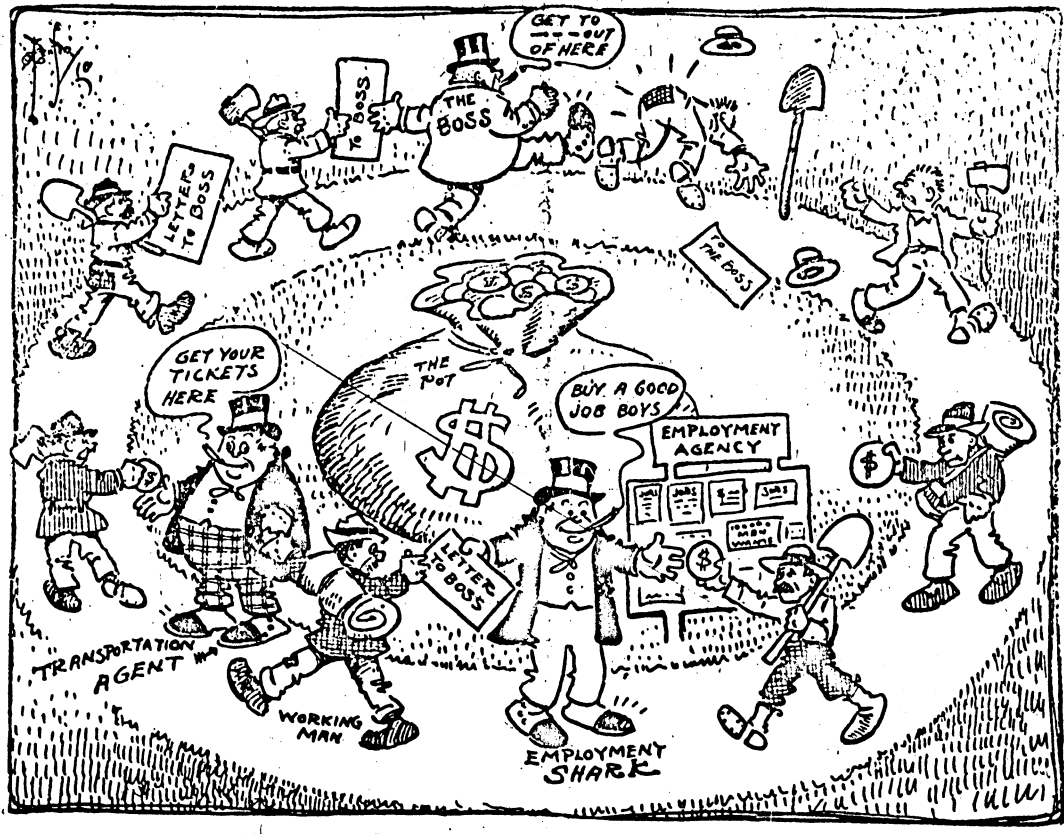


INDUSTRIAL WORKER

VOL. I. One Dollar a Year. SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, SATURAY, MARCH 12, 1910. Six Months, 50c No. 51

LOGGER SPEAKS TO THE LOGGERS

By Wm. McKENZIE. I would like to ask this question: "Are the loggers of Puget Sound worthy of the name of men or are they not?" The employers and owners of the logging camps look upon the logger no more than they would a dumb brute...



The Endless Chain - Employment Shark, the Transportation Agent, and the Boss - Fleece the Workers.

SPOKANE FIGHT FOR FREE SPEECH SETAILED

Spokane, Wash., March 6, 1910.—At last the great Spokane battle has been brought to a close. This was effected through the instrumentality of a series of conferences between the city and county officials and an I. W. W. committee. The following is an account of the various conferences and the conclusions arrived at by the contestants in this long battle.

GRAND JURY LOOKS INTO EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Labor Commissioner Maupin Calls Attention to Swindles Practiced in Omaha. Omaha, Neb., Feb. 23.—"Omaha is rotten with fake employment offices," says State Labor Commissioner Maupin.

ANOTHER CASE AGAINST EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Shark Hires Twenty-three Men to Go to Job Where Only Four Are Wanted. Seattle, Wash., March 4.—Another case of employment shark methods came to light when the steamer T. W. Lake (known to those who have worked on this boat as the T. W. Workhouse), pulled into port and placed an order with Crane's Employment Agency for four deckhands.

COMPLAINT IS FILED AGAINST EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Deputy Labor Commissioner Wagner Will Make Investigation Against Employment Agency. Austin, Texas, Feb. 22.—Complaint has been made to Labor Commissioner Myers to the effect that a certain employment agency at Fort Worth has been sending men to work on the construction of the Bartlett-Florence railroad, which is now being built between Bartlett and Florence, promising these men that they would be paid \$3.50 per day, and after the men have worked a week, they are paid only \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day.

RESOLUTION.

At Regular Business Meeting of Local 419 Redlands, California, the Following Resolutions Were Drawn Up. Whereas, The capitalist class all over the world are continually solidifying and strengthening their forces in order to more certainly defeat the attempts of industrially organized workers to overthrow their rule...

ENTIRE OFFICE FORCE OF SOLIDARITY ARRESTED.

Just as we are writing the editor is arrested. Full particulars later. The editor wrote the above just before being arrested. Since his arrest, every member of the press committee has been arrested.

WE'RE JAILED!

We grabbed us last night, March 1st, the day when the fight opened out again in Spokane, the whole press committee of Solidarity and the Free Press, a local Socialist party paper that does not press work, were arrested and thrown in jail on a trumped-up charge by agents of the steel trust.

SKIDROAD NOTES.

I pay for a job because you do. Let's quit. Do you belong to the Loggers' Union? If not, why not? Come on, pitch yourself, wake up and take out a card. Mr. Logger, join the union of your industry and stand shoulder to shoulder with the men with whom you work.

ACTIVE AT SAN DIEGO.

Industrial Worker: Enclosed find money order for the amount of \$1.25 in payment of our regular bundle order of 50 copies. Will say that we have opened up a free reading room at the Commercial Hotel, corner Seventh and I streets. All Fellow Workers arriving in the city will find us at this location.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Spokane Locals I. W. W. The Burns case and damage suits against the city are to be dropped. This decision, as far as Heslewood was concerned, could not be postponed, as the court was waiting while the committee conferred, and upon the strongest recommendations of the I. W. W. committee Heslewood accepted the terms in so far as he was concerned.

Now take it on the other hand, when the boss logger goes into the stable, he does not ask how things are going. He sees his horse all dripping wet and his automobile all covered with mud. What does he do? He fires the man who is taking care of the stable immediately and has an extra blanket put over his horse. Does he get an extra blanket for you when you come into the bunkhouse all wet and covered with mud? Does he? No, you bet he doesn't, and what is further, he tells you if you don't like it you can roll up and get out. Then you will have the pleasure of once more going to town and visiting some employment shark, to whom you pay a dollar or two, for information to secure some other job on which, the chances are, the conditions are as bad as the camp which you just left.

The first two propositions were granted after but slight discussion. The third proposition was very closely related to the fourth, and after a very unsatisfactory discussion of it the committee turned to the fourth so as to find out how they stood on that. The mayor, corporation counsel, etc., assured the I. W. W. committee that free speech is to be allowed in Spokane in the near future, and though no date was or could be set for this new arrangement to take effect, they were positively assured that it will be in short while. And meanwhile the regular religious organizations will not be discriminated in favor of, but must await their time when the streets are open to all. With this proposition established as a working basis, the conference again took up the matter of the release of prisoners, which was a delicate one to handle. Prosecutor Pugh professed to have no animosity against any of the prisoners, but stated that it is impossible to release them all at once. It was agreed that the city prisoners (some fifteen in number) should be immediately released, and the county prisoners (fourteen in number) released on a sliding scale, to begin immediately, without discrimination. In return for these concessions he demanded a hostage in the shape of National Organizer F. W. Heslewood, who was then vigorously fighting extradition proceedings at Coeur d'Alene City, Ida. The conference came to a stumbling block here, as the I. W. W. committee had no jurisdiction over Heslewood, who is employed at Coeur d'Alene by the national headquarters. To obviate this difficulty it was necessary to put the proposition before Heslewood, so the conference adjourned, to meet again in Coeur d'Alene three hours later. Owing to poor connections Heslewood could not be reached before 7:15 p. m., and the final extradition proceedings, scheduled to start at 7:30 p. m., were postponed while the conference met in Judge Dunn's private chambers. Meanwhile the committee had been increased by E. Gurley Flynn, Heslewood and Attorney Moore. The situation was outlined to them and the further proposition made to Heslewood that if he surrendered himself he would be released on \$2,000 bond and his case continued from time to time, for 30 days, when it would be dropped. Flynn's case is to be allowed to vegetate also, and it too will be dismissed at the end of 30 days. Meanwhile the appeal will pend and he be allowed his release on bonds. The Burns case and damage suits against the city are to be dropped. This decision, as far as Heslewood was concerned, could not be postponed, as the court was waiting while the committee conferred, and upon the strongest recommendations of the I. W. W. committee Heslewood accepted the terms in so far as he was concerned. The object of this was not to bind the organization in any way. Heslewood simply placed his head in the lion's mouth at the instigation of the committee and his own belief that the rank and file, on referendum, would accept the conditions jointly agreed upon. The next day he surrendered himself to Spokane county and is now out on bonds. The following evening at a mass meeting in Hilliard town, regardless of where they hail from, the action of the committee was indorsed and the street fight was officially declared off, pending the good faith of the authorities. The conference committee has visited the boys in the county jail and explained the situation. They also have indorsed the action taken. The city prisoners were released by Chief Sullivan according to the agreement. The charters seized by the police in the raid on the hall have been returned. Yours for Industrial Freedom, BENSON JAYNES.

STRIKE SITUATION AT BETHLEHEM

Schmidt started from here on last Wednesday evening. He was instructed to go there, size up the situation and if same warranted it, he should immediately notify me and I would proceed there at once.

Last Friday afternoon I received two telegrams from him urging that I start for the strike scene immediately.

I left here on Friday night and reached South Bethlehem Saturday morning. There had been a meeting arranged to be addressed by both Schmidt and myself to be held Sunday night in the Old City Hall where the proposition of urging the other different trades to go out would be advised.

All day Saturday we spent in either distribution of circulars of which we had ten thousand printed in three languages, namely, English, Polish and Slavish, and in investigating the situation. I had a conference with the leader of the strike, D. Williams, a member of the Socialist Party Local in Allentown. From what I could learn from him, it became immediately noticeable that they were not very anxious that the I. W. W. should bother with the American Machinists who were then the only strikers, but that we should use our influence with the Slavs and Poles.

Sunday was spent in a house to house canvass with circulars and leaflets. Sunday, as you will see by the enclosed clipping, we had a splendid meeting.

I found that all through the strikers were rather sympathetic with the I. W. W. and on all sides the men admitted that the A. F. of L. organizers had run the revolt, into the ground. Many expressed the feeling that it was really too bad that we were not on the ground the first day of the big walk out.

I attended with Schmidt the strikers' mass meeting that was held on Saturday afternoon where Sammy's organizers spoke to the men about their craft unions, the worst kind of rot, no advice to do any picket duty but the same old rot that if the men took out craft union cards they would beat the bosses.

On Sunday night in my speech I made the position of the I. W. W. clear to the men and the same was accepted by a show of hand vote of the meeting, to-wit, the I. W. W. had nothing in common whatever with the A. F. of L., but we were confronted with a strike and the same should be made a success. We were willing for the time being to bury the hatchet so to speak and go ahead with the proposition of getting the rest of the men to quit work and fight out the fight for the purpose of winning; that the I. W. W. would be willing to leave the matter of which organization the men should join till after the strike, providing that the organizers of the A. F. of L. would be willing to do the same.

The next morning, the three of us, Petroff of Pottsville, Schmidt and I, were out in the rain at 6 o'clock doing picket duty with about fifty Hungarians and about twenty of the striking machinists.

Through the roasting that I had given the maulers on Sunday for having gone back to work and by the picket work in the morning, about 10 o'clock that morning about three hundred maulers of one of the shops and 25 crane men walked out. We had succeeded in getting a bunch of Slavs and Poles to go to work with the promise that at the opportune moment they should lead a stampede through the shop and try and get the five thousand or more of their countrymen to walk out.

What Americans came that morning to the picket line saw that we meant business and they were outspoken about the matter and argued that it was the only way to fight. It was arranged that at the strike meeting at 10 o'clock that morning both Schmidt and I would be asked by the men to speak, and that after we got done a motion would be made that all men and officers interested in the strike should go on picket duty in the morning, instead of sleeping till 10 o'clock.

At the meeting the stage was filled with all the organizers of the A. F. of L. that could be scraped. They all spoke and advised the men

to at once start to register so that they could be organized into their respective craft unions. When they had got done one of the striking machinists made a motion that I be invited to address the meeting. The motion was seconded from different parts of the house.

But the leaders offered objections and in order to try and kill the proposition they stuck up a Hungarian speaker to address the Maygar workers. Meanwhile some of the strikers jumped on the stage and demanded the reason as to why I could not speak. They offered all kinds of silly excuses. Finally Williams, the strike leader, told Petroff and others that he was willing that I should speak but that the chief of police from whom they get the City Hall gratis had warned them that if they allowed me to speak, that I would be immediately arrested and the hall taken away from them. The committee of the men from the floor reported his remarks to me and I replied that if they wanted that the chief of police should act as censor, on what should be said in the meetings, he could govern them and for all I cared they may just as well appoint him and the rest of the police force as the strike committee, but that for my part I would not talk any different than I would under any other circumstances.

When Petroff took my answer to them, they immediately tried to compromise the matter by allowing Schmidt to talk in Slavish and Polish. To that I yelled from the floor that if the I. W. W. representatives could not be heard in English because the language was too radical, that it was the same thing in any other language and we would not be used as prostitutes by any damn committee. The meeting began to break up notwithstanding all the frantic appeals of the leaders of the A. F. of L.

Bunches of men gathered around to discuss the matter and all agreed that the whole matter was raw, and that I should be allowed to speak. Seizing my opportunity I again called attention to them of the proposition that I had made at Sunday night's meeting. I told all present that I could see the whole proposition clear—the craft union leaders were anxious that we should stay on the ground and lead the Slavs and Hungarians, that we should spend our money and energy, but that at the end a pact would be made with Schwab whereby the mechanics would be given some concessions and the vast mass of laborers—the Hunkles—would be left in the cold as usually is the case.

I told Williams that he could forget the idea as he had remarked, that we would eventually start a row with the A. F. of L. and thus disrupt the strike. That we would wash our hands with the whole proposition and leave the field clear for him and his A. F. of L.; that I fully understood the situation; that they figured in using the foreigners in pulling the chestnut out of the fire for the mechanics but that the I. W. W. would not be a party to the sacrifice.

Petroff, Schmidt and I went to the Hotel and considered the whole matter and we decided that taking everything in consideration the best thing that we could do to keep the confidence of the men would be to withdraw from the whole proposition.

We came to this conclusion from the following facts:

First—The strike had been broken by the organizers of the A. F. of L., who had run the sentiment of a general strike of all the employees into the ground, by the fact that they had from the start advised the men to be peaceful, to stay home instead of doing picket duty, that instead of the different crafts walking out altogether with the rest they had been advised to remain at work, organize into craft unions and then present their demands for increase in wages from the institution. This advice had been followed by some of the trades and as in the case of the electrical workers had resulted that the management had raised their wages and they remained at work.

The fakers had decreased the fighting number of the men by the fact that they had all along advised the men to leave the place in search of other jobs. This advice had been followed and the result was that out of a total number of five thousand strikers there was only about a thousand left in the town.

We reasoned that if we tried hard we would have very little trouble in getting the Slavs to walk out, but that if we did we would have to run the strike in two different ways. There would be one army in one hall and one in another. As long as the fight goes on the plan that it is at present, there will be no excitement and an appeal for funds would bring in very little, but if the Slavs walked out there would soon be some excitement and money would come in, and since the A. F. of L. has already sent out its appeals we would simply be pumping water to run their mill.

Taking all these things into consideration we decided that the best that we could do would be to wash our hands of the whole matter, that the A. F. of L. had run the strike into the ground and they may as well finish it themselves and have the blame for it, rather than they make the failure, but because we butted in, they would say that the strike was lost due to the interference of the I. W. W.

So Schmidt remained to address the meeting that was called for Monday night and explain to the Slavs and Poles the whole situation as it looked to us and advise them to use their own judgment in the matter of walking out. JOS. J. ETTOR.

WITHOUT A CARD.
I ought to get a large reward for never owning a union card. I've never grumbled, I never struck, I've never mixed with union truck.

But I must be going my way to win. So open, St. Peter, and let me in. St. Peter sat and stroked his staff. Despite his office, he had to laugh.

Said he, with a fiery gleam in his eye, "Who is tending this gate, you or I? I've heard of you and your gift of gab. You are what is known on earth as a scab."

Thereupon he arose in his stature tall and pressed the button upon the wall. And said to the imp that answered the bell: "Escort this fellow around to hell."

HEADQUARTERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

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Reading room open from 8 p. m. to 10 p. m.
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Pamphlets on industrial unionism for sale at the following prices:
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Industrial Unionism.....5c
Eleven Blind Leaders.....5c
Social General Strike.....5c
I. W. W. Song Books.....5c
Industrial Worker, single copy.....5c
Solidarity.....5c
Propaganda meetings held every Sunday at 8 p. m.
CHAS. P. WILLIAMS,
Sec'y Propaganda Committee.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR NOTES

LETTER FROM BUENOS AYRES.
(Translated from the French paper "Voix Du Peuple," by Adolph Robner.)

To the Working Men and Women of the United States:

Fellow Workers: In Argentine the working class is divided into three factions, the parliamentary Socialists, Anarchist communists and revolutionary Syndicalists (labor unions). Out of a struggle among these factions lasting ten years, the revolutionary Syndicates were victorious, few in number, it is true, but composed of very active members, who without getting discouraged, have steadily worked for unity of the producers.

A unity congress was held on the 25th and 26th of September, in which 50 different unions took part. By a unanimous vote a consolidation was effected, and a new organization called "LA CONFEDERACION OBRERA REGIONAL ARGENTINA" was formed.

Such was the working man's position in Argentine before the late happenings, that took place in Buenos Ayres. This city had as its chief of police, a man by the name of Falcon, a veritable brute in human form, always animated by the most hostile sentiments toward the working class. The Colonel Falcon led all the slaughters of the 1st of May, 1909, and following days, the result of which was 8 dead and 100 wounded. The popular indignation after these murders was at its height, so the 14th of November the chief of police and his secretary fell the victims of a vengeance. The evening of the same day the secret police swamped the offices and destroyed the printing presses of the papers La Vanguardia and La Protesta. Next day martial law was declared. The police threw themselves on the halls of the workmen's organizations, the meeting place of the conductors wagon situated in the street Montes De Oca No. 972, was riddled with bullets. The chairs, the tables and the books heaped together in the middle of the street were burned. The office of the hat makers and shoe makers were raided, without being burnt, as well as the hall in Mejico street, where 25 Syndicates used to meet. The reaction against the Syndicalist organizations became ferocious. The new amendment to the expulsion law permits a punishment of five years in prison for any one who after having been expelled should appear in the territory. There is talk of taking away the citizenship of all those who had been naturalized previous to this strike. The day after the declaration of martial law, La Macion, a conservative organ, stated that 150 Syndicalists would be expatriated (and 100 of those who had been naturalized) would be sent on board a warship to Fire Island, which has a population of 427 white and a few thousand Indians and has a murderous climate. The most militant comrades were arrested and since then we have not heard anything of them.

Such is the vengeance meted out working class by a Republican government of Argentine. The revolutionists, however, are not deterred from acting, in spite of the ferocious measures of repression, the militants announce their campaign. We hope that all revolutionists on the other side of the Ocean, as well as on this side, will declare their solidarity with us and will help the confederacion Obrera Regional Argentina to come out victorious from this dangerous struggle. In this hope we remain yours with brotherly and revolutionary greeting.

JUAN LORENCEI.
Ex-Secretary of the Union Generale De Trabajadores Argentinas.

P. S.—We ask all the organizations to reproduce the above information in their papers.

THAT CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.
That "co-operative commonwealth" bug seems to appear to some of our would-be revolutionists in the form of a horrible nightmare; they are sorely troubled by it, for to them it seems to keep saying how are you going to inaugurate this ideal of which you speak, and what form will it take on. They are being kept so busy trying to answer—to them—this great puzzling question that their mind is beginning to wander away from the leading problem, the organization of the working class into a class conscious body; but while they are pondering over that terrible "pipe-fender's hallucination," this organization of the workers has been going on very fast, and if those dreamers are not careful that co-operative commonwealth will be running full blast before they "come out of it." It has already begun to take on form; it is already being formed within the shell of the old. This new society, one used to hear so much about, has already begun to take over the so-called capitalist industries, and to manage them for their own benefit.

They have already told the great U. S. Steel Trust where it is to get off at. To be sure, their power is limited only because of their smallness of numbers.
If we workers, those on the outside of the movement, would only get busy, "stow their old guff," and quit waiting to see just what the other fellow was going to do, if they would get off the fence and come into the organization along with the rest, we could tell every great trust where to head in at; we could soon dictate to all others, as we have the Steel Trust.

So, now, Fellow Workers, get busy and organize. We must work together for a cause, to the end the full product of our labor. All the energy we can summon up must be expended along this one—organization. We must make it our slogan—organization, organization. That is what will do the work for us; so, again, get busy. Come in and bring the rest with you; all you can. The old system is swaying now like a rotten tree trunk, so all together, and, yo! heave! there she goes.

A concession here and a concession there, and to quote a famous advertisement for a hair tonic, she's going, going, gone.
GEORGE F. BARNES.

Watch the yellow label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. When the number on this label corresponds to the number on the paper, your subscription has expired. Renewal should be made at least three weeks before the date of expiration, so as to insure receiving every issue of the paper. Hustle for Subs.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM TACTICS AND PRINCIPLES

(Continued from Page Four.)

1909, in France several times; the latest being the strike in protest against shooting striking coal miners in 1906; the two postal employees' strike in 1909; in Italy, in 1904 as a protest against the shooting of striking workmen; in Sweden in 1905 for the use of the ballot by the workers; in Russia in 1905 for a representative government. Most of these have been successes in whole or in part, while the failures have out taught the workers the need of a more thorough organization.

The value of the political strike is that it compares the strength of the organized workers with that of the capitalist state; brings out the class nature of the existing governments; creates a disrespect for their authority and claims of obedience; creates a greater class consciousness; undermines and destroys, as far as we have economic power, said governments and substitutes the labor union as the administration of, by and for the workers.

General Strikes.

General strikes may occur only in single industries or all industries. They may be restricted to an industrial district or become national or international in scope. They have more or less paralyzed industry. Upon the suddenness and unexpectedness of their action, and their effectiveness in tying up industry depend their success. As a rule, elaborately prepared general strikes have not been very successful for the reason that the employers, being forewarned, could counteract such moves, but mainly because the workers were not well enough organized. Unforeseen or spontaneous general strikes have been almost uniformly successful for the reason they were surprises and easily overcame the unprepared and weak resistance possible.

General strikes, as observed in the chapter on Political Strikes, have been used against the government as well as being industrial strikes. The railroad strikes of Austria-Hungary and Italy, the general strikes and lockout in Denmark, the Knights of Labor strike in 1886, the American Railway Union strike of 1894 in the United States and the great Swedish lockout and strike of 1909 are some of the general strikes in industries that have, as a whole, advanced the working class interest.

We have not seen a general strike reach across national lines, mainly because there is no real international organization of labor, and also because the labor organizations are as yet mainly under the control of political and nationalist ideas and forms. The real industrial organization of labor will be international in character. It also implies the use of the general strike, as the motto, "An injury to one is an injury to all," means that whenever a part of an industry or an industrial district is involved in a strike or lockout, it may be necessary for all the organized workers to walk out regardless of racial or national lines. For a more thorough understanding of the general strike the reader is referred to Arnold Roller's pamphlet, "The Social General Strike."

Every strike or labor trouble brings out more and more the underlying principle, who shall have and rule industry, the capitalist or the workers? The general strike is a means to compare the relative power to control the social labor power and the wealth produced, whether it shall be the capitalists or the working class. General strikes have stirred up the spirit and enthusiasm of the workers and shown their solidarity as nothing else has. It has shown them the power and possibilities of united action, and as such has aroused their courage and determination to be free from capitalist control. It has helped to free the workers from the stifling legalism of parliamentary action with its everlasting dilatoriness, make-believes and sheep-like spirit. Not only has the general strike shown the workers their strength, but also their weakness, and who are the traitors or incompetents. Thus the workers learn where and how to strengthen their union, and who and what officials to throw out or retire. We learn, also, that the members, and not the officials, are the ones to make a successful strike. The general strike, to the industrialists, is one of the means of arousing the social energies of the workers to act for themselves to get more of the wealth they produce. The industrialists aim by a series of general strikes to test and destroy the capitalists' power in each and all industries; to help out off the capitalists' incomes, to help overthrow their shop organization, and along with it their political government. Thus the industrialists aim to put an end to capitalist ownership and control of industry by a series of general strikes, each one gaining some advantage for the workers or revealing some weakness to be remedied, until the workers have the power and see the necessity of taking and conducting industry of, by and for themselves.

(Continued in Next Issue.)

MODERN SLAVERY.
As a consequence of his desire for life and the means that make it certain and pleasant, man has ever turned his attention to the conquest of nature, reducing vegetable and animal life to his control. But his conquest does not end here. Ever has man enslaved his fellow; he has sought to make his own career upon earth pleasanter and more certain by compelling others to toil for him. In its more primitive stages slavery was enforced by the ownership of the man. In its later and more refined stages it is carried on by the ownership of the things from which man must live. The rulers no longer have the right to buy and sell the man, to send him here and there to suit their will. They simply have the power to dictate the terms upon which he can stand upon the earth. With the mines, the forests, the oil, the harbors, the railroads and the really productive lands in the rulers' hands, the dominance and power of man over his fellows is absolute and complete.—Clarence S. Darrow.

Workers in general must be kept in ignorance or else they would not allow themselves to be exploited. The mouthpieces of the exploiters, the capitalist sheets, but add insult to injury by calling those who toil "ignorant foreigners."

In sending in for change of address, always state the old address as well as the new. When you have read this paper pass it on to a friend.

LABOR EXCHANGE NEWS ITEMS



CITY EMPLOYMENT OFFICE OF PORTLAND A FARGE.

Every morning and all day long you can see many men standing around the City Free Employment office, in the vain hope that they will get a chance to go to work.

In case there are any men wanted to go to work the clerk makes out the tickets and lays them on the desk, but if you were to ask him if he had any jobs he would answer no. The only chance a man has here to get a job is to come through with a piece of change, and still they call this the free employment office. Here is a bit of information of jobs in this locality:

Swift Packing House at Peninsula, near St. John, Ore. About 200 men are employed. Wages \$2.25 per day. Hospital fee \$1.50. Board \$5.25 per week; very poor. Work nine hours per day. Boss looks down your collar at all times. Men come and go. Person can get a job at most any time here.

United Engineering Company of Portland. Concrete work, \$2.25 per day of nine hours. Only short-handled shovels used for mixing concrete and shoveling dirt. Eastern slave drivers.

Lumber camps at Goble all running. There are three camps, Broughton & Wiggins, Columbia River Logging Company and Goble Milling Company. Wages \$2.25 to \$4.00, mill and woods. Grub is fair at the first two camps. At the Goble Milling Company's camp the grub is poor. Men can secure work here.

Sharks are sending all kinds of men to Shantko and Deschutes; also to California. Reports from both places say that the labor market is overflooded with men.

WALTER NEF, Portland, Ore.

Seattle Advertisements

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"SOLIDARITY"

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM TACTICS AND PRINCIPLES

By W. I. FISHER.

Modern as well as medieval and ancient ruling classes base their existence and power upon slave or unpaid labor. True the exact form of that slavery changes; yet one fact remains ever present, whether of ancient chattel slavery, where the slave was driven by the direct supervision of a taskmaster, feudalism, where the serf was bought and sold with the land, or capitalism, where the wage laborers must sell their labor power to the owners of the tools which they use, that is, whether slave masters, feudal lords, or capitalist employers all had and have the workers for the profit derived from their labor. Because of this has come an age long struggle between exploiter and exploited. Modern industry by doing away with or subjugating to its own ends all former classes, castes or sects, brings out clearer the class struggle. Modern industry by doing away with former methods of exploitation does not do away with the class struggle, it but alters the form.

With the coming of modern industry the class struggle takes on the form of a struggle between wage payers and wage receivers. Out of this conflict of employer and employed arises the modern labor movement. At first but weak and with no national or international connections the working class movement fights for existence with capitalist industry.

The workers have been strengthened in their struggle by the employers being compelled to grant universal education to the workers in order to increase the workers' productive capacity. The workers were also helped in their struggle by taking advantages of divisions among the ruling class to force concessions and gain the right to organize. Through the economic might of their unions they have, in the face of the bitterest opposition from the employing class, raised and are raising their unions from an outlawed and some advantages through legislative enactments, but mainly not through laws passed but through the agitation and education such efforts to pass laws brought forth.

With the coming of the trusts and employers associations comes a change, that is, the class interests of the wage workers are almost shut off from further advancement by legal and parliamentary means. So much so, that for the workers to continue such methods means that they are not only wasting efforts but actually obstructing their advancement as a class. The old methods of parliamentarism and political agitation, too much in the foreground, must and does give way to direct action through an industrial labor union. Parliaments and laws are nothing without industry, but the possessors of industry can make or unmake parliaments and laws. Industry belongs to them that can organize and direct the social labor forces in production to appropriate the product of labor. At the last analysis this organization of the social labor forces in production is of, by and for the workers, because this labor power proceeds from them. Industrial control by the working class is in the process of making. As the scientists have fought the intellectual battle and shown in theory that the coming society will spring from the working class, so now it is for us workers to organize ourselves to win.

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

The working class movement of today is the product of modern industry and the social organization necessarily following. With the acquisition of the tools of production by the capitalist class, and also those tools growing too large for any one man to use but only the united work of many men being able to use them, that it followed that the owner must secure labor to operate his machinery. Thus grew up the modern wage system wherein the employer of labor, who also owns the machinery the laborers use, pays wages to the laborers, keeps their product, sells it and keeps all the value above cost of production. But the cost of production ever varies, and the capitalist or corporation that can produce a commodity or commodities the cheapest makes the most profit, or can capture the market by putting wages on it for sale cheaper. But the cost of production that can get labor the cheapest can make more profit as well as extend the market. Also the more machinery is improved and the workers are speeded up the greater the product and profit per laborer. Also improved machinery and speeded up the workers throws out of work a mass of laborers to compete with one another for jobs. And this unemployed army in order to exist does smaller wages, work faster and longer hours, thus cheapening and making worse the living conditions of labor. But while the employers struggle to cheapen labor so as to make more profits, the self interest of the laborers is to make labor dearer so as to let more of the value they produce. But the individual laborer alone is powerless, because he at the best is a very small part in the work of production. Besides there is an idle army of labor the employer can always draw on, thus rendering the individual laborer's efforts fruitless.

What must the workers do? Join forces; as they all have a common interest in getting more of the value of their labor. As a result of such combination of labor comes strikes, lockouts, boycotts, etc. In fact an organized class conflict. On one hand the employer tries to cheapen labor and thus increase profits, while on the other the laborers strive to get more for their labor. This we see the self interest of one group in conflict with the self interest of another, a conflict that cannot be settled as long as the employing class remain to take profit from the employed. This struggle between employer and employed must go on, despite those who talk "harmony of interest" between employer and employed. Hunger and want on one hand and wealth and luxury on the other cannot agree. The present arrangement is only profitable to the employing class and disastrous to the employee.

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

But the first form of resistance of the wage workers to their employers was scattered, and necessarily so, because the employers were small. There had not yet arisen the modern corporations and trusts. The employer being one who often hired only men of a single craft, and as a consequence arose craft unions. Again certain workers, who by possession of skill, held a commanding position in the shop could and did organize themselves in the shop into

trade unions. Of this number we find such as weavers, loomfixers, engineers, machinists, moulders, metal polishers, glass blowers, stone masons, etc. But the advance in the perfection of machinery has and continues to destroy skill. A machinist's work is constantly being subdivided and specialized, a machine now polishes metal, moulding is largely done by machinery, so also is glass blowing and working. Thus the skilled artisan more and more sinks to the level of the unskilled laborer. To further break down the power of the skilled artisan trade schools are established. These defeat the purpose of the trade unions in limiting apprentices by which the trade unions keep down competition in their crafts; these trade schools supplying a surplus of skilled laborers to compete and break down the power of the craft unions.

Moreover no trade union or trade unionism as a whole is not left to itself, as the employers ever strive to control the ideas and forms and purposes of organization in their own interest. The trade union officials, press, form and purpose of organization are largely under the control of the employing class. Such organizations as the Civic Federation with an ultra capitalist at its head, and the president of the American Federation of Labor as vice-president, with other labor leaders as officials in that organization, all of which shows us that the alliance of employers and labor leaders is to misdirect labor while the foundation of trade unionism is being destroyed, while at the same time using the craft unions to prevent any move toward industrial unionism. But no organization of labor can be permanently directed by the employers as such organizations being in the interests of the employers does not, nor cannot get better conditions for the workers, consequently the workers are compelled either to revolutionize it or abandon it.

As the artisan sinks nearer the level of the unskilled laborer and becomes only a cog in the general industries they are compelled to see that the workers are compelled to stand together as a class in mill, mine, railroad, or water, farm or whatever industry they work in. The construction of a labor union that shall be able to combat the existing capitalist order must conform to the forms of industry. As all trades or industries are interdependent, the skilled laborer dependent upon the unskilled laborers, so mutually the skilled and unskilled depend upon one another. Moreover because of the doing away with skill we cannot carry on an active aggressive fight nor even a passive or defensive one by pitting one division of labor against another in the same industry in wage conflicts. Every industry must be organized that all the employes in each industry shall form a department of a general union of all labor. The basis of the unions being the industry; all the employes in each plant belonging to the local union. In conflicts with the employers all the laborers cease work regardless of craft or trade and tie up that plant or industry or all industries if necessary. This makes a complete army of labor, so constituted as to act as a unit in all matters to the good of the organization. So whenever a strike, say in a steel mill should occur every mill belonging to that corporation, if necessary, would be closed down, yes all the steel industry if necessary, would be shut down. The railroads and marine transportation workers would likewise refuse to transport raw materials or finished products, strike breakers, soldiers or supplies. Neither would any other laborers help in any way the employers, feed strike breakers or soldiers, or in any way give aid or encouragement to the employers. Such an organization of labor becomes in its very nature stronger than any organization the employers can form. In fact it is an industrial government or administration, by and for the workers.

Whatever industrial development has made necessary industrial organization in any line of industry among the workers that form of organization cannot stop at any line of industry, because of the strong connections all industries have with one another. Moreover experience shows that where wages are lowered or hours lengthened or increased speed demanded in any industry or by any employer, or else a discrimination is made against union employes, if not stopped by the union will be further followed up by employers in other lines of industry until the abuse becomes general. In order to prevent such abuse and encroachments on the workers' rights it is necessary to protect the members of all industries. In practice an injury to one becomes an injury to all.

GENERAL METHODS.
General methods of action or organization often make or unmake a union. If such methods are outworn or cumbersome it means waste of energy. To give notice to an employer weeks or months before a strike; to sign contracts that bind a union to remain at work regardless of the other workers; to undertake long and expensive strikes; to rely upon the employers to give a decision in favor of the workers, and the absence of any connected policy to follow on in building up the working class union marks the weakness of the action and policy of the existing unions. Too much confusion and waste of energy result from craft divisions, where it is next to impossible to carry out a common policy. If a general eight-hour day is wanted it depends upon the individual craft unions to enforce it each for themselves. Worse still, unions in same or kindred industries continue to work when one is on strike or locked out instead of all quitting and refusing to handle or furnish material for an unfair product. When there were no trusts or unions of employers, the craft unions could and did gain concessions. But with the coming of the trusts and employers' associations, the craft unions are being put on the defensive or broken up. We see the evil of this separatist and contract policy among the coal miners, transportation workers, building trade laborers, iron and steel workers, textile workers—in fact, in every line of industry. The coal miners with their separate district contracts, scabs in on the striking or locked out miners of other districts, and have thus rendered their union weak and non-progressive. The Iron, Steel and Tinplate Workers have seen their strength in the trust mills reduced from sixty thousand to nothing in eight years. The same process is breaking up the Pacific Coast Longshoremen's Union and Seamen's Union of the Great Lakes. In fact, the workers in all industries have seen their unions decimated by such blundering tactics and divides to be compared. Such struggles wherein a single or part of an industry stands alone in the struggle has and is proving the undoing of the American labor movement, despite the willingness of other unions not on strike to assist themselves to help those striking or locked out. What counts for far more is the refusing to work with scabs, bring in raw material or take out finished product from that shop or industry, or feed or transport scabs or troops for the employers.

One thing lacking in the American labor movement is represented by the American Federation of Labor and the Craft Unions is a definite purpose. It is merely drifting without a goal or direction. As a consequence, it can be and is ridden by designing men who

make personal capital out of it. Also it leaves the labor movement to be controlled largely by the employers to be turned into channels that are harmless to the workers' interests. This is largely because of a lack of knowledge of the relations of employer and employee, not understanding that the employer and the wage laborer have nothing in common. A true working class union is built upon the knowledge of the relations of employers and wage laborers, and to uphold the interest of wage laborers against their employers, and to so organize the working class that they can work out the mastery and control and final possession of the land and machinery of production.

General Means and Methods.
In outlining general means and methods of action to follow in labor's conflict with the employers, no hard and fast rules can be laid down. However, we suggest as a few of the following general methods.

- First—Avoid labor contracts.
- Second—Don't give long notices to the employer what you intend to do.
- Third—Avoid premature moves and moves at the wrong time.
- Fourth—Avoid as far as possible the use of violence.
- Fifth—Use force of public education and agitation; the union an agitational and educational force for the workers.
- Sixth—Boycott.
- Seventh—Passive strikes and sabotage; irritation strikes.
- Eighth—Political strikes.
- Ninth—General strikes.
- Tenth—Where possible seizure of warehouses and stores to supply strikers or locked-out men.

Labor Contracts.
The practice of the craft unions to sign contracts to remain at work for a given length of time regardless of other laborers in same industry or other industries has been a practice that the craft unions have followed out almost universally, and none has resulted so disastrously to organized labor as a whole. In law a contract to be binding must be between equal contracting parties. Now who will be equal to the men who have nothing to sell but their labor are equal with the owners of the tools they use, when the two try to strike a bargain as to wages, hours and conditions of labor. The employers' ownership of the land and machinery of production gives him a decided advantage. The laborers cannot as a last resort refuse the bargain as two equal contracting parties could; starvation inevitably stares them in the face. It is a hold-up game in which labor is the held-up party. If a high-woman held you up and took your purse you would not consider anything you signed all right. No; you would by all means try to recover the stolen purse. Now, labor is held up and made to give up all over the mere cost of subsistence and the raising of a new generation of slaves for the employers. Organized labor, if it is to get even more of what it produces, must at all times take advantage of the employers. As a few of the instances of the destructive tactics of labor contracts, we cite the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, who had in 1901 60,000. A single plant at a time would be locked out while the rest of the union men stuck by their contracts and produced steel. As a consequence their union is completely broken up in all United States Steel Corporation plants. The United Mine Workers of America, by the district contract and striking at the wrong time in the spring instead of the fall, have been reduced from 324,000 in 1906 to 165,000 by 1910. The same contract policy has all but destroyed the United Longshoremen, the Lake Seamen, the United Stokers and the Carmen's Unions of the United States. More instances we could cite, but such, we believe, are sufficient to illustrate the evil and danger of time contracts.

Time Contracts.
A serious mistake of the unions has been that of giving a long notice of their demands ahead. The employer is thus given time to prepare and has time to get strike breakers as well as get out a big surplus so as to fill all orders during a strike period. As a consequence, a prolonged strike follows with the chances of victory on the side of the employer. As illustrations, we cite the telegraphers of the Hill roads in 1905, the United Mine Workers in 1906, the San Francisco street car men in 1907, the Commercial Telegraphers in 1907, the Machinists of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in 1909, and the Lake Seamen in same year. All these strikes were failures. As a contrast, we see the Italian general strike of 1904, the Russian and Swedish general strikes of 1905, the electricians of Paris, France, in 1907, the postal employes of France in March, 1909, and a strike of women and girl necktie makers in New York City in 1909, all of which were successful, mainly because the employers had no time to prepare. "We refuse to strike when the boss wanted us to, when his orders were slack, but waited until a rush of orders came in and he was unprepared; then struck upon a day's notice," said the girl president of the necktie makers in New York City. That was industrial union tactics. The necktie makers won completely. Give no notice, but wait until you catch the employer unprepared with large orders to fill, then make your demands, and if not immediately complied with walk out as a unit. By following such tactics the workers stand the greatest chances of success and the least chances of failure.

Premature Moves and Moves at the Wrong Time.

Strikes often fail because they are premature, called when the organization is too weak and not prepared. Often the membership is without any union discipline and knowledge of what to do as well as being partially organized. Failure is almost always the result. Moves at the wrong time is responsible for many failures. The membership, if they are to remedy this, must learn when the employer has a rush or not. If orders are slack and the employer wants them to strike, don't do so, but hold your temper and wait until he does not, when he has big orders to fill, then make your demands. The coal miners by a policy of calling strikes in the spring or summer have met with a series of failures despite a well-filled treasury. If demands are made, make them in the fall, then if the coal barons refuse to grant them strike can be called in all fields at the same time. The people then, in order to keep from freezing, would compel the mine owners to settle, and that in favor of the miners. Motto: Catch the bosses unprepared.

Avoidance of Violence.
To be sure, more or less violence will always accompany strikes or lockouts, but it is well to not let the employers entrap us in any armed resistance. Use public agitation and education and the power of the industrial and class strike. The employing class are only too anxious to use the brute force of military power; it is their long suit, and we workers are to side-step that and refuse to run up against their instruments of destruction. Our power lays in industrial control, the power to start and stop industry; the employers' power is bluff and brute force. Unless troops can be fed and transported, military power fails. When we workers quit making arms and ammunition, clothing, feeding or transporting troops for the masters their bluff and brute violence fails. Besides the carrying out of a policy of refusing

to fight the enemy with his own weapons of murder will gain us the support of the yet unawakened workers, as well as make impossible the bloody reactions that follow armed revolts by the workers.

The Union an Agitational and Educational Force.

Experience shows us that a membership without knowledge of their class are easily misled and their unions ridden by designing men. When the wage workers understand that the class struggle going on between them and their employers is not the result of any wickedness on the part of anyone or class, but springs from the nature of capitalist production; that such a struggle must go on until the working class organize as a class and take control of industry for themselves. When the workers so understand reverse will only be temporary and will but teach us our weakness and result in a stronger and better disciplined organization. From now on the union hall is to be not only a gathering place to plan and conduct collective resistance, but also a school and social center. We workers need greater knowledge of economics, history, science, hygiene and other useful branches of knowledge. The writer suggests that where possible regular studies be taken up, classes formed and a regular study course carried on. We need more agitators and educators with a more thorough knowledge of economic, working class tactics, history and science. Such classes could be formed in the winter when the weather keeps the workers in as well as throws out of work a mass of labor. Such workers, when the busy season opens, can mingle with the other workers in the various industries as voluntary organizers to learn teach and organize the unorganized. To make the union an educational and agitational one, is to create a force that can in any emergency influence public opinion for the union. Public opinion, coupled with the power to stop industry, is a strong combination. But not only is the education of the workers desirable from the viewpoint of spreading the agitation, but to give the movement permanence and solidarity as well as guard it against capitalist deceptions, intrigue and control. We must remember the movement is assailed by a powerful combination of ignorance and hostile capitalist interest. If one union has been destroyed and another made a bulwark of capitalism through the ignorance of their membership, we industrialists are to guard against that by a thorough knowledge of economics, the class struggle and class relations. Each local headquarters should have a library, where a public library is used should be made of that by the membership to inform themselves. Articles of interest in current magazines and papers, dealing with such subjects as improved machinery and methods of production, discoveries and application of science, general scientific knowledge, discussions on economics and public questions should be put in the membership's hands. The member who finds anything of note to put it before the whole membership that they may all get the benefit of such information. The art of public speaking also to be cultivated, but not in a cut-and-dried, lack-of-interest way, out with the zeal, energy, enthusiasm, moral consciousness and knowledge of the working class cause. The main object of such training as stated above is to train agitators and educators, school teachers, if you please, for to educate and organize the workers. A working class movement based upon knowledge of the workers' interest, is invincible. It was this knowledge that enabled the Swedish workers to gain their victory against the capitalists' lockout. The Volkhaus was not only a union hall, but an educational and social center, where economics and other sciences were taught. Let us learn a lesson from them.

The Boycott.
An industrial strike involves a boycott of the most far-reaching kind. When thoroughly carried out an employer could not get raw material, strike-breakers, militia, take away finished product, food, or haul provisions for strike-breakers; build barricades around factories, even owners as well as police, militia or anyone who helped the employers or corporation could not get any service or food. Mark the difference between a craft union boycott, for instance the famous Buck Stove and Range case, where the polishers, thirty-five in number, were on strike against a closed shop, while about 400 other union men were at work. When the company did not concede to the polishers a boycott was declared. No member of organized labor was to buy a Buck stove or range. Well, an industrial strike when carried out thoroughly would mean that not only would organized labor not buy any boycotted articles, but nobody else could.

Passive Strikes and Sabotage; Irritation Strikes.

Passive strikes or the easing up of work when on the job is a favorite method of the French syndicalists. While the workers draw their pay they cut down the product by slowing up, thus cutting out the income of the employer and demoralizing his business. Such strikes have been conducted on a large scale, in Austria and Italy on the railroads. All that was necessary was the strict following out of rules in the most intricate and strictest details. In a few days traffic was entirely blocked. Needless to say that a speedy settlement in favor of the strikers followed.

In the famous free speech fight in Spokane, Wash., the members of the Industrial Workers of the World, sentenced to the chain gang under a barbarous gag ordinance, carried on a most successful passive strike. Despite the brutality of the police on guard, the men did not in a week as much as they could have accomplished in an hour; two men, who were chained together, broke in four days, and that by accident, only a seventy-five pound rock. Such methods of passive strikes has its advantages, especially where a long-drawn out fight is likely to result from a walkout. The passive strike is especially effective when coupled with the methods known as sabotage; that is, turning out an inferior product, disabling machinery, thus causing a loss of time, wasting of product or doing whatever hinders production or cuts down profits. By attacking the employer's income and at the same time drawing wages is a very effective fighting method, as it keeps us from starving, weakens the financial standing of the employer and thus makes him less able to lock us out for any prolonged period.

Irritation strike also is a method that organized labor can and has used in its battles. By quitting at an unexpected time and demanding more pay or some other shop regulation, then when the employer is about to bring in strike-breakers go back, wait until strike-breakers are gone, then quit again unexpectedly. At Grandt City, Illinois, in 1906, occurred an irritation strike among the unskilled laborers in the steel mills. These laborers were mostly Hungarians and Roumanians. For three successive mornings these workers stood without hate and shouted, "No work if not \$2.00 pay." The mechanics could not start without these workers, the mills stood idle. No committees, no arbitration offers, only "either \$2.00 pay or no work." After two hours of idleness the men resumed work. At the end of three days the company sent to the employment offices for strike-breakers. The workers forestalled this move of the company by going to work next morning. A week passed and the men began the same tactics again. After a

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Ressa Bros.
POOL PARLOR, CIGARS, TOBACCO
Grocery Store in Connection
416 Front Avenue

Ideal Rooming House
221 1/2 Howard St.
Neatly furnished rooms, 15c to \$1.00.
NELS SWANSON, Prop.

O. K. LOAN OFFICE
220 N. Stevens Street
Tailor Made Suits, value \$15.00, at \$4.00 and up.
Overcoats, value \$8.00, at 75c and up.
Give us a trial. Strictly Second Hand. We've got the goods.

Stevens Street Restaurant
502 Stevens Street
BEST 15c MEAL IN THE CITY
OUR COFFEE CAN'T BE BEAT

Miller's Cafe
The only 25-cent Meal House in Missoula, Mont.
I. W. W. HEADQUARTERS
132 WEST FRONT STREET.

Mechanics Cafe and Bakery
308 WASHINGTON STREET
GROSS & CAROTHERS PROPRIETORS.
MEALS 15 CENTS AND UP
Short Orders at all hours. Boxes reserved for ladies. Open all night
MEAL TICKETS, \$3.25 FOR \$3.00

Queen Coffee House
We Feed More Workingmen Than Any Place in Town
OUR "COFFEE AND" IS KNOWN
337 FRONT AVENUE.

few days of such tactics mean the bosses realized there was a strongly organized body to deal with and they granted the demands. These workers organized in the Industrial Workers of the World shows what can be done with a well-organized and disciplined body. Such tactics disarrange the bosses shop organization and create confusion in filling orders, while the strikers are not starved by any prolonged strike.

But such tactics may bring about a lockout and the introduction of a card system, compelling the workers to sign a contract not to belong to a union. If so, sign any or all contracts, but at the first opportunity take such collective means as shall be necessary to resist the employer's exactions. In the gun works in Essen, in Germany, the employes were required to sign an agreement not to belong to any revolutionary union or encourage propaganda for such union. All workers were advised by their committees to sign anything the employers wanted, but do anyway whatever was best for the protection of their interest as workers. The result was that at the first opportunity the Japanese-Russian war, when the big order came in, the owners were confronted by a powerful labor union. We see such bodies are indestructible.

Political Strikes.
Political strikes are actions against the capitalist state, an action have been also general strikes. The political strike may be used against the orders of courts, hostile legislation, against labor or the use of troops or police to break strikes. The political strike may be also a strike of the government employes fighting to gain concessions from the government itself. The result of such moves when successful is to weaken or render useless court orders and laws against labor, prevent the use of troops or police against the workingmen, and in general to undermine and destroy the capitalist state while substituting in its place organized labor. The organized workers have been repeatedly compelled to use the political strike to protect themselves or to gain some concessions. The political strike was used in Holland and Belgium, in Spain in 1901 and (Continued on Page Three.)