been eliminated, or even make an effort to guard the health of the balance of the crew, other than burning a couple of sulphur candles in the room where the disease was bred?

I give it up, or rather I stop my engines until we get organized and force the masters to give us larger and better quarters and time to keep them in a sanitary condition. Let's raise the fog by organization.

Later.—Fortunately or otherwise, the weather conditions changed so that we could not leave port up to this time. But that does not have the slightest effect upon the original intention of the management of the ship.

ONE OF THE CREW STR. PONTIAC.



The above cut is a reproduction of the Miners' Defense Button. All funds received from the sale of this button go to defray the expenses of trials of the workers who are charged with first degree murder because of their activities on the Mesaba Range of Minnesota. The steel trust says they are guilty. What do you say?

The buttons will be sent to any address, one for 15c., 2 for 25c., 5 for 55c. All over 5 to one address 10c. straight. The extra charges on the five are for postage and cost of stationery. At all locals they will be sold for 10c. straight. Address

TWIN CITY DEF. LEAGUE,
Branch Minn. Def. League,
Box 1776, Minneapolis, Minn.