

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. 30.

PORTLAND, OREGON, THURSDAY, AUGUST 6, 1914

MIGHT IS RIGHT



JOHN REED, War Correspondent

## Colorado Direct Action

John Reed

Just as the working-class has finally agreed that industry shall be socialized, and is only divided on the question of whether it shall be done by economic or political action, along comes the Colorado civil war and relegates the discussion temporarily to the back yard. It is the kind of strike that used to happen in 1830; and to us, who thought that the birth of Syndicalism marked the close of the Trades-Union period in the history of Labor, it has the effect that a Megalosaurus would have if one appeared on Washington street.

For it doesn't belong to modern times at all. The Colorado strike was the strike of workmen for the right to organize. And what is more remarkable, they had not taken the initiative in organizing; they had been driven—forced into it, by the most barbarous cruelty, the most cynical disregard for the rights of human beings since the day of Robert Owen and the early English cotton-mill riots. The miners were carefully chosen by the mine-owners from among those European races which submitted most patiently to oppression; in fact, the Sociological Department of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. was mainly occupied in studying the most docile races of the world, and these people were imported to fill the mines. Furthermore, in order that there should never be a chance for them to get together, each mine-superintendent saw to it that many different nationalities were employed in the same place, so that they could not communicate with each other; and they were discouraged from learning English. Whenever one nationality began to be numerous in one mine, many of them were discharged until the number equalled that of other nationalities. Racial prejudices and antipathies were encouraged by the mine-superintendents; for example, after appealing to the State Bureau of Labor to aid them to enforce the law, the men of a mine would be allowed to designate a check-weighman. Suppose he was a Pole; the superintendent would say to the Italians, "That Pole is cheating you fellows in favor of his own countrymen. You ought to have an Italian check-weighman." Then he'd tell the other nationalities the same thing, and would end by fomenting such race jealousy that the workers would voluntarily give up their check-weighman and go on being cheated by their bosses.

There was nothing in the least radical about that strike. It was conducted by ignorant, peaceable men, perhaps the most patient under capitalistic wrong that there are anywhere in the world. They had been brought in as strike-breakers in the great 1903 strike; they did not know what Union meant; they did not understand solidarity; they believed, even after Ludlow, that their bosses were half Gods; and they came from countries where the Law is almost divine. You can realize, then that there must have been terrific pressure on them to drive these people into revolt.

Now, knowing how far the education of Labor in general has gone, we take it for granted that the master-class has also been getting a little wisdom. We know, for example, that it was the MacNamara case which scared the Bull Moose Party into Life, with its talk about Social Justice. But in Colorado the master-class did things that it has not dared to do in public for fifty years—the kind of things that were done in West Virginia and Michigan, where news could be carefully suppressed. In Colorado,—where the mining towns are private property, and the stores, saloons and lodgings are so arranged as to cost a workman his entire wages, so that he is in virtual peonage to the company all his life,—it was cheaper to kill men in mine accidents than to take the most elementary precautions for their safety. This was done so openly, so callously, that the coroners were appointed company undertakers, and officials of the companies owned stock in the undertak-

ing establishments! The State Mine Inspector, armed with the authority of the Governor, was actually refused permission to make his inspection sometimes, and when he did succeed, his recommendations were openly disregarded. Then some disastrous accident would follow, the coroner would report that "the causes of said accident are unknown," and the company would refuse to state even how many men were killed. Not content with bleeding the miners for every penny they ever made, in rent, taxes, charges for a doctor whom they did not use and a preacher whom they never heard, the companies actually cheated them half a ton at a time on the amount of coal they mined,—and in one mine, secretly docked the cars of every union man and used the stolen to pay spies to discover union sympathizers; who were discharged. The workers had no vote; they had no right to free speech, free assembly, or even opinions that did not agree with their masters. I want to emphasize right here the fact that five out of seven of the strike demands were already guaranteed by State laws, which the operators did not obey, and never had.

It was a mere strike for better wages and conditions, and yet it was more than that. Ten thousand walked out of the mines on September 23d. They went out peaceably; but the operators had already recruited an army of gunmen and thugs, and they threw the striking miners and their families out of the company houses into a terrible blizzard, where many women and children died of exposure. They followed the strikers down onto the plain where their tent-colonies stood in the snow, and harassed them by shooting from the hills and by murders on the city streets. And when this kind of treatment finally broke down the barriers of race and prejudice, and the strikers became one people for the defence of their homes and families, the operators called the State Militia into the field to deal them a crushing blow.

I have plenty of evidence to prove that the mine-guard militia planned the arson and slaughter at Ludlow many days before,—that they were, in fact, obeying orders from "higher up." But they had a terrible surprise. For these meek and docile foreigners stiffened like steel and met them shot for shot and death for death. The fight at Ludlow ought to be called the Lexington of Labor; for there these untrained, badly-armed miners discovered that they could stand up against the ranks of trained soldiers.

Not only that. The days that followed showed that the miners could whip the militia, and if the truce had not been called when it was, the Colorado National Guard would never have left the Ludlow district alive. I think that is the first time in labor history that unskilled workers defeated the police force of the State, a thing which ought to be possible in almost every great industrial strike. And the miners' army received astonishing proofs of the revolutionary spirit throughout the ranks of labor. More than 30,000 men volunteered to march from all parts of the United States, and thousands of dollars to buy rifles were openly subscribed.

The Colorado strike will probably be lost. Because, as I have pointed out, without goading to the point of desperation the Colorado miners won't fight. And they are under the leadership of the United Mine-Workers, who are as conservative in their demands as other members of the A. F. of L.

But the value of this demonstration of fierce resistance to oppression lies in its lesson to Industrial Democrats. To my mind, it disposes forever of the opposition to direct action as a question of tactics. It proves, as Ulster does, as even the militants prove in England, that violence is an effective, even a legitimate, way to gain immediate ends. And that Fear is the most powerful incentive to thought yet invented for the masters.

### THE I. W. W. SHOWS THE WAY

W. D. H.

The following clipping from the United Mine Workers Journal of July 23, 1914, admits treason of U. M. W. of A. officials against the working class and at the same time acknowledges the efficacy of I. W. W. methods. The Journal says:

"The men who are leading the miners of Eastern Ohio, or, rather, a part of them, into impossible situations, are the only real enemies we have to fear. These disruptionists would make impossible the joint agreement movement; would once more throw us back into the condition of industrial anarchy that prevailed before the inception and recognition of the joint agreement movement."

"As soon as the situation is brought under control of the local authorities, it is anticipated that the effort to make a settlement will be renewed. It is believed that the action of the miners' union in giving its complete support to the campaign against the I. W. W. element will have its effect. During the present week the district details of the State agreement will be settled in the local meetings, and the coal mines of five districts, representing more than half of the State, can be reopened after suspension of four months.

"With pumps and engines at work in practically all of the Jefferson and Belmont county mines today, according to word received by State Mine Commissioner John Roan, the whole district was quiet today. It was believed by officials here that the trouble is practically ended."

In the early part of June, in response to a telegram, Joseph J. Ettor, National Organizer I. W. W., went to Ohio and held a series of great mass meetings at Bellaire and vicinity. The coal miners had then been out on strike nearly three months. Since April and up to date the strikers have received but \$6.75 benefits. During this long period of slow starvation, the officials of the union were vigorously upholding the provisions of a past agreement.

"In case of either local or general suspension of work, either at the expiration of this contract or otherwise, the engineers, required by the company, shall not suspend work, but shall when mining is suspended, fully protect the Company's property under their care and shall operate fans and pumps and lower and hoist such men or supplies as may be required to keep up steam at the company's coal plant. It is understood and agreed that the operators will not ask them to hoist any coal produced by non-union labor for sale on the market.

"In case of either local or general suspension of work either at the expiration of this contract or otherwise, the foregoing shall apply with equal force to all necessary firemen and pumpmen."

The striking starving miners heard a different message when they listened to Ettor, he urged the necessity of making the strike general and advised that the mines be closed down tight, engineers, pumpmen, firemen and all must strike, it was the slogan of solidarity. Another eruption of Mount Sabotage, County Authorities, Mine Owners and Union Officials were horror stricken at this iconoclastic blow directed at the sacred altar of contracts. Thus the I. W. W. shows the way. When the I. W. W. is crushed by the courts, the officials of U. M. W. of A. with the mine operators will rivet the chains of contract on the poor slaves of the mines for another term of years. Lead on, kindly light.

"Papa: What is meant by the average man?"

The average man, my son, is a person who is waked up every morning by an alarm clock, eats a cold "hump" for his mid-day meal, catches a trolley to go home, to his mortgage, and never displays the slightest interest in nor knows there is a Class Struggle—fails to realize that he is a victim of a vicious system and calls himself a true patriot for not having brains enough to know that a workingman has no country, no home, no flag and no rights.

## The Mexican Revolution

F. V. A.

John Reed, of the Metropolitan Magazine, is perhaps the best informed and most truthful reporter who has covered the war in Mexico. He said in his address before the I. W. W. here in Portland:

"I desire to set forth the different character of the revolution in Mexico and that in our own country in Colorado. Neither of these have the elements of modernity in them. Both are primitive revolutions. The people in neither are dominated by the ideals of economic freedom or of industrial democracy. The Mexicans wish to win back the land which has been stolen from them—it is a peasant revolt. The miners in Colorado were fighting for a bare existence—it was a struggle for self-preservation.

"In order to understand the Mexicans, we must understand the "Manana" feeling. The Mexicans have never worked hard, do not see why they should work so, and will not work so. They live in an age relatively 700 years behind us—the age of folk-lore, folk-music and folk-dances. With freedom and leisure, their lives naturally bubble over in poetry as fine as that which preceded the Elizabethans, in the earthy sweetness of the folk-song and the grace of the folk-dances. They have not had the work habit drilled into them till their lives are reduced to a streak of dull drab, as have most American toilers.

"But I must qualify my statement that the Mexican will not work. He will not work for the foreign capitalists and concessionaries who have deprived him of his heritage. He seldom gets started much before noon on the great "Haciendas"—the great farms—and would rather lie under a tree and listen to music than labor. But the employers on these farms have recognized the love of the Mexicans to do something for themselves and have given each a plot to work as his own on Sunday when he rests. He gets up at 3 o'clock Sunday morning and works till dark. His plot produces the heaviest of any of the 'Hacienda.' This is a well known fact. Two work-hardened Irishmen will build more railroad for their employers than thirty Mexicans, but I once saw a body of sixty of the little brown men of Villa's army build sixteen miles of railroad in twelve hours. Villa's army is a working army. One hour after taking a town, he has it policed and communication to the outside established; after three hours the public utilities and industries are running. A civil government is established and the place becomes one of the most peaceful on earth.

"Those who wish to belittle the Mexican character have spoken of the Mexicans as thievish, cowardly, and lazy; and say that these people would rather fight than work. This criticism comes mostly from capitalists and concessionaries who are at the bottom of the trouble in the country. I was with the

(Continued on page 4)



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

Published Weekly by National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers, Southern District

District Headquarters..... Alexandria, La.  
Jay Smith..... Secretary

OFFICE OF PUBLICATION  
309 DAVIS ST.  
PORTLAND OREGON

Covington Hall..... Editor  
..... Business Manager

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

United States: 52 weeks, \$1.00; 26 weeks  
50c; 13 weeks.....\$0.25  
Foreign: One year..... 1.50  
Single copies..... .05

BUNDLE ORDER RATES

United States: 5 copies, 13 weeks, \$1.00; or  
10 or more copies paid 10 weeks in advance,  
1 1/2c per copy.  
OTHERWISE, in United States or Canada, 2c  
per copy.  
No accounts carried beyond current month.

CASH MUST ACCOMPANY ALL ORDERS



PATRIOTISM—SLAUGHTER—  
DESTRUCTION

The mass of European workingmen are patriotic. That is why they can be led to slaughter in a gigantic war in which millions of them may lose their lives, and the products of years of their collective labor may be destroyed.

When the patriotic delirium has run its course; when the carnage is over; when all Europe has been sown thick with dead and dying; when the toilers have had time to fully realize the horrors of war; when they mourn the dead and nurse the injured and count the widowed wives and the orphaned children; the best we can hope for as a result of it all, is that there will not be the least trace of patriotism left among European workingmen.

What has the royal family of Austria ever done for humanity, that the death of one member of that family should cause the death of millions of the world's producers? Why should the workers labor to produce the means whereby all other products of their labor—and their own lives—are destroyed?

Why should workingmen be patriotic?

DRIVING THE GRINGOES OUT OF  
GUADALAJARA

Under the above title "one of the Gringos" gives vent to a long-winded wail in Leslie's Weekly of July 30th, about how the "Gringo" business men fared when they were ordered out of Mexico.

The experience was probably unpleasant; but if we consider that they were citizens of an invading nation, we can see that the treatment they received was remarkably mild. Especially so, as they and their business methods had no doubt given ample cause for resentment on the part of the Mexicans.

It seems that none of them were killed or injured, and that no attempt to kill or injure was made.

If we compare this with the American method of treating foreigners—even in times of supposed peace—as exemplified in Ludlow, Lawrence, Paterson, and other places too numerous to mention, we see at once that the brutality of which the "Gringo" complains is a much ranker and more flourishing weed on this side of the Rio Grande.

Perhaps the "Gringo" regards brutality as one of the sacred privileges of his own class.

PROHIBITION AGAINST PROHIBITION

Emma Goldman delivered an Anti-Prohibition lecture while in Portland. She has probably delivered the same lecture in other places.

I am not very much interested in the Prohibition Question itself, but I am interested in Emma Goldman's argument against Prohibition.

"Prohibition is immoral" so Emma says, "Because it interferes with individual liberty. It denies the individual the right to get drunk."

That seems very simple and plausible. But does Emma reflect that the saloon, as it exists today, is essentially a law-made institution? Does Emma know that the now existing liquor

laws deny the individuals right to sell alcoholic drinks until he has paid an almost prohibitory price for a government permit to sell booze? Does Emma know that the major part of the price of a drink goes to pay the expenses of City and National government?

Is not Emma Goldman defending the state when she defends its present source of income?

The saloon is not really a bulwark of liberty. Saloons, in many indirect ways, compel men to drink.

Saloons get much of their trade as a result of the established custom of paying wages with checks instead of money. The saloon is the one sure place where a check may be cashed—on the condition of buying a few drinks. We all know what one or two drinks will do for a hungry, thirsty, weary and homeless slave.

This checks-payable-in-booze method of paying wages simply cannot be operated unless the saloon is sanctified by law. It could not operate through a blind pig.

Many saloons keep hangers-on to induce men to step in and take a drink—the first drink—and the second.

The saloon, as an institution, is a great factor in degrading and dehumanizing the unfortunate outcast girls and women, whose life is hard enough to bear without that additional curse. And with them, at least, there can be no question of personal liberty.

The saloon is inherently antagonistic towards the revolutionary movement, and towards any kind of working class action. It is as ready to provide the required amount of liquid heroism to strike-breakers, gunmen, and vigilante mobs, as it is to disorganize the strikers by filling them full of booze and dope.

I hold no brief for Prohibition. It appears to me to be a side issue. But I hate to see the word LIBERTY dragged through the slime in order that it may serve to defend a law-made, government-protected social sore.

The Liquor Question offers you a choice of two evils. You may support the saloon institution, which virtually forces a large part of the working class to soak in booze; or you may assert the right to stay sober, and at the same time deny the right to get drunk.

LIBERTY is not within a million miles of either side of the Liquor Question.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were adopted at a mass meeting of 5,000 people at Rockford, Ill., Sunday, July 26, 1914:

Whereas, Michael Perkovitch and his comrade George Vaughist, adopted citizens of this country, railroad laborers, unemployed and desperate with hunger, entered a railroad laborers eating car near Alworth, July 8th, 1914, and took a loaf of bread, and

Whereas, In taking the bread to sustain life no offense was committed against society or any of its recognized institutions, as food which is essential to life is community property for all who eat in the sweat of their brow, and

Whereas, Michael Perkovitch and George Vaughist were of the producing class, construction workers, contributing to the wealth, uplift and advancement of society, as such were entitled to not bread alone but to the full social value of their labor, and

Whereas, Michael Perkovitch was brutally and cowardly murdered, being shot in back of head while running from the bloodhounds of the Illinois Central Railroad. Fay Young and E. C. Marsales are the deputy sheriffs responsible for this cold blooded murder, and the unwarranted arrest of George Vaughist, whose life was also endangered by these ignorant officers, who place company property on a higher plane than human life.

Therefore be it Resolved, That this state adopt the custom of England and other civilized nations, that no sheriff or deputy, policeman or constable, be allowed to carry deadly weapons, and be it further

Resolved, That these self confessed murderers, Fay Young and E. C. Marsales, be dealt with in such manner that will prevent other officials from indulging in the careless and wanton destruction of human life, and be it further

Resolved, That we the people, the workers of Rockford and vicinity, in mass meeting assembled, demand that the authorities make a vigorous investigation and take the necessary action required to protect human life, and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to Governor Dunne, to the States Attorney, Sheriff and the press.

PANCNER CONVICTED

John Pancner has been convicted on a charge of assault with a deadly weapon with intent to do bodily harm. Will be sentenced Thursday, August 6th. Penalty is from one to two years. This case must be appealed. Money is needed. Send all funds to Minnie Abbott, Box 86, Tonopah, Nevada.

Pancner Defence Committee.

REASONS FOR A REVOLUTIONARY  
MOVEMENT

By B. E. Nilsson

THE FORM OF ORGANIZATION

The real reason for organization is to make work more effective. We who are interested in the revolutionary movement organize in order to get better and greater results from the energy we expend in agitation and in educational propaganda. If we did not organize in some way, we would probably still agitate for the overthrow of capitalism, but we would each have his own idea, and the agitation of one would counteract the agitation of another. Even if our ideas did not conflict, we would waste energy by lack of system and by our failure to co-operate. It would be practically impossible to get our kind of literature published, or distributed where it is needed, just as it would be impossible for us to act together in our struggles against the employers. We organize in order to increase our efficiency in revolutionary activity, and efficiency is the yard-stick with which our organization must be measured.

Wherever a number of rebels are so located that it is possible for them to meet together, they should at once arrange for a suitable meeting place and a regular time for meeting, in order that they may exchange ideas, arrive at a common understanding as to what kind of agitation is most suitable or most urgently needed in that locality, and to make plans to carry on that agitation in the most systematic and effective way. This is the logical first step towards organization.

The whole character of a labor organization is determined by the intelligence and the active interest of its members. A member who can attend business meeting and take active part in it, and fails to do so, thereby deprives the organization of the benefit of such knowledge and intelligence as he may have, just as he deprives himself of the advantage of the knowledge and intelligence of the other members. The chief function of the union is to promote discussion about such issues as concern the working class, in order that the workers may arrive at a common understanding of their class interests, so that they may act as a united body in times of active conflict. A man functions as a union man in proportion as he takes active interest in the business meetings of the union of which he is a member.

As the local union grows it will naturally devote a greater part of its energy in direct efforts to improve working conditions. This will usually require a change in the formation of the union. The members will segregate the industrial plants in which they work into groups according to the industries and the industrial plants in which they work, as well as according to the relations between their employers, in order that each group may deal with its own part of the class struggle and decide upon what they can do themselves, without having to spend too much time and energy in dealing with the activities of other groups of workers. The members as well as the groups are still bound together by their common working class interests, but each group must take upon itself the responsibility for its own activity, must use its own judgment in the field with which it is most familiar, and must also demonstrate its confidence in other workers by allowing them the same freedom of action.

The active struggle for better conditions in a given industry makes it necessary for all the groups or local unions of that industry to establish permanent relations with each other, in order that they may have an effective means of exchanging ideas and making decisions on matters that pertain to that industry. In the I. W. W. such permanent relations are secured through the National Industrial Union, while the Industrial Department serves to bring together the workers in those industries which are most closely related in the process of production.

When a mixed local or propaganda league is segregated into industrial or shop locals it becomes necessary, in order to maintain the close relations between these locals, as well as to insure co-operation and proper support for the general propaganda, to establish a central committee or district council in which all these locals will be represented. Such local bodies will also serve as a medium of communication between the industrial locals, not only in matters pertaining to the propaganda but also in matters pertaining to local strikes in which more than one industry are involved; and will also serve as the most effective medium of general communication between the membership of different localities.

The efficiency of a labor organization is in a very large measure determined by its internal structure; by the way in which it is subdivided into locals and by the way in which

these locals are connected together into larger bodies. Every union man should make a careful study, not only of the general plan of his organization, but also of industrial conditions; he should form his own opinion as to whether his organization is properly adapted to that part of modern industry with which he is familiar, or whether any change in the form of organization would render it more efficient.

THE TACTICS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The ordinary strike, in which the workers leave the shop in a body and do all they can to prevent other workers from accepting employment in that shop until their grievances are settled, is the simplest form of resistance against the employers. Because of its simplicity—the remaining away from the place of employment—and also because it forces each individual worker to make a prompt and definite decision whether he will take his stand with his fellow workers or with the employer, the strike is especially adapted for workers whose experience in the struggle is limited or in whom the mutual confidence is weak; they learn to rely on each other by seeing themselves lined up side by side in the struggle.

But while participation in a strike is in itself a simple matter, the winning of the strike is not so simple. The preparations for a strike may require a great deal of patient labor and all the ingenuity the workers possess. Publicity is necessary after the strike is started, both to keep other workers away from the place and to secure the financial support which the strikers are almost sure to need. Whatever tactics the employers may use to break the strike must be met promptly and effectively. The strikers and their families must be fed and clothed and sheltered; the enthusiasm with which the strike started must be maintained, and the spirit of class solidarity developed. The job must be picketed so thoroughly that no strike-breaker will be able to pretend ignorance concerning the strike. And all the work should be apportioned so as to make each one of the strikers feel that he is himself taking an active part and is doing his share towards the success of the strike.

It is sometimes advisable to extend the strike to other shops, either in the same industry or in other industries.

If the employer against whom the strike is declared transfers his orders to some other shops, the strike should, if it is at all possible, be extended to include those shops also.

If the employer has succeeded in getting enough strike breakers to partially resume operation it may be advisable to prevent other employers from buying the product, by threatening to strike, or by actually striking if it is necessary.

If the employer holds a controlling interest in other industrial enterprises it may help to bring him to time if his income is attacked there also.

The political institutions of the city or state can always be expected to assist the employer. Where such political interference is exceptionally pernicious and brutal it may be necessary to meet it with a local general strike, or with a strike against those employers who are most active in inciting such interference.

A strike affords exceptional opportunities for educational propaganda; the strikers will naturally congregate in large masses; their interest is aroused; and they are for the time being relieved from the deadening influence of excessive labor. This opportunity should be used to its fullest extent to teach the workers how to keep everything they gain if the strike is won, and how they may continue the struggle on the job if they are forced to return to work without a satisfactory settlement.

(To be continued)

A TIMELY WARNING

G. H. Edmonds writing for the U. M. W. Journal says:

"Since being off the force as an organizer, I have devoted quite a bit of my spare time to local labor conditions, and I want to drop a word of timely warning: If the legitimate unionists around Des Moines don't look well to their laurels, they may expect a repetition of the Butte, Mont., affair right here in Des Moines. The I. W. W. are very busy, holding nightly meetings on the prominent street corners, and already have a very large following here in this city."

"Solidarity is necessary to the success of Labor's Cause. Our main disagreement with the A. F. of L. is that by its craft form of organization it separates the workers within the different industries, so that while one craft within the industry may be striking for better conditions their fellow-workers of the other crafts within the industry by staying on the job keep the machinery moving, thus in effect acting as strike-breakers.



## ECONOMIC S. OR STATE C. S., WHICH?

Second Chapter  
Carolina Nelson

## ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Out of the workers' economic organizations the future society must be built. The building of these organizations constitute the building of the new within the shell of the old.

If they are built upon autocracy, that future society must then be ruled by autocracy with its sub-ordination and power of disciplining the masses of the rank and file. But the old labor organization built upon central, autocratic power never gets that far because it has developed all over the world a bureaucracy of conservative leadership that constantly holds the workers back on the economic field. The labor leader with power and responsibilities becomes conservative. He dickers with the boss for the selling of the labor power of his "people". The boss flatters him to make the best of the bargain; they become good friends and in that friendship the leader's working class psychology disappears, to say nothing of the influence of the power that the workers have placed in his hands. The labor leader's job appeals to every ambitious fellow in the organization, and there goes on a scramble to get it and to keep it, very much like that in a regular political campaign. There is the regular steam roller and the machine in action.

So that the workers instead of confining themselves to fighting their enemies, the capitalists, are busy fighting their own officials. The Socialists constantly say: "Don't fight the capitalists as individuals, fight the system; the capitalists are only creatures of the system." But they don't say to workers in the old labor unions: "You have a wrong system of organization; don't fight your leaders, do away with the system that makes them bad."

No, the Socialist is hot on centralization of power via the majority vote route, as are also the so-called revolutionists that have graduated from the Socialist school.

The workers must build their economic organizations upon the principle of co-ordination instead of upon the sub-ordinate principle. All living conscious organisms are built upon the co-ordination plan. If a man injures his toe, the toe immediately wires to its central connection in the brain, and the whole organization is conscious of the injury and particular cell workers rush to the injured member to aid it. The whole organization for the time being becomes subordinate to the injured part. But our old labor organizations, like capitalists' organizations, are built very much like automations or dummies that are moved by strings. All the different parts of a dummy are fitted to the whole by strings that are sub-ordinate to a main string. It can only move when this main string is pulled. Our labor organizations, as such, have no real conscious organic vitality developed, because they are built upon the dummy plan, this is,—can only move when the main string is pulled.

It is strange that anyone has the courage to point to capitalists centralized society as successful, and in the same breath tells us that capitalist society is rotten to the very core, and that no man is great enough or good enough to control another man or set of men. All capitalist trusts, within themselves, in their central power reek with theft and injustice among its own members. The few people with power vote themselves enormous salaries, and cheat their own stock holders right and left. To ask the workers to follow up this kind of organization upon which to build a successful and healthy organization is very much like pointing to a cesspool for health. It takes right the opposite principle for the workers to organize to develop all the power and initiative of each member, to use it collectively, for equal justice to all, to that of a trust that is formed for robbery and injustice all along the line. Financially the world's industries are centered in a few Wall streets, but this centralization is purely artificial, and its content shifting from one set of men to another makes no difference to the workers or the industries. Naturally our industries are world-wide, connected over land and sea, they mingle and co-mingle locally, nationally and internationally; and the workers in their organizations should follow industries as they work, and not as they are financed. With their hands upon the industries—there alone they have the power.

They must organize so that they can act quickly at the most opportune time. A strike should come like a bolt out of a clear sky as far as the boss is concerned. But this the workers cannot do if they have an executive board that alone has the power to decide a strike. The workers must then dicker with this board for permission. It sometimes takes weeks and months to get this board's consent, and by that time the boss through his stool pigeons knows exactly what is going to happen, and the psychological moment has passed for

a successful move on the part of the workers. In Germany, the ship builders, belonging to the powerful metal industrial union, petitioned their executive board for two years to be allowed to strike for better condition, while the ship building trade was at its height. But they were constantly put off by their own officials, who preferred to dicker with bosses instead. At last in the summer of 1913, the shipbuilding slaves could stand it no longer and rushed out in a strike regardless of their autocratic board. But their own elected autoerats now refused to pay them any strike benefit out of their own collected and paid in funds. The autocratic leaders of the metal industrial union called a meeting mostly of all the minor officials and chased the workers back to their slavery in the name of discipline and subordination of part to the whole. It was the powerful metal industrial union in Germany around Hamburg that had been insistent on a centralized form of organization in the early days in Germany, well, they got a good dose of it.

The workers must not only act quickly but efficiently and sufficiently to win the strike. Therefore they must be so organized that they can close up a shop, a factory, a mine in a purely local strike, or a whole industry in a national strike. In living organisms the enemy is either ejected, killed or starved out; the workers organization must bring the boss to terms by cutting off the industrial life currents that connects him with industrial life. The teamsters must be stopped from taking and delivering goods to the effected firm, the telephone and telegraph operators must stop taking and delivering messages for it, the gas and electrical workers must stop furnishing it with heat and light. The workers in a strike now mostly confine their activity to slugging and chasing the scabs and to dickering with the boss. The workers should take the scabs in their organization who go to work because they are in need, share with them their own rations, while the professional strike-breakers should at all times be dealt harshly with to bring them to their moral senses. Our professional strike-breakers consist to a great extent of men who have become thoroughly disgusted with the labor unions as they are. The workers should be so organized that wherever they are in battle they can call on the whole organization in all its federated branches and unions to help them with all the means at their command. The whole of the organization by solidarity must be sub-ordinate to any effected part or parts, or the boss can just remove his operations to another part by doubling the output in another shop, or factory, or mine or field. All the workers must be wide-awake and watch and act. In most strikes now the workers are inflated the first few weeks or days by much oratory about how they are sure to win at a certain time, when that date passes, the workers hopes and means get less and less until they are forced back to work utterly defeated or by a fixed-up victory by their leaders. In a live organization each striker would feel a personal responsibility for the success of the strike and be busy devising means to win it. Instead of oratory, the workers would be in constant consultation and activity, individually and collectively. Many heads are better than one. There are many ways of bringing a boss to terms. The hatters in Esperaza, France, beat their bosses in a strike by building a hat factory of their own and now work it and own it together. Just as the Italian glass blowers beat their bosses by building factories of their own. The intermittent strike can also be used to good advantage where the workers are trained in class consciousness and solidarity, and therefore alert of their own power and rights. Here they go back to work upon the bosses' terms and then strike again at intervals until they have gained what they wanted.

Caroline Nelson

## BY ALL MEANS!

By R. V. C.

The call by the G. E. B. for the Ninth Annual Convention is issued. Once more our delegates will dicker and try to solve various burning questions appertaining to the organization and its structure. And such questions are many. One of them was raised quite timely and offered for consideration by Covington Hall in his editorial of July 14, entitled: "Preambleize the Constitution." That something has to be done with the constitution is evident. It was written night ten years ago. And while its contents did once conform to the revolutionary proletarian concepts of that period, now, when our ideas, concepts and aspirations under the Law of Eternal Change have evolved, even in that short duration of time, the constitution with all its contents not only no longer harmonizes with our present concepts, but becomes a useless and cumbersome drag and handicap to further PROGRESS. It is true, from time to time we have amend-

ed our constitution; but those amendments were so slight or dealt with such non-essential parts thereof that the result of the change produced therein falls far short of the mark reached by the mental advancement of our membership.

Ibsen in his "Master Builder" ably portrays the old and powerful clinging to the old regime fighting everything that is young and new. Giovannitti in his "Cage" shows up still more vividly the "old" encased by a fortress of dusty, yellow-aged parchments of so-called law trying to bend to their will the "new" that, with ever-increasing courage, is storming that law-made fortress, on the walls of which Death has already stamped her insignia. For such is the eternal Law in any struggle: The "new" in the end always wins. ALWAYS!

It is only a matter of time when the out-of-date rules set up by the constitution will have to be discarded and the "old"—the G. E. B.—done away with. If, pursuant to our Preamble, we are to build "a new society within the shell of the old," then the new structure must not resemble the old which is based on tyranny and slavery.

I am not attacking the G. E. B. as members,—it is their prerogative and privileged position that I am storming, as any liberty-loving member would who is opposed to tyranny whether it springs from capitalistic sources or our own.

Discontent with the high-handed methods of the G. E. B. is not confined to the decentralists alone; some of the most staunch centralizers are voicing it as well. For instance, the letter published in "Solidarity," May 23, from Kamloops, B. C., reads in part:

"Then came the Smith-Heslewood controversy on the Industrial Worker and the mishandling of the whole affair by the G. E. B. The apparent discrimination of the G. E. B. in removing one of the parties to the controversy and leaving the other on the paper afforded an opening that a certain element had apparently been looking for."

It is useless to elaborate the above. The membership knows that the privileged misaction of the G. E. B. was the primary cause of the downfall of the Worker, one of the finest papers in the United States.

And here let us come to the above-mentioned editorial; Covington Hall partly says:

"The right of our general officers and G. E. B. to vote should be taken away from them entirely and they should have no voice, except by courtesy of the Convention, save on matters pertaining to their offices and reports on the floor."

The suggestions offered are excellent, but will they work? I do not think so. Because any matter pertaining to the organization will entitle the G. E. B. by virtue of its official position to enter into discussion.

But here comes something better, to quote further:

"All those sections giving the G. E. B. 'power' to do thus and so 'at its discretion' or 'when in its judgment' it deems its acts for 'the good and welfare' of the organization should be wiped from the constitution."

With this I do heartily agree. By wiping out ALL "power" of the G. E. B. we are wiping out the G. E. B. itself. Yes, by all means, let us preamble-ize our constitution!

## CAUSE FOR WAR

A member of the Austrian royal family was killed—and that is sufficient cause for plunging all Europe into war.

A Mexican dictator (whose claim to the Mexican government was not recognized by the United States) neglects to waste powder in saluting a flag—and that is sufficient cause for armed invasion.

How many Servians have lost their lives in Austrian industries without causing the slightest murmur of war? How many flags have gunmen and other upholders of law and disorder trampled under foot in their efforts to beat workers into submission?

Yet we must not take these newspaper excuses for war at face value. American capital is invested in Mexico, and Austria wants more territory.

Back of all that are still other causes. The unemployed and unfed are a menace in all countries—a most serious menace. The partial shutting down of industries is almost world-wide. Austria is one of the countries most seriously affected, because her industries are unable to compete with the industries of other countries.

How much did the unemployed have to do with that preposterous excursion into Mexico? How much do the Austrian money-bags fear their unemployed, and how much has the fear of the unfed to do with this war?

But, officially, Mexico was invaded because of "a drunken ass" named Huerta, and all Europe is ready to kill and destroy because one of the oppressors was killed.

## BILL B. COOK ON DEFENCE

Covington Hall, Editor.  
New Orleans, La.

Fellow Worker:

I have not seen several of the last issues of the Voice and am told that an article appears in one of your issues, signed by Ed Ray asking members of the locals having had dealings with me while I was publishing the Wooden Shoe, to write the Los Angeles locals. I have no objection to any one asking for that information but I do object to the manner in which it was done, insinuating that money of the Wooden Shoe had been misused by me. The committee who had taken over the affairs of the "Shoe" reported that my accounts were all O. K., with the exception of \$1.20, which owned the paper and this was the wages I drew for twenty weeks work on the paper. When I left the paper some eighty odd dollars was out standing. How much of this was collected I am not certain as I was outside the city. I left in the office 1600 copies of the "Shoe." The sale of these papers have never been accounted for. Ed Ray had charge of them. From the time I turned over the affairs of the "Shoe", Dec. 27, 1913, James O'Neil was in charge of the correspondence and business of that paper. Any money sent in after that date I am not responsible for. I have uncashed checks that the locals here are unable to liquidate (wages). Since Ed Ray wrote you asking for information concerning my accounts he has departed leaving quite a nice bunch of money unaccounted for. It is good sometimes to get the other fellow under suspicion while you get from under. I am perfectly willing to account for any money that I have handled for the I. W. W. either as Secretary or Editor of the "Shoe." All I ask is that the other fellows come as clean as I do in the organization affairs.

Yours in the fight,  
Bill B. Cook

## PEOPLE WILL TALK

You may get through the world, but 'twill be very slow,

If you listen to all that is said as you go;  
You'll be worried and fretted, and kept in a stew—

For meddlesome tongues must have something to do,

And people will talk.

If quiet and modest, you'll have it presumed  
That your humble position is only assumed—  
You're a wolf in sheep's clothing, or else you're a fool,

But don't get excited—keep perfectly cool—  
For people will talk.

And then, if you show the least boldness of heart,

Or slight inclination to take your own part,  
They will call you an upstart, conceited and vain,

But keep straight ahead—don't stop to explain—

For people will talk.

If threadbare your dress, or old-fashioned your hat,

Some one will surely take notice of that,  
And hint rather strong that you can't pay your way,

But don't get excited, whatever they say—  
For people will talk.

If you dress in the fashion don't think to escape,

For they criticise then in a different shape;  
You're ahead of your means, or your tailor's unpaid,

But mind your own business—there's naught to be made—

For people will talk.

Now, the best way to do is to do as you please;  
For your mind, if you have one, will then be at ease.

Of course, you will meet with all sorts of abuse;

But don't think to stop them—it ain't any use—

For people will talk.

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## MEXICAN REVOLUTION

(Continued on from page 1)

Mexicans for weeks while they fought. It is the hardest work in the world. Nothing you do here is as hard. The Mexicans are sick of war—but they are more sick of the drudgery for American capital which in Mexico is worse than fighting. They will not stand for the exploitation which they submitted to before the war.

"As for the thievish character of the people. I traveled with the roughest gang in Villa's army for two weeks on a desert march. Hardly a soldier in that lot who had not been a bandit before he joined the army. The men had not been paid for nine months and I had 200 pesos with me. I had two heavy blankets and a complete outfit. The army was but half outfitted. The smallest thing of mine was unmolested. One of the men insisted on giving me a horse. I suppose he stole him—but he gave him to me. I was the guest of these people. I was the only white man among these reputed 'Gringo haters.' When I told them that I was a reporter they could not but view me with suspicion. They hardly know what a newspaper is, except that it is useful to furnish information concerning them to the police and constabulary; yet they heaped every kindness upon me. If the Mexicans are treated with any degree of fairness, such as you would show to any other of your fellow men, they display traits that put to shame our unsocial selfishness.

"Concerning their cowardice. I have seen two Mexicans, on a bet in fun, stand back to back, walk fifty paces from each other, whirl and shoot each other's hats off.

"These people do not seem to cherish animosity against the actors on the other side—they wish to abolish the system. In the towns Villa has taken, the statues of Diaz are not thrown down. Women even bring flowers to decorate these memorials unmolested. The peons are not fighting men—they are fighting to get back their land!

"The causes of the revolution I have suggested. Diaz passed a law which expropriated all land holders who did not have title to their farms. The method of making this known was by printing it in the official organ of the administration, which the peons could not read. Almost none of the Mexicans had titles to their lands. If you had spoken to them about a title, they would have asked you "who is he." The land was sold for a song to foreign capitalists. The Yaqui Indians who had been on their land, possibly before the time of Christ, could show no title to it, and were dispossessed. They had never had a war in their history, so far as their myths tell, but the treatment they received from Diaz made them a war-like tribe. They were beatei into the hills and a bounty of two dollars and a half put on each. The sporting bloods of the country made a hundred dollars a season, killing Yaquis.

"Rockefeller has immense holdings in the hemp fields of Mexico, and asked Diaz for labor. He said "Take the Yaquis" and they were captured and sent down to the hemp fields where none of them lasted over five years. The American Tobacco Trust needed labor and Diaz contracted for one thousand men whom he supplied by picking up drunks and petty criminals, sending them into the tobacco fields.

"What the Mexicans wish to establish is a government which is as near no government as possible. After all is said, this is the democratic ideal. Mexico has been in a state of war for three years. I have been in towns which have had practically no government for all this time. They were the most peaceful and happy communities I was ever in."

The last part of John Reed's lecture dealt with his impressions of Colorado, which will be found in his own article in this paper.

## REVOLT OF MINERS IN BUTTE

By W. E. Reynolds, in Truth

The miners of Butte have rebelled against the Butte Local of the W. F. of M. The newspapers of the past month have been full of sensational reports of dynamiting and lawlessness, leaving the impression that the new Butte Miners Union is a gang of lawless thugs and assassins. It is generally supposed that the I. W. W. element was responsible for the outbreak which resulted in the dynamiting of the Union Hall on the eve of June 24. It is in the hope of setting the public right on the situation that the following statement of fact is submitted:

For 18 years the Butte W. F. of M. has been under the control of henchmen of the copper companies. The vast majority of the members were men who had high ideals of unionism, but whose training had been of such a nature that they were more or less easily misled and deceived.

In the copper wars, company control of the union hall brought victory for the Rockefeller

interests. It is a well-established fact that company members of the union helped to break the switchmen's strike on Anaconda hill. This same element scabbed on the machinists, were used to whip the brewers back into line; in fact the union had degenerated into nothing short of a company union.

The same element tried to wreck the Federation at the time of the trials of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

There were times in the last 18 years of struggle when the men had control of their own union but these times were few and far between. In one of these two-year-periods, the union raised \$35,000 to be used for working class education.

This did not suit the company. The company does not want heads but hands. Efforts were renewed to control the union. The hall holds about 650 people. By stuffing the ballot boxes until there were 1200 votes to be counted, the company tools elected the company ticket. They spent money by the hundreds of thousands to keep the company in once they had control.

This kind of work could have but one result—Revolt. The last stand of the company men was made this year. The men who would have control of their own affairs had made arrangements to secure the use of voting machines such as were used by the city. A motion was made to secure these machines to thus secure a fair count of the votes cast. The motion seemed to have carried by a big majority. The president declared it lost. An appeal was made for a rising vote which the president flatly refused to consider.

Under these conditions, finding it impossible to wrest control of the union from the company, desperate action was resorted to. An outside referendum was taken which resulted in the repudiation of the W. F. of M. by a vote of more than 30 to 1.

Moyer came on the scene with a compromise offer which he had refused to consider a couple of years previously. Moyer had brought some of his gunmen with him and one of their number was shot and killed by the gunmen from inside the hall. Shots were fired from inside the hall which resulted in the killing of a man on the street. Then an enraged crowd completely destroyed the union hall by the use of dynamite. This, I suppose, is where the press gets its I. W. W.-ism from. It is well known to all the thinking members of society that the I. W. W. is not responsible for one-tenth of the violence which is attributed to it.

Some of the members of the new union deplore this action, others justify it on the ground that it was their own hall and they would do as they pleased with their own property. The W. F. of M. is incorporated. The dynamiting of the hall seemed the only way to oust the company who held office in the W. F. of M.

The safe was taken out to a vacant lot and there blown open. The contents of the safe amply proved that the assertion of company control was a fact.

The membership of the new Butte Miners Union, which now numbers between five and six thousand, is not made up of irresponsible floaters, trouble makers and thugs, but is composed of the rank and file who for the past 18 years have steadily and consistently fought for control of the union by the workers themselves and not the company tools. Practically all of the old time miners are lined up with the new union.

They are now at work on a constitution which they hope will enable the worker to keep control. What it will be will depend on the intelligence of its membership. From those I met during a ten day stay in Butte I am led to believe that they will adopt a constitution in keeping with the trend of modern development of industry. That they will make it a truly industrial union taking in all who work in or around the mines; that they will not consider signing up contracts with the copper company but will consider the interest of the worker first, last and all the time.

The day of the craft is over. The day of modern industry is here. The Butte trouble is only a straw indicating the new alignment made necessary by the trend of industrial development.

The change is inevitable. It is well.

## CHEAPER THAN SAFETY DEVICES

There is no evidence of any great perturbation on the part of the owners of those mines in West Virginia which exploded the other day and killed some two hundred men, mostly Americans. The newspapers have treated the affair as if it were an unpreventable explosion which could not be easily averted by the expenditure of a little money for the necessary safeguards. Thus the newspapers saved the owners from unenviable publicity.

The court and officials of West Virginia have been notably kind to mine owners, so there is probably little to fear from that

quarter. Here in New York the other day settlements were made at seventy five dollars per life on account of the Triangle shirtwaist fire. We don't suppose a miner is worth any more than a shirtwaist worker.

But whatever the value of a miner's life may be in West Virginia, these proprietors have, of course, been shrewd enough to figure it out long since that it is cheaper to explode their employees occasionally than to provide safety devices.

## Texas Justice

## LEON VASQUEZ HANDED 10 YEARS FOR DARING TO APPEAL HIS SENTENCE

Or That's the Way it Looks up Here—Hizzoner Declares Himself "Impartial"—Lowbrow Linden Happy and Blood-Hungry

Leon Vasquez, whose conviction and sentence was reversed by the circuit court of appeals a few weeks ago, has again been tried, convicted and sentenced. Because the higher court dares to reverse the decision of a San Antonio jury and his Highness, the Judge, aroused the ire of the community for after the jury had returned the usual verdict of guilty the Judge sentenced the Fellow Worker to a term of 25 years in the State Prison thereby increasing his previous sentence by ten years. During the period of time the crime with which the Fellow Worker was charged has increased in seriousness to the extent of ten long years. This same Judge refused to grant the defendants a change of venue and boldly made the claim that the defendants would and could receive a fair and impartial trial in San Antonio. Judging by the sentence imposed we are led to believe that Mr. Judge was anxious to hand it out in a large package to Vasquez because he dared to carry his case to the higher court. Attorneys Vanderbilt and Storms have again appealed the case and will carry it to the highest court in the land if need be for they are determined that the cruel and unjust sentence imposed upon our fellow worker will be reversed and that he will finally be allowed to go forth a free man.

The next defendant to stand trial will be P. Perales, charged, as were all the others, with the killing of the Mexican stoolpigeon, Candelario Ortiz. There is no doubt that the lackeys of the master class elated with past successes, will fight hard to convict him also. Every conviction makes it easier for the prosecution to find a jury that will convict J. M. Rangel and Charles Cline who are charged with the actual killing. The members of the working class by their indifference are assisting the prosecution. Do you think for one minute that six members of the working class could be railroaded to jail for periods ranging from 12 to 99 years if the working class were lined up solidly behind the prisoners as they were behind Haywood in Boise, Ettore and Giovannitti in Lawrence, Emerson in Lake Charles and many others to numerous to mention. No, think again, Mr. Worker; it was a showing of activity on your part that released these comrades from jail. If you show something like the same activity now we can release the boys from that stinking hell-hole in San Antonio. If the workers of America would take as much interest in the men who are in jail for their activity in the labor struggle as do our fellow workers in Italy then we could face the master class with some assurance of victory. In the whole of Italy only two men are confined in jail for so-called crimes committed during labor troubles. In America every State prison has a delegation of warriors drawn from the army of labor.

The defense is sadly handicapped for the lack of funds; we cannot give the men the legal defence to which they are entitled, nor can we start a real campaign for any other kind of action without funds; at present we are only able to keep things moving and remain on the defensive. What we would like to do and what we will do if you lend us your assistance is to take the aggressive and force the lackeys to defend the interest of the master class.

We know that the members of the I. W. W. are not blessed with very much of the needed coin. We also know that you are called upon oftener than any other body of men to assist the boys who are in trouble. Yet we believe that if you would expend a little energy and effort that you could collect enough money to save Rangel and Cline from the gallows.

Every lumber worker in the South should make a special effort to assist these boys. Charles Cline helped you boys in the South when you needed help. He fought with you when the Southern Lumbermen's Association was crushing the life out of you and yours, for that he has drawn down upon his head the hatred of all who travel under the black ban-

ner of Kirby's class. Because of that hatred he is in jail. Because of that hatred he will die unless you, the members of the working class, and especially you workers of the South, come to his rescue. This is an opportunity to prove to the Industrial Masters of the South that you will not stand by and watch them stretch the neck of any fellow worker because he dared to oppose things as they are. Fellow workers, we have sent a circular to every local suggesting a plan for raising some money; we ask that you make a special effort to see that your local carries out the suggestion. Send in your donations at once and we will raise so much hell in Texas that the master class will never dare to carry out its well laid plans. Fellow workers, we have no time to waste, anything that we can do must be done at once if we ever hope to save the lives of the men who dared to carry the fight into the camp of our enemy, the master class. Donations should be sent to Victor Cravello, room 108, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Calif.

## THE GENERAL STRIKE AND PEACE

F. V. A.

We, as workers, have again and again spoken out against international war. The quarrel is not ours. We do not hate the toilers of other countries but we pay the price in our sweat and blood for the greed of power in those who rule. It is interesting to note what steps have been taken by labor organizations to prevent war. The Socialists in the different countries have constantly carried on anti-war agitation. The Socialists of England meet for a monster mass meeting against war to be held in Trafalgar Square, London. But the International Socialist Congress which was to meet in Paris, August 9th, has been indefinitely postponed. They were to consider a general anti-war strike. The representatives of the five million who vote the Socialist ticket in Germany voted some time ago for an increase in the peace footing of the army and increase in war expenditures. It is hoped the Syndicalists of France will take stands similar to that which they took the last time war threatened between Germany and France. The general strike was to follow a call to arms. War was not declared. Labor holds the power which will bring about that "peace on earth" which the prophets and dreamers of all ages have predicted. If labor only knew its power!

## WAR AND THE WORKERS

The workingman's point of view of the present war in Europe is not reflected in newspaper discussion. It is to be regretted that the workingmen of the countries do not rise in a tremendous anti-military strike and declare that war shall be no more, that they refuse to squander the wealth of the world which their hands have created and to murder by wholesale their fellow toilers of other countries. If old kings and tyrants must have their disputes, let them be put on a desert island to fight it out for themselves. Humanity should wash its hands of all those who wish to stir up the petty jealousies and all the race hatred in the hearts of men. We are workingmen who do the fighting, who wish to live in peace and happiness for the families we love, and not to war for tyrants whom we should hate, not because they are men but because they stand in the way of our liberties and would cast us into hell for the sake of their ambitions.

## CARDINAL BOOSTS I. W. W.

Cardinal Gibbons said in an interview on his eighteenth birthday:

"Another organization which should be met with distrust and opposition, especially in this country, he said, was the Industrial Workers of the World. It is a dangerous element, and should be put down, he said. Some of its adherents, he thinks, have no doubt been deceived and misled concerning its purpose, but the leaders are guilty of open defiance of law and justice, and are without respect for the rights of individuals and property, not hesitating to resort to violence to promote their purpose.

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