

All Struggles for Greater Freedom are Disruptive Forces

ONE UNION OF THE WORKING CLASS.
FREE LAND, FREE INDUSTRIES
THE WORLD OVER.

Organization is Power

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THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Owned by the Rebel Lumberjacks of Dixie

An Injury to One is an Injury to All

VOL. III—NO. 29

PORTLAND, OREGON, THURSDAY, JULY 30, 1914

MIGHT IS RIGHT

PLANS THAT "GANG AGLEY"

Last Sunday there was staged in the City Hall Park one of the finest Revolutionary Propaganda meetings ever held in Seattle. The advertising dodger states the United Miners of District No. 10, who have been holding a Convention in Seattle, had at the request of the Seattle Central Labor Council and the Labor Forward Movement, arranged this meeting to answer the attacks of their enemies, the Employers Association, and certain organizers of the I. W. W. It was also advertised in the Seattle Times and other daily papers, organs of the Employers Association, that the I. W. W. was going to get theirs at this and other meetings to follow. This meeting being the opening gun.

J. G. Brown, president of the Shingle Weavers, was the chairman, and in his opening remarks said that it should be the mission of laboring men to build up and not tear down the A. F. of L., and the only mission that he could discern of the I. W. W. was to destroy, and not build up the Labor Movement.

The first speaker, Peter Henretty of Mendota, Wash., agreed with the principles of the I. W. W. He said that both organizations wanted to do away with wage slavery, and the only difference that he could see between them was the question of method, he invited the I. W. W. to cast in its lot with the A. F. of L., saying they would get a square deal, and could do more in than out. This speaker got a good hearing. The next speaker was Robert H. Harlin, Washington representative on the International Executive Board, who gave a short history of the struggles of the United Mine Workers to establish their organization in Colorado, after which he tried to defend the contract system of the U. M. W. of A., he said the Executive Board wanted to call a general strike of the industry to aid the Colorado strikers, but was told by the miners on strike not to cut off their financial support, which a general strike would do.

He said there was seven hundred thousand coal miners in the United States, four hundred thousand was organized, and if they called these four hundred thousand out the other three hundred thousand would scab and take their places. He said the I. W. W., when in trouble, always called on the miners to help them, and they had always responded, and that they were a greater contributor financially than any other organization when the I. W. W. was in trouble with the capitalist class; mentioning Spokane, San Deigo, Lawrence, Paterson, and then after we had won we turned around and stabbed them in the back by trying to break up their organization.

Harlin also got a good hearing.

Then came Martin Flynn, president of District No. 10 U. M. W. of A., he defended the contract which the I. W. W. criticized so much, also the fact that the Mine Owners collected the dues of their members; saying that the members would not pay their dues to the union, and in other ways meet their obligation to the union otherwise, and they were forced to use that method to make them.

He said this constant vilification and mud slinging by the I. W. W. must be stopped, and that he wanted us to be friends or open enemies.

He deplored personal attacks, and did not usually do so, but on this occasion he must depart from his usual custom, he then commenced to attack Buffalo Bill Haywood, saying the W. F. of M. had fired him because he was short \$16,000 as secretary of that organization. He said he was at the first convention, and was then in favor of forming the I. W. W. but since then he had found out it was all a dream, it was not practicable, in fact the I. W. W. was a greater aid to the capitalist class than all the Pinkertons and gunmen that the employers could use, he repeated that when we were crippled in a fight with the capitalist class we came limping to them for assistance, and then afterwards paid them back by trying to break up their organization, he said they were not afraid of us, they could whip both the Employers Association and the I. W. W. together, he said they had whipped the soldiers in Colorado,

while only about fifty soldiers and sailors had whipped Hell out the I. W. W. about a year ago in Seattle, then after calling us snipes and other choice names he again asked the I. W. W. to at least be fair and come out as friends or open enemies, this speaker apparently invited heckling and he got plenty; when he got through the chairman appeared to be about to call on someone else, but the storm of calls for Thompson drowned him, and though he very much disliked to do so, was forced to allow Thompson to answer. The chairman and all the speakers except Flynn left the platform, amid the cries of "stay and take your medicine! don't be a quitter;" failed to get them to stay, the one exception above mentioned.

Flynn stated that a referendum vote had been taken by the rank and file of the U. M. W. of A. on the general strike, and the vote against it was unanimous.

Thompson commenced by stating that a true friend to organized labor, while counseling them to let nothing divide them while in a fight with the boss, saying that if they stood together, and were whipped, the boss would respect them more, and would hesitate more in the future to fight them; still at the same time it was the duty of such friends to point out the forces that made it possible to lose. He said, "For instance, when speaking to the striking miners on Vancouver Island, the transportation men that are taking the scab coal to the mainland, and bring scabs to the island, are helping to defeat you, and they belong to the same organization as you do. Then pointing out that the coal miners in adjoining state to Colorado were mining the orders for the mine owners of Colorado, then union men would haul the coal to the Colorado market, and haul scabs. Taking a letter out of his pocket from the United Mine Workers of Ladysmith, Vancouver Island, signed by all the officials and with the seal upon it, stating that they would at any and all times do all in their power to aid organizers with such advice to hold public meeting in their district, and thanking him for the spirit of solidarity he had infused into the strikers.

Reading the contract from District No. Eight, Thompson was interrupted by Flyzik saying "don't read that, read ours", "all right" said Thompson, "I'll read both"; which he did. Flyzik no doubt thought Thompson did not have one of District No. 10 contracts in his pocket, but he did, and others besides, turning to Flyzik, Thompson said, "you told this audience that the United Mine Workers was an industrial union, but when I am reading one contract of one district you say don't read that, read ours, and by your action infer that there are two or more unions instead of one industrial union of the industry."

After reading both, Thompson said, "They are both alike, binding the different districts not to go on strike in aid of other districts when they were in a fight with the boss." Thompson said he for one did not believe that a referendum vote had been taken and that it had been unanimous, he then proceeded to read a clipping showing that the United Miners on Vancouver Island had asked for a general strike of all the unions in British Columbia, saying it was necessary for them to win the strike which had been going on for over a year. Thompson said it would be absurd for the same men to ask for a general strike, and vote against it in their own industry at the same time, such bunk did not go with him, neither did he think it went with the audience, and it sure did not. Thompson then proceeded to tell the audience the reasons for the upheaval in Butte, he was there a year ago, and told how the rank and file could not get a fair election of the union officials, how men had voted 21 times and boasted of it and asked them what they were going to do about it, while others could not get to vote, he said it was a case of the rank and file taking the bit in their teeth, and when they did that the fakers always had to beat it, he said, "Keep on with your high-handed methods, and the same thing that occurred in Butte, will occur in the A. F. of L." He said this meeting was called to bawl out the I. W. W. but they had only succeeded in showing themselves up, they certainly had lots

of gall to couple the I. W. W. with the Employers Association as the enemies of organized labor; the facts were that the little bunch in the I. W. W. that previous speakers had spoke so sneeringly about their numbers, had created more Hell, and was feared far more than the two and a half millions members that they kept boasting so much about.

Taking up the question that they did not dare call out the four hundred thousand organized coal miners because the other three hundred thousand would scab on them he said it appears that they are not afraid to call a strike of a few hundred coal miners like the strike at Renton, a few miles from Seattle, they had spoke of; and yet there were these three hundred thousand unorganized miners to take their places, he said I will leave it to the audience if four hundred thousand workers in one industry came out solidly, if the bulk of the remainder was not more likely to join them. After attending to other wild statements made by Flyzik, Thompson said this meeting was called to roast the I. W. W., but all they had succeeded in doing was to show themselves up, and then he put the question to the audience. "All those who believe that labor should be organized on the principles and purposes that the I. W. W. stands for, say Aye," and a mighty shout of Ayes was the answer. On calling for the No's silence was the answer, Thompson turning to Flyzik said, "The vote is unanimous." Thompson then called for three cheers for the I. W. W. and they were given with hearty voice, he then called for three cheers for the Social Revolution with the same results, and thus the A. F. of L. paid for an advertised meeting, having for its purpose a hot roasting of the I. W. W., turned out to be one of the best Revolutionary Propaganda meetings, that has been the talk of the City since. The audience numbered about 3,000.

Many of the delegates to the District No. 10, U. M. W. of A., with their badges on their coats, have attended the street meetings of the I. W. W., and have expressed themselves in hearty sympathy with the I. W. W.

This meeting clearly shows that the propaganda work and the literature sold on the streets of Seattle and other cities of the Northwest is work that is bearing fruit, and undoubtedly will put heart into those who thought that the sentiment has not crystallized fast enough, and it ought to clearly demonstrate that "Time" is a very important factor that on no account can be overlooked without coming to false conclusions. It must be remembered that this write-up of the meeting can not near begin to express or convey the idea of the good accomplished by last Sunday meeting, the reader would have to be actually present to obtain that result.

And so the question presents itself to all present. If that was the opening gun, with the above result, what result will the closing gun have?

—Press Committee, Seattle, Wash.

APPEAL TO FELLOW WORKERS

Fellow Worker John Olson, member of Local No. 64, lost his right leg last fall while on his way back to Minneapolis from Chicago, where he was a delegate representing Local No. 64, at the convention. The unfortunate accident happened to him while he was waiting for a train in the La Crosse yards.

It is not necessary to say that fellow worker Olson was and is a most sincere and courageous rebel, never shrinking from a call to action, but always responding heartily.

He is today in the most destitute circumstances, chiefly because of having lost his leg as a sacrifice to the cause of labor. The Minneapolis locals have done everything possible to secure for him an artificial leg, which is to cost \$150.00.

The locals find, however, that they are not equal to the task, owing to pressing financial matters of the locals.

Therefore we present the case of fellow worker Olson once again before the rebels, and ask that every local contribute whatever they can to help get an artificial leg for this desti-

tute fellow worker, who can then, as we know, help himself.

Send all funds to Peter Johnson, Secretary Joint Locals, 232 Cedar Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.

"H—L POPPING" in TONOPAH, NEVADA

When the flying squadron came into Nevada, the masters did not think they were worth the trouble of bothering with, but before many weeks' had passed they began to change their minds. After we organized the Hotel and Restaurant Workers No. 111, and forced the bosses to come through with the eight hour day and an increase in wages, they began to get next to themselves. On the night of the 11th of July a bunch of drunks came down from the Celtic boarding house which had been boycotted, stopping in front of the Union Hall, they began to tear down notices of boycotts, which had been placed there. One man, Nick Skoll, one of the rebels, resented action of the thugs and as more of them jumped on him and began to beat him up, Fellow Worker Pancner who was standing close by came to his rescue, the thugs upon seeing Pancner come for them and began to cry: Lynch him; Get a rope! ect. Pancner seeing the position he was in and knowing the drunks intended to carry out their threat, decided to protect himself and fired into the crowd, hitting one man in the leg. The thugs began to beat it when they saw that they were not going to have it all their own way. They ran in all directions like a bunch of sheep. Pancner was arrested on a charge of assault with a deadly weapon and intent to kill; he was tried in the Justice Court and turned lose one a plea of self defense, he was re-arrested on a bench warrant and will be made to appear before the higher court on the 17th of July, but all this is only a bluff to cover up the real issue. Fellow Worker McGuckin who was in Goldfield at the time organizing a local, upon hearing of the trouble came at once to Tonopah. He had no sooner got here then he was pinched along with G. E. Stevens, on a charge of inciting to riot. This charge was dismissed and another charge placed against McGuckin; on a charge of criminal anarchy. He comes up for trial at 2 o'clock, 17th of July. Fellow Workers, the bosses of this state are going to do everything in their power to put the I. W. W. on the bum. Are you going to let them. Good soap boxers can do well here, and active rebels who are willing to fight are needed in this state. We the rebels of Tonopah are going to fight them to the finish. The masters have sent out an alarm and brought in a bunch of gunmen. Now we send out an alarm and we want all you foot-loose rebels to answer it. Help keep Nevada on the I. W. W. map and in the near future we will make this state a stronghold of the one big union.

This is not a free speech fight but a fight for control of the Job. Come on you rebels let's show the masters of Nevada the kind of a fight we are capable of making.

H. E. MCGUKIN,
Organizer, Local No. 111
Pro tem

Newspapers dated July 24th inform us that Colonel P. Elias Callas, who was sent by General Carranza to settle the strike in Cananea, ordered the strikers to go back to work, or leave the camp, or join the army.

I do not suppose this three-sided ultimatum was quite satisfactory to the American capitalist who own the mines. They would hardly like to see the workers leave the camp.

At the same time the order comes with ill grace from an officer of a rebel army, and seems to indicate that Carranza at least is ready to do strike-breaker service in the interest of the mine owners.

Two of the mines are on fire, and the company and the army officers are investigating, probably in the hope that they will be able to fasten the responsibility on some of the Mexican Workers.

The mines are owned by American capitalists.

The Voice of the People

Entered as Second-class Matter, July 5, 1913, at the Postoffice at New Orleans, La., under the Act of August 24, 1912

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per copy.

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CASH MUST ACCOMPANY ALL ORDERS



TO OUR READERS

There is one reason, and one reason only, for the moving of the "Voice"—lack of support. If the Locals and members of the I. W. W. had been alive to the interests of their paper, and furnished the support that was necessary, the "Voice" could have continued in the southern field, where it had accomplished much and where a great deal more can be done.

The "Voice," now that it is to be published in Portland, will be the Western organ of the I. W. W. If the members and locals of the West do not furnish the proper support and take a lively interest in the welfare of the paper, it must, of a necessity, suspend. The change in the place of publication will have done no good; in fact time, money and energy will have been wasted.

There is a great field for a paper in the west. There is a greater demand. No matter how good the opportunity and how great the demand may be, if every one does not put a shoulder to the wheel the paper will fail.

Money is needed right now. An appeal to the locals has been sent; the response has been poor. Locals could start out right by sending in money, in advance, for their bundle orders. Locals could aid in giving the paper a fair start by sending in donations. Members, who are interested, should send in their own sub and secure other subscribers. Those who can afford to do so should send in cash donations—it is needed.

We know, that if we get the necessary support, we can put out a paper that will meet with the approval of all. We are ready and willing to do our part. With your aid and support we can succeed; without it we will fail. IT'S UP TO YOU.

FREE LECTURE HALLS

Emma Goldman has delivered a lecture in one of the free lecture halls of the Portland Public Library, and I can imagine how all the practical philanthropists and sentimental reformers will tell of this incident as a proof of the value of their slow, one-step-at-a-time, government-operated plan of social salvation.

Far be it from me to say anything against the perfectly good people who were instrumental in getting these free lecture halls. I have not the slightest doubt that they believed themselves to be doing something worth while for the poor and downtrodden. I simply wish to point out that these halls, although no rent is charged for them, are still further out of the reach of workingmen than are the privately-owned halls for which rent must be paid.

One simple and innocent rule does the trick. It is not permitted to charge admission, nor to take up a collection at meetings in these halls.

The halls are free—to lecturers and to organizations who are so fortunately situated that they can afford to bear all the expenses of a meeting without having any opportunity to get any part of the money back. Emma Goldman could afford to use the free hall once—because she got enough money at the other lectures (which were delivered in rented halls) to pay all the expenses.

The halls are thus free only to those who are really able to pay hall rent.

We sadly record the fact that free lecture halls is just one more great reform gone wrong.

DEAL FOR THE SALE OF THE EVENING TELEGRAM NOW CONSUMMATED

"The Evening Telegram has been sold by the Oregonian Publishing Co. to J. E. Wheeler, his brother, L. R. Wheeler, and John F. Carrol, managing editor and business manager of the paper for the past eight years. Mr. Carrol, it was stated this morning by J. E. Wheeler, will continue in his present official capacity. * * *

"The Wheeler brothers are young men, sons of the late W. E. Wheeler, of Portville, N. Y. The father died about three years ago. He was one of the largest timber operators in the state of Pennsylvania and had other extensive interests. These interests are still being operated as the Wheeler state.

"J. E. Wheeler came to Portland nine years ago and has offices in the Yeon building. He is interested in large timber holdings in this state and is president of the Wheeler Timber Co. He is also president of the McCormick Lumber Co. in the Willapa Bay country, in southwestern Washington, and is a director of the Lumbermens National bank.

He lives at Sixteenth and Elm streets. His brother is a young man, also engaged in the timber business, in "an elementary way", to use his own modest way of putting it. He came here about a year ago to join his brother and is a Yale graduate of the class of 1911.

"The deal for the Telegram has been closed," admitted M. Wheeler this morning, "and unless something unforeseen happens, the transfer will be completed by next Monday morning. Neither I nor my brother have ever been connected in any way with the newspaper game, but we are willing to see what we can do.

"Politically, the Telegram will be Republican, anything but T. R. Other policies are yet to be outlined. But it is my hope to have the paper work for all that is good, to fight for the state and to aid in the development of all its natural resources and for the good of the state and the Pacific Northwest."

(Oregon Daily Journal, July 25th 1914)

We are very pleased to know that Mr. Wheeler hopes to have the Telegram work for all that is good, (but we much regret that he failed to add) for the timber business and other extensive interests. His statement would have been more convincing with that slight addition.

It is sad to reflect that there are still workingmen who will look in the Telegram for unbiased information about conflicts between the classes.

We do not for a moment believe that the Telegram is the only paper which is connected with big business, we rather think such connections are the general rule; but it seldom that such connections are so clearly stated in the daily press.

Our sisters and our daughters have to sell their bodies in order to live—why? Because you and your likes didn't organize so you could make enough to place the woman where she belongs—in the home.

Several millions of children are grinding their lives away on the alter of profits and greed in the mills of America. And still you say that you won't have anything to do with the one who protests against the present system of slavery.

Millions of big husky men are walking the streets, and are starving and suffering along the highways and byways—while women and children are doing the work. Why? Because women and children are cheaper. Get next to yourself and put the women where they belong in homes, and the children in schools and on the playgrounds where they ought to be.

In the millionaire's castles there are dogs that eat out of golden dishes and with silver spoons, just because we who made the castle, the dish and the spoon, are content to eat out of garbage cans and live in the jungles. Did you ever think of that? Those same dogs wear diamond necklaces because we are content to go in rags and live in filth.

There are about 40,000 men in the United States today who own more than a million each. How many are there who own nothing whatever? Only about forty millions. Which of them two classes do you belong to?

NOTICES

Mrs. M. E. Solomon of Caldwell, Idaho, wishes to hear from her son, F. E. Solomon. He worked in Coos Bay, Oregon, in the spring of 1913. Anyone knowing his present address please notify his mother.

REASONS FOR A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

By B. E. Nilsson

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SUPERSTITIONS

However stupefying the religious and patriotic superstitions were, it is doubtful if they were as detrimental to the interests of the workers as the political and economic superstitions with which the people were afflicted.

The workers in every country had been told that they were a free people; that they had liberty. They were taught to be very proud of this liberty. Anyone who expressed any doubt about this liberty, or asked any question about what the workers were free to do, had as much to fear from the outraged dignity of the workers as from the very stringent laws against such doubts and questions. It is not an easy matter to arouse a desire for liberty in people who believe they are free. It would have been more difficult if the constituted authorities had used less drastic measures in enforcing this belief in liberty. The workers were becoming intelligent, and it is not wise to say to intelligent people: "You are free men, if you don't believe it we will hang you or put you in jail."

The workers were firmly convinced that all social ills could be fixed by politics. They had differences of opinion as to what political measure would be best for them, but they were practically unanimous in the general faith in politics. Some of them believed that low wages should be raised by increasing the tariff, others that high prices should be reduced by lowering the tariff; still others believed in the single gold standard, or in free silver, or in greenbacks, or in government ownership, as a remedy for the ever increasing difficulty in making the small wages buy enough of the necessities of life. They quarreled and fought about these issues, and they shifted from one issue to another. The general faith in politics is inherent in the capitalist class, and was inculcated in the workers by the various factions of that class in order to secure the support of the workers in the internal struggles of the property-owning class. Nor was any of the special political issues of working class origin, they all originated among property owners, who brought them to the workers in order to get their support; in order to get that support it was necessary to represent these measures as being of vital interest to the workers. No party platform is complete without a solemn pledge to look after the interests of the workers; every politician assures us that all his thoughts and sympathies are for the workingmen. It is even fashionable for these wind-jamming statesmen to carry a union card. With all the political parties looking after their interests, and all the politicians lying awake nights thinking how they could best serve them, there was really no reason why the workers should try to think or act for themselves.

But slowly the workers began to see that no matter what party was in power, no matter what politician was in office, and no matter what legislative tinkering was done, the workers were getting poorer and less secure all the time.

And then the workers respected the law. They respected all kinds of laws. Because they did not understand the difference between the laws against theft and violence and the laws which make it a crime to walk on the grass or to be hungry and penniless. They also respected the legal ownership of property, without understanding that there is a difference between the ownership of personal property such as a watch or a hat or a suit of clothes, and the ownership of the means of production on which great masses of property-less workers depend for a living. If some one man had bought, or inherited, or otherwise acquired legal title to the whole earth, and had told them that they must either submit to him or get off the earth, they may have understood that there is more than one kind of ownership. But that was not the way it happened. The earth is owned by a great number of property-owners, and it was not so easy to see how these property-owners are bound together by common interests. It is easier now, because property-owners are becoming more firmly united, and the ties by which they are bound together are stronger and more definite.

THE REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS

The preceding pages give some idea of the thoughts and beliefs that prevailed among the workers in the past. We will now consider a few of the ideas and concepts of the Industrial Unionists in the United States and of the

Syndicalists in the European countries. The more important of these ideas may be briefly stated as follows:

(1) All wealth is produced by labor, and labor is entitled to all it produces.

It is understood that the raw material is produced by nature itself, but this raw material is not wealth until it is made available for use by the application of human labor power. The only market value that raw material can have, is due to the labor which has been, or will be, applied to it.

Labor is entitled to the full benefit of all the value it produces. Nothing is to be taken from that value in the form of rent, interest, or profit. The legal title of ownership is merely a certificate to show how the products of labor have been distributed by, and among, those who took no part in the productive labor; or to show how the natural resources have been divided between those who do nothing to make these natural resources useful to mankind.

(2) The emancipation from wage-slavery must be accomplished by the wage-slaves themselves.

The wealthier part of the capitalist class get more than they are entitled to get, and they have no desire to get less. It is to their interest to keep things as they are, and they will resort to the most extreme measures to keep things as they are. The less fortunate small capitalists may work hard for what they get, but they enjoy some degree of comfort, and cannot be expected to risk their own position in society by engaging in a struggle to secure the same comforts for the wage-slaves.

The workers have the least to lose, and the most to gain, by the class struggle.

(3) The workers must unite, both for the struggle for better conditions of work while the present system continues, and for the final overthrow of the wage-slave-system.

It is an old axiom that "in union there is strength." The property-owners are united, and it is by being united that they maintain their advantages. In one sense the workers are also united, in as much as they co-operate in the work of production, but this co-operation is imposed by the ruling class and in the interest of the ruling class. The workers have not learned to co-operate voluntarily and in their own interest.

(4) The workers must organize in the place where they perform their productive labor.

The exploitation takes place in the shop. It is there that the workers receive in the form of wages about one-fifth of the value they produce, and it is there they must strive to get the other four-fifths. The shop is the only place in which the workers can take direct and intelligent part in a struggle, because it is the place with which they are most familiar. If the workers engage in a struggle away from the shop they must in some measure depend on leaders who know more than they do about the conditions of the struggle. In any struggle which relates directly to the shop the workers know as much as anyone else, and therefore need no leaders.

These are a few of the more advanced ideas; the extreme ideas, as they are called by those who do not accept them. They are fully accepted by only a very small part of the working class. The vast mass of workers are in a condition of mental ferment; they have accepted some of the new ideas, and there is a conflict between the new ideas they have accepted and the old ideas they have failed to discard. Old ideas and new may for a time remain together in the same head, but they cannot be reconciled; the old ideas must eventually give way. This process of mental change must continue, and it receives new impetus from every incident in the class struggle or in the life of the individual.

(To be Continued)

STATEMENT OF J. J. CRYER

In a conversation which I held with W. M. Lyles, District Attorney of Vernon Parish, at Leesville, La., on the 25th of May, I asked him if it was a violation of the law for a man to be run out of a town by its citizens, as he alighted from a railroad train? "I suppose you have reference to the running out of that negro speaker down there at Rosepine," he replied. I told him yes, I did, but was merely looking for information. "IT REALLY IS A VIOLATION OF THE LAW, BUT I WILL NOT PROSECUTE ANY WHITE MAN FOR RUNNING A NEGRO SPEAKER OUT OF ANY TOWN IN THIS PARISH," asserted this District Attorney. J. J. Cryer.

Rosepine, La., June 10, 1914.

CALL FOR NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF I. W. W.

General Office, Chicago, Ill.,
307-164 W. Washington St.

Pursuant to the provisions of the General Constitution, the Ninth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World will convene in the City of Chicago, Ill., Monday, September 21, 1914, at 9:00 o'clock a. m.

The General Secretary-Treasurer will within two weeks of the date of this call send to each Local Union, National Industrial Union and department affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World credentials in duplicate for the number of delegates they are entitled to, based on the tax paid by such Locals and National Industrial Unions and Departments as provided for in the General Constitution.

Immediately upon receipt of the credentials Local Unions will proceed to choose and designate their delegates to the convention by regular election. The secretary of each Local Union shall forward duplicate credentials for their delegate or delegates to General Headquarters as soon as the delegate or delegates have been elected. All duplicate credentials must be mailed to the General Office not later than September 1, 1914. Original credentials shall be delivered to the delegate for presentation to the credential committee of the convention. All credentials in duplicate must have the seal of the local union on same, together with the date of election of the delegate.

National Industrial Unions shall have two delegates for the first ten thousand members, and one delegate for each five thousand members or major fraction thereof.

Local Industrial Unions not paying tax upon an average membership of at least twenty members for the six months prior to the call of the convention shall not be entitled to a delegate.

Local Unions and National Industrial Unions to be entitled to representation must be in good standing with the General Organization. Local Industrial Unions and National Industrial Unions to be entitled to representation in the Convention must be chartered at least three months before the date of the Convention. Delegates from Local Industrial Unions and National Industrial Unions or departments shall be members in good standing in the General Organization at least one year and in their Local Union at least ninety days prior to the nomination and election of the delegate.

Two or more Local Unions in the same locality may jointly send a delegate in accord with the provisions of the General Constitution.

For additional provisions of the Constitution relating to the delegates see Article IV of the General Constitution.

Convention Hall will be announced later.
GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

- C. H. EDWARD,
- J. M. FOSS,
- F. H. LITTLE,
- J. W. KELLY,
- E. W. KOETTGEN.

W. D. HAYWOOD, General Organizer.
VINCENT ST. JOHN, General Sec.-Treas.
Dated July 10, 1914, Chicago, Ill.

PLUTE, SKINNEM AND ROBB

"We Rob While You Sleep"

By J. S. Biseay

Mr. Workingman: Again we warn you not to listen to the I. W. W. Don't let them fool you into thinking that we are inhuman brutes. It should be always borne in mind that we are humane in our treatment of cows, horses and dogs. We have humane societies for this purpose. We never allow a horse to starve while out of work, neither do we ever send the slugging committee to beat its head in. A horse is never prodded with bayonets like some slaves are. It should also be remembered that we do not allow our horses to be without shelter when unemployed; we only allow the human beasts of burden to suffer the torments of the damned when we don't need them. We never work young colts like we do children, and any one who asserts the contrary will be prosecuted upon sufficient evidence. We wish to point out that we send the mare to the pasture long before she foals a colt and do not allow her to foal a colt in harness. Just because some women-slaves have given birth to children in our shops, is no reason for condemn us as being inhuman. Women cost us nothing while horses are valuable property. The human female can give birth to as many brats as she wishes, so long as that does not interfere with our profits. In fact, we preach to the slave women, the necessity of child-bearing, so we will have an abundant supply of beasts of burden in the future. As soon as the child is old enough to operate some machine, we put it to work and discharge the mother. In this way the child will not learn to think or

to reason. Since it usually dies before reaching maturity, it is vital that a great number be born constantly. Business is business, you know.

If you listen to some agitator, you will be apt to become unappreciative of our system. All that we require of you, is a strong back and a weak head. Next week we will write you again. Yours for more child labor,

D. GENERATE KHUSS,
Secretary.

SLING OUT THE BREAD-LINE

W. M. Witt

(Air of Throw Out the Life-Line)

Sling out the Bread-Line across the dark street,
There is a worker who needs something to eat.

Somebody's worker! Oh, who then will dare;
To sling out the Bread-Line his stomach to spare.

Sling out the Bread-Line with hand quick and strong,

Why do you tar-ry, you know that is wrong?
See! he is starving; oh hasten today
And sling out the Bread-Line in lieu of pay-day.

Sling out the Bread-Line to all starving men,
Sinking in anguish where you've never been:
Days of starvation and lacking in vim,

Will soon throw them out and the bosses all in.

Soon will the season of eating be o'er,
Soon they'd'd be croaking down on this shore,

Hurry then master there's no time for delay,
But sling out the Bread-Line in lieu of pay-day.

CHORUS

Sling out the Bread-Line! Someone is starving today;

Sling out the Bread-Line! Sling out the Bread-Line!
Some worker is starving today.

"I AM GOING TO STICK"

Every workingman will agree with one that if every train in the whole country, and every steamship that comes to these shores, and every car and every team just of a sudden stopped—just stopped—the workers could get whatever they would ask for. Why? Because it would have to be men, and workingmen at that, to make the trains move, or the ships or any other thing move, and, if these workers refused to move them, I would like to know who is going to move them—that is if it ALL stopped!

Yes, every worker can see that all right enough. Anyone can see THAT, but—here comes the "but"—what every worker CAN'T see is how it could be possible, or how we would make all these things stop. The answer is, of course, by folding our arms and stop it, that is all.

But now, Rome was not built in one day, and neither can we build an organization in ONE day strong enough to put everything that moves to a standstill. One thing we can do, though, and that is, we can make up our minds that we are going to GET THERE, and go RIGHT AT IT, and not stop before we get there.

But the greatest trouble with the most of the slaves, is that they are waiting for each other, and when any one asks them about joining in with the others, comes the usual answer: "What's the use, THEY won't stick?" And if the question is put to another fellow in the same gang, he will answer the same thing, and if it is put up to all of them they are all liable to give the same answer. Now, as far as I have been able to find out, it is really this way, that the one who says that the other fellow won't stick, he is not a "sticker" himself.

If every one, instead of saying that the OTHER FELLOW won't stick, he HIMSELF said to himself: "I am going to stick, and to h— with the other fellow and the rest of them; I, myself, am going to stick, because I know that this is something for the workingman, and I, as a workingman, am going to stick to it, and do my part in helping it along." Then we would soon find that if they all made up their mind to stick THEMSELVES, the OTHER fellow would also stick.

In connection with this I remember how I, myself, for the first time joined a labor organization. It was eight years ago in Solvesborg, Sweden. I was then only 15 years old. I was working as a helper in a blacksmith and, as there was no machine hammer in that shop then, I had to stretch my muscles pretty hard when using that heavy sledge hammer on the white-hot iron. The blacksmith I was helping had me well disciplined, because he was what is called "a good man," or rather a "good slave," so he could always get a whole lot of

work done in every one of those everlasting ten-hour days I spent with him.

I had worked there two weeks and so far that blacksmith had said nothing to me about anything, and any time he had talked to me at all it had been when I hadn't been fast enough with the tools around the anvil, and, believe me, that hadn't been very pleasant talk either. I had never heard anything about socialism, working classism or anything that way; except out in the country, where I was born, the farmers had said that the socialists were going to divide up everything, the land and so on.

So one day late in the afternoon there came a little bit of a note on the wall in the blacksmith shop calling all working men and women to know their place and join the Arbetarakomun (the Social-Democratic Party), and in that way free themselves from slavery. I looked at that little thing and as I read it I breathed easier and I thought for myself "That's something for me," and I asked the blacksmith where that hall was at where the meeting was going to be.

He looked up at me from underneath his grimy glasses and I could see a great surprise all over his face as he answered: "We meet in the good templar hall yet but there are plans of building a hall of our own whenever we get around to it so we can."

I was too disciplined to ask him any more questions, but that evening I found that hall and joined the socialists. I was only fifteen then, and in the by-laws I received, it said that no one would be admitted who was under 16 years of age, so I was one year ahead of time, but nobody stopped me from joining.

Ever since then I have stuck to labor organizations and always tried to do MY part wherever I have been, but many times I have wondered why it is that it is so hard to convince good many workers that they will get more of the necessities of life (food, clothing, shelter, pleasure and luxuries) if they organize and STICK TOGETHER—and especially if they ALL stick together in ONE UNION instead of being split up in thousands of different unions.

There was no one who told me at that time to join in with other workers, and I knew nothing of history (except about some dead kings of Sweden), economics or revolution or past revolutions—but one thing I knew was that it was something for the workingman, and something that was GOOD for the workingman, and if every workingman could realize that today, he wouldn't wait for the other fellow to join before he himself joined, but he would make up his mind and say to himself: "Anything that's good for the workingman is good for me, and that's where I belong."

And as soon as all the workers on the railroads and steamships, in the mines, mills and factories, and in all other industries can get that into their heads, and also that the only way to stop all the trains from running, and put all other work to a stop is by ALL belonging to one union (no matter what the name of that union would be), there wouldn't need to be anything like the massacre at Ludlow, Colorado, where defenseless women and children were shot down like dogs by the mine owners' hideous hirelings—and then lime put over them to burn them up; then there wouldn't need to be any Ford and Suhr serving life term imprisonment, just because they tried to organize the workers in the hop fields; then there wouldn't need to be any Carl Person behind the bars because he fought for the railroad worker on Illinois Central (but they didn't have backbone enough to get him out by using their economic power, just because of their old impractical way of organizing), and in defense of his own life made the big bunch of willing capitalists' hirelings one less; then there wouldn't need to be those men in Texas jails, who have all fought for labor, but who are being tried before the jury with heavy chains around their necks, arms and legs, to give the impression to the jurors that they are nothing short of wild animals—and thousands of other hideous, brutish, inhuman, barbaric things that is going on all over the country which would not be if the workers were organized properly.

Always remember that if you yourself will stick, the other fellow will stick too, and also that there is no power stronger than our economic power, and as soon as we ALL realize HOW STRONG that economic power is in that day we will not only agree that if everything stops all of a sudden we can get ANYTHING we want, but we will also ALL be in favor of stopping everything to get what we want—THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS. Then "We shall turn this old world over as the plowman turns the clods."

NILS H. HANSSON.

UNION NOTICES

ALEXANDRIA, LA.—Local 282, I. W. W., has moved headquarters from 1194 Gould avenue to 1248 Gould avenue. All Rebels are invited to give us a call when drifting through Alexandria. A. L. Churchill, Sec. 282.

MISSOULA, MONT.—John F. Miller is acting secretary of Local 40, I. W. W., from this date on. Paul Stock.

STOCKTON, CAL.—There is mail here for the following: John Ball, Ralph Barber, Wm. Creque, J. C. Delmar, A. Ehlert, T. W. Freeman, Louis Germann, C. M. Hendricks, Thomas King, Ben Kaller, Mrs. Ida Thompson, Ernest Veilleux, Edgar Watt, C. J. Wilder, Joe Siegard or Ziegard. Some of this is important mail. R. Connellan, Sec. 73, Box 845.

PORTLAND, ORE.—The undersigned has resigned as secretary of the Portland Locals. Address all communications to the newly-elected secretary, E. Krauss, 309 Davis street, Portland, Ore. Frank Cady.

CHICAGO, ILL.—A Jewish branch has been formed at 849 Maxwell street. Papers in Jewish and English and I. W. W. literature always on hand. All Rebels passing through step in and get the "glad hand." Jewish speakers on industrial unionism especially welcome if they are good. A. Bloom, F. Sec.

SEATTLE, WASH., C. C. C.—The postoffice address of the Seattle Local is: Box 85, Nippon Station. Hall address: 208 1-2 Second Avenue South. All Secretaries and members please take notice. Thos. Whitehead, Sec. C. C. C.

DES MOINES, IOWA—All communications for L. U. 577 should be sent to John E. Nordquist, Sec., 1731 Lyon street.

OMAHA, NEB.—The Omaha Industrial Propaganda League has opened headquarters in the Bromley Building, room 303, corner Thirteenth and Douglas streets. All Rebels please take notice. W. Suiter, Sec.

NEW YORK CITY—The N. I. U. of Marine Transport Workers has opened another hall at 32 Old Slip, which is on the south side of New York, about a quarter of a block from the east river. All communications for the N. I. U. of W. T. W. should be sent to this address.

C. L. Filigno, Nat. Sec.-Treas.

ROBERT EMMETT

By Covington Hall

He gave thee life, he gave thee all,
All nobly in thy cause did fall;
For thee he lived, for thee he died,
For thee his heart was crucified,
Ireland!

For thee! For thee!—not only so,
For all the world he braved the blow!
In freedom's cause, for truth and right,
He faced the legions of the night,
Ireland!

He was no traitor to his God,
No traitor to his native sod;
Upon his soul there is no stain,
And death like his is not in vain,
Ireland!

He is not dead—death is a dream—
There is no death for souls supreme!
His burning words will ring sublime
Through every age and every clime,
Ireland!

They could not veil his life in gloom,
They could not shroud him in the tomb;
His very foes upon him gaze
And bow in homage and in praise,
Ireland!

Up to the love from whence it came
His freedom soul shot like a flame—
A glowing sun, a blazing light
A north star to the sons of right,
Ireland!

He lives! he reigns! He's with us yet!
His spirit's star has never set!
Wherever freedom's flag's unfurled
The soul of Emmett thrills the world,
Ireland, O, Ireland!

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ECONOMIC SOCIALISM OR STATE CAPITAL SOCIALISM, WHICH?

FORMATION AND INTERNATIONALIZATION OF SYNDICALISM

Industrial unionism in Syndicalism does not mean mass-organization. A mass-organization would become unwieldy as soon as it reached any size, and be destroyed as were the Knights of Labor in the United States. Syndicalist follows the economic formation from the simple to the complex. First, the trades organize, but a trade soon finds that it is as helpless as the single individual; then the trades in the same industry unite and form industrial organizations; again, these organizations close up their ranks in every locality, in what is called bourses, kartels or city central committees. Second, then this double-organized body closes up its ranks nationally in a general organization. Third, the national organization unites internationally with all other organizations that stand for the same principle.

We then have here an organization that is capable of fighting efficiently both nationally and locally, and when it has gained the control of the economic field it is capable of carrying on the industries, not merely to carry them as they were, but to carry them on according to their own best interests. The workers then will not carry on the industries as something disagreeable, that has to be done, but in the spirit of functions that are natural and joyous, because the industries call for healthy exercises and the application of the talents of each worker, as each worker will be left free to select his work, equipped also with education along the line that he has selected himself. We shall then have economic socialism, which is the opposite pole of state socialism.

The syndicalists depend upon direct actions and class solidarity. They centralize their power by **solidarity**, and not by **autocracy**. The power of solidarity is developed by education, the power of autocracy is developed by ignorance. The syndicalists therefore not merely have the task of organizing themselves, but that of educating themselves, therefore they have the anti-military propaganda, the neomalthusian propaganda, and the anti-state-socialist propaganda, and the child-education propaganda, and others. The workers can only gain control of the means of life by developing the power to take it. This power is developed by organizations that can fight efficiently, as we have already seen. And this efficiency begins in the general strike. The strike in a shop, factory or mine **must be general**. Anyone that remains at work in a shop where there is a strike, is a scab, and an organization whose members remain at work is a plain scab organization. Syndicalism stands for the general strike all the way through. It closes up a shop where it has control, in a city, or a whole industry, and if need be, all the industries, or in as many industries as is necessary to bring the enemy to terms. The greatest weapon in the hands of the workers is the general strike. Some people have an idea that the general strike is always national. This is wrong. It is the direct weapon that the workers must use always to be sure of any victory. The national general strike ought to be the national general victory for the workers, which can only come after the accumulated strength of the victories of the general shop strikes and general district strikes.

The socialist party is against this method of warfare, because it leaves the party without a mission—that of freeing the workers via the capitalist parliament. It promulgates the general national strike to get the vote, but not to get any economic power; then, in the language of the German socialist politicians, it becomes "a general craze."

The Confederation General du Travail was formed in 1895, but the necessity of industrial unionism and the general strike came clearly to the front, first in 1902. So that Syndicalism is really only as old as our present century. And during that time it has spread into nearly all the civilized countries, even in Russia. Where it has not formed independent syndicalist organizations it is busy fighting within the old movement to get it to organize on co-ordinating principles and to use direct tactics. In some countries it can work to better advantage within the old, and in other countries it can work better forming independent organizations. Where the autocracy within the old organization is weakened by the corresponding awakening of the rank and file, the syndicalists can work to good advantage in the old. Where this is not possible, they form syndicalist organizations, and these organizations in Spain, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Sweden, and other countries are steadily growing.

The first Syndicalist Congress was held in London, England, in the summer of 1913, where fifteen countries were represented, and an international correspondence bureau formed, as a preparatory to a new, red, international organization. The Syndicalist representative

from Argentina, Bernardo, declared that before long South America would have 600,000 syndicalists in the field.

Much has been made of the fact that the C. G. T. of France was not officially represented at this congress. But the C. G. T. belongs to the old International Secretariat, which it had dropped out of once and then rejoined; it consequently felt that it could not drop out again to be represented at the first congress of the syndicalists. Besides the syndicalists in France have to fight with many reactionary forces in their own country.

At the International Syndicalist Congress, syndicalist tactics and form of organization in its autonomous structure was declared for and upheld.

In the United States syndicalism has been rather unfortunate. The Industrial Workers of the World are the rebellious workers, and they stand for the syndicalist tactics and principles, and a great many of them understand the syndicalist's form of organization, but a great many of them do not. A great many of them do not see how an organization can be carried on without an executive committee that has authority over the workers in their arrangement with their bosses on the economic field. Especially is this true of the textile workers in the manufacturing centers of the eastern part, because they are mostly workers that have come from the backwoods countries of Europe, and then run into the factories in America, where they do not even have the means and the time to learn the language of the country, and it is no wonder that they are not capable of being benefitted by the experiences of the organized workers who have learned the folly of centralized authority, though this is not true of a god many of them, especially the Italians.

In the western part of America, on the other hand, the rebellious class-conscious workers are fully aware of the necessity of the syndicalist form of organization, and, inasmuch as the I. W. W. is formed on the old centralized basis, with an executive, autocratic board, there is a fight within the organization between the so-called centralists and the de-centralists, or between the old and the new. But what is this old form doing in a new revolutionary organization? Thereupon hangs a tale.

In the United States, the socialist parties never could make an inroad in the American Federation of Labor. In that respect the conservative labor leader in America is different from the conservative labor leader in Europe, who always hitches up to the socialist parties to work out his aspirations to get into the parliament. The conservative labor leader in America could much quicker work out his aspirations by staying out of the socialist parties that are both comparatively small. The socialist parties in their smallness retained more or less their revolutionary character, and therefore gathered the revolutionary workers unto themselves. When the time was ripe for a revolutionary labor organization in America, it was put forth by the revolutionary socialists, who innocently retained their state social psychology, and wrote it into their I. W. W. constitution, even to the point of being a political organization at the same time that it was an economic organization. It was the much talked about two-legged animal, imported from the old ideas of Europe. But very soon the rebels in the west became aware that the two legs wanted to walk in opposite directions, and decided to amputate the political leg; the operation was duly performed that split the organization, and now we have two I. W. W.'s. The one retaining the political leg, however, has mostly confined itself to scolding the one that discarded it. The I. W. W., free from its political dominance now made some good fights and really began to grow, when several incidents occurred that showed the power of the Executive Board.

The I. W. W. centralist is usually a very inconsistent being. He usually, in common with the socialist party principle and the conservative labor leader, claims that a centralized form of organization is necessary, because the bosses are centralized, and then in the very next breath he will deny that the I. W. W. is centralized, because the revolutionary workers will not allow the Executive Board to interfere with them on the economic field. But if the revolutionary workers will not allow such interference, why have a board that has the power to interfere?

The I. W. W. constitution says: "The decisions of the General Executive Board on all matters pertaining to the organization or any subordinate part thereof shall be binding, subject to an appeal to the next convention, or to the entire membership of the organization, the expenses of submitting a matter to referendum shall be borne by the organization taking the appeal." A fine chance a bunch of local workers would have in going to such time and expense to get justice from their own created, autocratic board. Again: "In case the mem-

bers of any subordinate organization of the I. W. W. are involved in strike, regularly ordered by the organization or the G. E. B., or involved in a lockout, if in the opinion of the G. E. B. it becomes necessary to call out any other union, or unions, or organization, they shall have full power to do so." Now if this was a standing order from the organization to call out all the workers necessary to win a strike, it would be fine. But notice how this paragraph hedges around the authority of the autocracy of the board. It says, "if in their opinion it is necessary." Thus leaving them to decide the matter, and to refuse to call out the necessary workers, if it suits them. It is surprising how phrasing can be made to take the power out of the hands of the workers themselves. Again: "Any agreement entered into between the members of a local union, or organization, and their employers, as a final settlement of any difficulty or trouble, which may occur between them, shall not be considered valid or binding until the same shall have been approved by the General Executive Board of the I. W. W."

If this is not centralized autocratic power, we would like to know what it is? It is certainly the very essence of autocracy, where a union has absolutely no right to decide for itself on what terms it shall make peace with its economic boss. Here the sudden strike and the intermittent strike becomes impossible, unless the autocratic board is willing to let the workers act for themselves. Again the General Secretary, the General Organizer and the Executive Board members actually have both voice and vote in the convention; in other words, the Executive Board can sustain its own action by its votes, something that is even unheard of in conservative bodies, far less in what is called a revolutionary organization. Those that sustain that kind of autocracy and expect to build a new civilization upon it, may just as well give it up they are born too late. Industrial unionism built on that kind of organization must be sustained by the same kind of minds that sustain industrial unionism in the old, conservative organizations. It can't be done.

The I. W. W.'s have inherited this absurd constitution from the state socialists psychology, and the sooner they get rid of it, the better for them. The I. W. W. preamble is plainly syndicalist; why not constitute the organization on the syndicalist principle, and place the I. W. W. in line with the syndicalist movement of the world?

The I. W. W. contains some of the best working class material, and if the class conscious workers in America would rally around the syndicalist principles to establish the organization on the right basis the I. W. W. would undoubtedly have a great future before it. The confusion that all this has caused would disappear, the principles would be made clear, and an organization worthy the workers and the freedom for which they are fighting would be in the field that would begin to build a free society from the bottom up. It is up to the workers in America to study this proposition and then go ahead.

(To be continued)

AUTHORITY

By Fred Freyr

Private property in land and other means of life is busy digging its grave. The workers of the world shall not fail to give it a splendid funeral for with its death a new, almost dazzling vista of progress, opens up before the race.

Life in its fair human form can not much longer block its evolution towards a more economical social organization by money-mad inefficient, especial clippers of dividends, irresponsible stock gamblers in human life, hereditary rulers, who derive a false and murderous authority from the private possession of the earth.

But when the authority of money power has died with the principle that begat it, will the all leadership—only another name for authority—be dead? Not unless the law of gravity cease to move the universe from world-systems down to man and the tiniest atom.

On the contrary, leadership only then will come into its own, when it shall have been freed through a class conscious working class from the corrupting power to coerce and force men into slavish obedience by the crack of the hunger whip in the hand of private property. With the return of collective ownership in the means of life leadership by a natural process gravitates to the men of quality, merit achievement (not in grabbing), who even now are in the vanguard of mankind, tho hampered in their intents and actions as well as bribed, bought and prostituted by a coarse materialistic plutocracy.

Of course the men of intellect will have to step down from their intellectual heavens into the midst of us common workers; they will

have to momentarily give up and sacrifice part of their life and thus pay the price for the sin of racial ignorance, as the effect of which we behold a society, rent by class-conflict. Then we shall see what is true human greatness—if there be any such thing. Hard as it may be for some intellectuals to help wipe out and forget the dividing-line between their own highly developed intellectual life and the middle life of the toiling masses, they have no other choice but to teach and educate. The class-whip of hunger swings no longer. With it has gone the possibility of living their life at the expense of the slave's. There is nothing to compel followership but the inherent moral and mental worth of an idea or of the man who expresses it, nothing but the ability to educate and organize for doing the world's work on the basis of common understanding.

Selfish seclusion and exclusion of the few then is no longer possible at the cost of the many. The lives of the intellectuals will be bound up with all, all are interdependent. None can widen his mental horizon without widening that of all. Today that is quite different, quite opposite. Private property allows of it. Therefore it is a vicious principle, that must be destroyed.

Many highly "cultured" dislike coming down into their own. What does life care for them. Life cares for the race as a whole, wants us to move forward and upward in union and solidarity, wants us to share burden and pleasure alike, in common wants us to live a sane and healthy union of physical and mental life both as individuals and as social organism. Disobey this natural law, upset the social balance by cleaving social life in twain an intense intellectual life of the few on one side at the cost of the brutified many on the other, and life will soon restore social equilibrium by bringing back to earth the flying few or their heads.

All revolutions are but life's admonitions, that the race is a whole, that it must move as a whole, that it must have the benefit of learning from mistakes as a whole, that it must get hard knocks and gain experimental knowledge as a whole, that it must progress or retrograde as a whole—an ever repeated bloody plea for solidarity.

Men move because they live. We act under stress of necessity. To understand necessity and obey her command before she kicks us in the back is the characteristic of the man over the slave. But there is no short cut toward that ability. Knocking and being knocked around on the waves of life gives knowledge to those that survive. With increasing knowledge they are enabled to steer clearer and clearer the ship of individual and social life, understand more distinctly the voice of dominant necessity and finally obey nature's laws because they understand. Now we are forced to obedience through hunger without and against our understanding. Complete mental stagnation would result but for the overthrow of the wages system. Human progress and growth of mind are synonymous. Mind grows not unless acting and being acted upon. The institution of private property is death to the further progress of the race, because it excludes the industrial masses from sharing any responsibilities of socio-economical life but those on the lowest animal plane of paying the fiddler through starving and dying.

The masters are like their god; they do not want us to eat from the fruit of knowledge. They know why. So do class conscious workers. Therefore we educate and organize, organize and educate for power in the union to take from them the burden? or running the industries therewith burying forever authority of money power.

How far are we yet from the goal? How soon shall we reach it? It depends upon us. So soon as we are organized in One Big Union, so soon as we have solidarity, the world is ours.

When are you ready to join?

Now is the time.

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