



CITY THE INDUSTRIAL ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

THE I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU

Under the Ownership and Supervision of the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World

Managing Editor

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GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD F. H. Little, M. J. Welch, A. C. Christ, Francis Miller, W. E. Mattingly

Foreign Language Press

There is elsewhere a list of I. W. W. papers in various languages, which shows that considerable delay taken towards supplying the editor members who are unable to read English, alone upon this fact a bit.

about the time Solidarity was founded, its conceived the idea of a number of papers, cover languages used by the workers in this country, practically the same matter supplied by the in this way, the entire membership of the I. W. W. simultaneously with the same information, contents of I. W. W. propaganda be made avail-

to state that this very idea is being carried out sooner than we had any reason a few years ago. All the foreign language papers in our list quite news items and editorial comments from Solidarity able to do this than we are to reciprocate, they are also developing their own news revolutionary writers capable of explaining the ties of the One Big Union.

There should be a source of satisfaction to every organization. Although the founding of these localities has to some extent lessened the anti-social papers, and cut into their revenue for the compensation in exchange of the I. W. W. more than makes up for any possible loss to our English, that account.

Rockefeller And Lawson

Interesting testimony has just been brought out at the Industrial Relations Commission in New York, and to the Colorado mining situation. John D. Rockefeller stood the other day, and was followed by Lawson, executive board member of the United Mine Workers. Rockefeller's testimony was delightful. He didn't know anything about the geography of Colorado, how many coal mines he owned there; just how many were employed; what wages they received; how many days or how many days per week they worked; any, existed, etc., etc. It wasn't exactly his province to inquire very minutely into such matters. Details were usually left to his subordinates—the president of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., while John Lawson was busy checking up returns on his numerous investment industries and localities. In other words, young Rockefeller showed himself (as he and others of his kind have) as being depicted by revolutionists as a typical absentee capitalist, without knowledge of or contact with industry, except a commutator of per centages of profits. When the investigation was pursued farther, by calling President Welborn of Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. to the stand, it was found that this man is also another Rockefeller on a smaller scale. While Lawson spent his time in New York looking over his books and his income; Welborn in turn spent most of his time in Colorado doing the same thing, and seldom visited his coal mines. Thus the responsibility for Ludlow massacres and abuses in the coal fields was placed upon the shoulders of foremen, superintendents, and other subordinates who had no direct contact with the miners. In this testimony before the Industrial Commission, the utterly irresponsible nature of the control of industry, as far as the working class is concerned, was laid bare.

As well and good. But John R. Lawson, of the United Mine Workers membership (100,000), and who followed Rockefeller's, was eloquent with facts and conditions. He detailed abuses from the coal strike of 1913 to the present. He told of a twelve-hour workday seven days a week in many instances. He showed how the law was violated by the coal companies. He recited how these slaves controlled every thought and action of their slaves, planned how these Colorado mines were more dangerous than those of other districts, and gave facts about the wholesale deaths and lack of compensation for widows and orphans. Lawson laid bare the awful effects of unrestrained capitalism of the coal mining industry in Colorado. But in conclusion, was where Lawson made a mess of it—Rockefeller by Lawson held responsible for the law of the coal mines. While that benevolent billionaire could give large sums of money for Belgian refugees, and likewise for the "migratory birds in the South," he hadn't a cent or moment's consideration for the thousands of starving and suffering miners or their suffering widows and orphans. Said Lawson, among other things: "There are thousands of Mr. Rockefeller's ex-employees in Colorado today who wish to God that they were dead, or buried to be cared for tenderly."

It is this last is true, but if so, "the pit is his true." The ends of coal slaves, along with their spokesmen, Rockefeller, is not only responsible for the state of mental development, as well as of 100,000 coal miners that is a no doubt as to what Law-

son has in mind, let us quote further from his testimony: "Let me say to you in this connection, and I have spent a large part of my life in direct contact with the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, that whatever appearance of poverty clings to the company is not due to anything but its own stupid and corrupt policy. Had it taken the money it has spent in controlling officials and the electorate, in purchasing machine guns, in employing gunmen, and in crushing the aspirations of human beings, and spent in wages and the employing of men, it would have had rich returns in increased productivity; Henry Ford's 15 per cent wage increase, it will be noted, was followed by a 30 per cent increase in efficiency." There you have it! Lawson doesn't want Rockefeller to drive control away from the Colorado slaves; on the contrary he wishes those dividends to increase. He doesn't want John D. to lose control of the mining industry, or even to share it with labor; but simply to put an end to brutal, oppressive control and substitute therefor a benevolent control a la Henry Ford. Lawson wants Rockefeller to teach his slaves to love their chains! Let us by all means have masters; only let our masters cease to be arrogant and brutal, but become kind and considerate and care for us tenderly! What a travesty upon the sturdy principles of unionism!

Rockefeller is a fool if he does not at least try to take Lawson's tip. What an opportunity to write his name "large" in the title pages of Social Service, the Standard, the Journal, and Sunday school papers, as a "repentant capitalist, who suddenly awoke to his 'grave responsibility to his poor subject workers," and instead of clubbing and shooting the poor things, patting them on the back and got a hundred per cent increase in productivity for his "change of heart." But let us pause here. We are loath to believe that Lawson is speaking for the Colorado miners in general. We opine there is a considerable number of them who will present such an insult to their intelligence. Even should young John D. see the point and act accordingly, we do not expect to see the class war discontinued in Colorado. Still, the U. W. M. A. and the labor movement generally, is badly in need of a disinfectant with which to smoke out the Lawsons and others of their ilk.

"The Law of Economic Necessity"

Minneapolis, Minn., Jan. 30.

Editor Solidarity: After reading leading editorial by R. Reese in last number of Solidarity, one is forced to conclude that it is a mighty good thing that the working class as a whole is being urged to regulate their conduct in accordance with all the diverse rules submitted to them. If they did the task of organization would be one continuous Chinese puzzle.

The "start-before-the-horse" method of reasoning is also utterly and positively disproven by every leading event in the world today. In the face of modern industrial needs and the problems emanating therefrom, nothing has been so conspicuous, to the trained mind of the idea-headed rebel who knows his sciences, as the utter inability of the ruling class to grasp the real and fundamental facts regarding these momentous questions. There are the foremost periodicals and other means employed for the purpose of disseminating information and ideas pertaining to industrial and social conditions, containing absurd and ridiculous statements and assertions from the so-called representative men and women in social and public-life today. Which thoroughly demonstrates, in the opinion of the writer, that the rapid stride of modern industry, and the vast collective mind so far behind that nothing short of a great and destructive war will jar it loose from the misapprehension and superstitions of individualism. The press is teeming with examples of bourgeois stupidity and incompetency regarding a solution of the problems growing out of 20th century production and exchange of labor's product.

And here comes an I. W. W. member with a lot of suggested rules and regulations for the conduct of the workers, despite the well established fact that such a thing is not only refused to respond to appeals and systems based upon fallacious and erroneous conceptions as to what constitutes the stimulus for action. No doubt it will be argued that there is abundant need for united and determined action all along the line. Yes, certainly; judged from a certain method of reasoning based on assumptions and presumptions concerning the character of the human mind. However, as we have often remarked, progress is not made in human affairs by mind cultivation of the individual, but by instead by the stern and inflexible law of economic necessity, made imperative by the ever changing conditions of material existence. Out of this process evolves a superior intelligence compared to the primitive us and the primitive animals of the previous state. I do not deny. But from the moment when our primitive ancestors stood naked before the adversities and perplexities of nature all mental development and social progress can be traced back to the inexorable law.

So Fellow Worker Reese has a few fears concerning the apparent indifference or apathy of the workers. They will respond under the proper historical condition in strict compliance with the rules laid down by industrial change. A propaganda that corresponds to this situation, as well as all other attempts based on misconceptions concerning "eternal truth," "human reason," "justice," "equality" or divine origin, will fail.

(We fail to see where Dewar has in any proper sense in the above, answered Reese. The latter made certain observations regarding the lack of necessary system in the conduct of affairs in I. W. W. local unions. He suggested certain changes that might result in facilitating the work of organization. Reese evidently does not believe that all progress is due to the merely automatic operation of the "law of economic necessity." On the contrary, in Reese's conception, given the economic necessity of establishing the industrial union (which surely every I. W. W. man will grant), experience, individual effort, as well as all other things, will count for something in the process. For instance, many an I. W. W. local has failed of foundation, through the inexperience of its organizers, or the inability to find men who could handle the necessary routine work until a more secure organization is established. Many a worker has been driven away from I. W. W. meetings because of the lack of order and the confusion due to a refusal to apply simple rules in the conduct of public meetings. In the conduct of human affairs, progress is not made by ignoring all the experience of the past. Our primitive ancestors did not evolve away from "tree-life" by any such haughty disdain of individual discoveries or suggestions, that might help them to get more food and better life-conditions. Neither would any I. W. W. member, who has no other objects in view, but to continue to do so, should he have an opportunity to observe how much more smoothly and efficiently the union work could be carried on by adherence to some of these necessary regulations suggested by Reese. We fear this "law of economic necessity" is not as simple as it is made out to be. In fact, it is a complex thing, and it is not a matter of taking it for granted, as being always fundamentally operative, some of our philosophers apparently use it as an excuse for inactivity—on the ground that the workers are not ready for any change. What this attitude really leads to is, this: "Why bother with organization at all? When the economic necessity comes operative the workers will be forced to organize (automatically). Why bestir ourselves to propagate our ideas; economic necessity will instill those ideas without any action on our part." It may be true that "by taking thought one cannot add a cubit to his stature," but it is equally true that no athlete is made by sitting in a chair and waiting for his muscles to develop. So, granting the necessity to establish industrial unions, experience in the routine work of organization, and the application of certain necessary rules of order and conduct, are indispensable for success.—Editor Solidarity)

Reflections of An Organizer

Where is there a revolutionist in the ranks of the I. W. W. who doesn't thrill at the words, "By organizing industrially, we are forming the structure of a new society within the shell of the old." Scarcely one of our greatest dreamers, whose fondest hopes have been clustered around the brilliant conditions of a new proletarian aspiration. To form the structure of a new society! Were there ever more significant words written in a working-class manifesto? Or was there ever a greater task undertaken by an organization of workers?

When at the fourth convention of the I. W. W. the fighting spirits in it finally succeeded in eliminating the politicians, and affirmed a distinctly industrial form of organization, the real work of the I. W. W., as it stands today, was written; and here are some of us who have been favored with more or less experience in the organization, the question obtrudes itself: Are we building this new society of which we dream?

There can be no doubt that the I. W. W. has been making unceasing efforts towards the realization of its mission. The strikes, the jailings, the persecution of the I. W. W. members, the hostility of the capitalist institutions are testimony that the I. W. W. has been working towards its aim; to do so with capitalism. The veterans in the I. W. W. (if so old a term be used for so young an organization) are men who have been bravely, sublimely, devoutly carried aloft the banner of the I. W. W. by countless numbers, whose names never knew newspaper columns, was the work of pioneers and heroes. We did not lack workers, enthusiasts, devotees. Our fundamental principles are correct: our aim only to forward the interests of the working-class; our faith is strong; our courage indomitable. Why, then, that after these years of magnificent work, the I. W. W. stands today, facing unlimited possibilities in the field of industrial unionism, without the necessary equipment to carry on the work?

Now before going any further, I want to say that this article is not intended to be a "screed." Indeed, I shall make every effort to be as noiseless as I can, sincerely hoping to reach my fellow-workers of the I. W. W. that we may be equally helpful.

When I say that the I. W. W. is without the necessary equipment, I mean that we have not the facilities for action when and where action is imperative. I do not mean the kind of action that is sporadic and exhausts itself without bringing any appreciable results, but the kind that lasts, that persists, that pursues the aim of organizing the workers in industry, and does not detract from that work for lesser and easier attainments.

It is obvious from the present conditions of our locals that we failed to hold the organizations which were effected during strikes. McKees Rocks, Lawrence, Paterson, Akron and other places bear witness that our efforts were not lasting. Our weakness lies in our inability to hold an organization. We enroll a large membership during a strike. We teach a solidarity that is not lasting. We infuse a militant spirit into the strikers that is rare. We are not to the world that we are bent upon wresting the wealth that the workers create for its creators. But in all this chain of revolutionary teaching there seems to be a weak link that gives away, almost as soon as the last mass meeting is held and the strikers return to work. Now, where is this weak link, and if it is as we do not make it strong, or forge a new one?

From observation of our work, and from participation in it, I have come to realize that our perseverance is not commensurate with the magnitude of our task. The quick results obtained during strikes have made us impatient of subsequent, uneventful work. The stimulating influence of a strike; the meeting of nationalities, creeds, and languages to forge the ties of solidarity; the rebellion against industrial slavery by the workers; all these sporadic manifestations of labor's awakening, and the work of the workers on strike have been taught the lesson of organization. Workers get together under a banner, and when they combine their strength to combat the enemy; but a serious, deliberate attack upon the wage-system, or even the immediate aim of less hours and more wages, requires organization. If some of our signal victories have failed to give us at least a glimpse of such an organization, however small, then may we not defect lie in our ability as organizers.

Of course, no one, single cause can be held responsible for the weakness of the strength that we gather about us. Any one acquainted with conditions in the Pittsburgh district, Lawrence, in Paterson, or in Akron, knows that a combative circumstances have worked against us. But still our lack of structure work is everywhere apparent. The story is largely the same as told by members of various locals. Everyone remembers the eloquent speeches; the singing demonstrations; the cheers and hurrahs; the enth and songs; but no knowledge, or very little of it, is found in carrying the message into the shop. There is a wide gap between the platform and the job; there is no affinity between revolutionary speeches and revolutionary action. The I. W. W. in most places, is viewed more as a retreat from the harsh conditions of the shop, rather than as a means of changing conditions. The I. W. W. enthusiast, with a feeling of superiority and oftentimes an over-developed ego, is prone to treat the class-conscious worker as a hopeless "block." We sometimes get that is this "block" that we must organize. If we may wish, we cannot exclude him from the working-class.

We are superb in agitation, but weak in organization. Lawrence, after the magnificent battle carried on by the I. W. W. the situation was largely abandoned to the inexperienced, and their lack of knowledge of the comprehensive work of the I. W. W. "When the strike was over," said one of the men of Local 20 to the writer, "everyone of the organizers picks his suitcase and left. No doubt the organizers had work to do, but the fact stands out that the work of the I. W. W. during the strike was not logically followed by the more important work of organization. In Paterson the endurance of months' agitation played itself out before the slower, but more important work of organization. In both cases, and in many cases too numerous to mention, we were found deficient in organizing ability.

There are times when some of us pause in our enthusiasm to take a brief, retrospective look in an effort to discover the cause of our many frustrated attempts at organization. The nearer my retrospective leads me to believe that, if the I. W. W. become a real factor in industrial organization; if we are to be the workers in revolutionary unionism; if we are to carry forward our aims and our means of achieving them, we must learn how to organize. We must begin to build the society, upon which our vision is riveted, around the job at hand. We must be the organizers of the workers. We may not be as numerous as we are now; we may lose the admiration of some dilettante role-players; but the results of our actions will speak with greater to the rulers of industry, than the most revolutionary phantasies of the most enthusiastic demonstrations. M. G.

WANTED: AGITATORS—In Portland, Oregon, to speak on the streets. Terms, 50 per cent of all literature sales. No responsibilities, but an energetic speaker must confine their talks to the problems that directly confront the workers.—Frank Cady, Sec'y, 509 Davis St.

Watch Your Number Each subscriber will find on the masthead of this issue the number of his copy of SOLIDARITY. For instance, 28. This means you are the 28th subscriber. If you are not a subscriber, you should re-new at once. 26



CHECKING BUSINESS? OTHER NEWS and VIEWS

The President's statement that the enterprise has long been checked...

The President is wrong when he predicts that business will no longer be fettered just because it is big...

Don't say it too loudly: Henry Ford is not a capitalist in his Atlanta plant!

The Steel Trust last year had 228,906 employees. The year 1914 closed with 119,000 at work...

Talking about profit-sharing. Did you notice, the Steel Trust has its dividend?

Some things ahead. What? Why, the I. W. W. Harvest Workers Conference at Kansas City in April!

Says a young lady, who never studied "organized crime," and thinks the I. W. W. means some...

Young lady, we fear that your simplicity will see you into trouble some day...

It is a fact that the A. F. of L. is for fair. First...

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How About Reviving The "Industrial Worker"?

Seattle, Wash., Jan. 18, 1915.

To Social Union—Fellow Workers: At the regular business meeting of the local office of Seattle...

Now, fellow workers, we all realize by this time that we need to get on our feet. We don't care to open up...

Now this is not one fact trying to start something against another fact, but a fact that is the membership of Seattle to start...

We know that the Wooden Shoe and the Voice of the Worker are not only known that there were fact-facts against each paper...

In starting up the Worker, we are not trying to start a new paper, but we are trying to revive an old one...

And if there is any co-operation among the Locals in starting up the Worker, then we can start...

We want to arrange ways and means to raise money for this paper. We want to arrange ways...

Before our fellow workers in the West make any definite move in this direction, we ask that they seriously consider certain facts regarding the present situation and the prospects of the I. W. W. press.

The "Industrial Worker," the "Wooden Shoe" and the "Voice of the People" have all suspended in three different Western cities...

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Revolutionary Aspirations Of The I. W. W.

Seattle, Wash., Jan. 18, 1915.

Had the income at that time been divided, Solidarity would have gone out of business...

With the present state and state of the organization, no paper can be sustained from subs and bundles...

Success is not guaranteed a paper simply by the present state and state of the organization...

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The I. W. W. seeks to attend to the economic aspect of the social revolution. Just as in the European war, most of the rank and file are doing the fighting...

An uprising of the masses might have many desperate people, who desire only bread, or hate the rich; and people with freak ideas...

Socialists, anarchists, single taxers, Christians and grumblers are high cost of living may be rebels, but they are not I. W. W. members...

While the I. W. W. advocates the use of the strike to raise the standard of living, raise the wages and shorten the hours, it is not against the use of the strike...

The I. W. W. is not criminal, it is not anti-social, it is not the most essential force for peace and progress.

"The Future of Socialism"

A serious, thoughtful article, one of the best contributions to the war discussion appearing in our magazine literature is that entitled, "The Future of Socialism, from Frains, in the New Review. Like most Socialists, Frains is concerned...

Frains sees as the one probable result of the war a new and mightier capitalism, as has the editor of Solidarity, J. B. Williams, somewhat before him and from a slightly different, though substantially the same angle...

Frains would also emerge changed, while an industrialized Russia with capitalist machinery, and a new era of nationalistic revolutionary martyrs did not—just as the work of the Revolution. With this clearing out of p...

Frains warns against considering the interests of the proletariat determining interests in society. He quotes Marx forecasting the time when they WOULD BECOME determined...

He also impresses us as giving too much weight to the development of Nationalism; for he believes "a new era of national developments" is pending, if not actually entered upon already...

Frains has not the courage of his logic and that he emphasizes race as against economic. He shows us, for instance, how the mercantile City-State evolves into the Nation-State, and then into the World-State...

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The Stock Industry

Great Falls, Mont., Jan. 8.

In No. 254, Frank Hamilton again calls our attention to the fact that the migratory worker of the West is ideal material for organizing a union...

Among the reasons for attacking the Stock Industry let me mention that it is the only industry in the West that is not organized...

A second reason is found in the fact that there is practically no organization at present among the workers of the stock industry...

A third reason is the conditions as a whole are as good or better than in any other industry. The hours of labor are far shorter than in the wheat ranches...

Fourth, agitators can more easily approach this industry. It is a custom of the country (and this is true) that the workers of the stock industry are not organized...

Fifth, a single man working at average wages could support the organization to the extent of at least \$25 a month. Think what our paper, Solidarity, would be like with a circulation of 100,000...

Why not begin to do it now? The stock industry is a D. D. D. industry. It is a D. D. D. industry. It is a D. D. D. industry.

PROPOSED WESTERN TOUR FOR ELIZABETH G. FLYNN

Fellow Worker Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will make an agitation tour from New York City to the Pacific Coast...

- Cincinnati, O. Portland, Ore.
St. Marys, O. Tacoma, Wash.
Lima, O. Seattle, Wash.
Toledo, O. Victoria, B. C.
Chicago, Ill. Spokane, Wash.
Pulman, Ill. Missoula, Mont.
Rockford, Ill. Butte, Mont.
Helena, Mont.
St. Louis, Mo. Great Falls, Mont.
Kansas City, Mo. Kansas, Minn. D. T.

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