

drance to the progress of the organization instead of a help to it.

Centralization offers another serious check to the operation of the militant minority in that it produces rigidity of organization. The militant minority functions best in that type of organization possessing the greatest flexibility; that type in which each part has autonomy to freely act and develop. In this decentralized form of union its progressive ideas and the more readily incorporated into being. But in a centralized union where the dogged opposition of a strong machine has to be overcome before even the slightest progressive measure can be adopted the militant is working under a serious if not fatal disadvantage.

From whatever angle it is considered centralization is detrimental to the militant minority. The latter is an institution fully capable of standing on its own legs. It don't need any constitutional crutches, and any attempt to furnish it with them will only hamper it. It is fully competent to secure the co-operation of the workers on the strength of its "dope." It don't need nor can it use coercion. To subsidize it with delegated power is to ruin its efficiency. The careful solicitude of the centralists for it is unnecessary. All it needs for full development is a fair field and no favor. Conditions that it can have only in decentralized unions.

FILIGNO EXPLAINS MURPHY VOTE.

In regard to Murphy representing the M. T. W. with the 42 votes so much spoken of, I want to say this. It's an injustice to call anybody a "mutt" when the fellow is very little known; everything would have been alright if he had one or two votes. The roll call was taken twice, and the second roll call which was to decide whether we would do away with the G. E. B. this same fellow refused to vote.

You know that the M. T. W. didn't hold a convention and consequently there was no delegate elected to represent that body at the general convention, you know how I happen to be here, and I certainly wanted the M. T. W. to be represented. I had no time to have the membership nominate and elect a delegate. I knew at the same time the financial standing of the organization and here I was, what was I to do? No money in the treasury, no delegate, and the convention to take place in a few days. The local in Philadelphia was the only local in good standing with the National Union, except the locals on the Pacific Coast, which have a very small membership. So I took one of the two credentials sent to this office to Philadelphia and turned the same to local No. 8 of the M. T. W., and told them that they could elect one of the delegates at the convention, proving they paid the expenses of same, and I told them also that they were taking chances in getting their delegate seated. I went before the convention and told them the whole truth just as I am telling it to you now. My only object was to have representation for the M. T. W. When Murphy was elected delegate there were six nominated, three declined, and three ran, and Murphy was elected by two-thirds of the total vote.

I want to say to all rebels that this proposition of defaming everybody's character has got to be stopped. There will always exist different ideas, but that is no sign that just because I don't agree with you that you are a crook nor that I am one. I tell you it's not the spirit of a real revolutionist.

With best wishes to you and the reds, I am,
Yours for victory,
C. L. FILIGNO.

COMMENT:—Steadfastly THE VOICE has refused and will continue to refuse to allow in its columns the defaming of any Fellowworker, and its editor regrets that he ever allowed to get by him the calling of Fellowworker Murphy a "mutt," for, personally, he was not to blame for holding 42 votes in the Convention.

THE VOICE offers its sincere apology to Fellowworker Murphy.

COVINGTON HALL.

EBERT DECLINES NOMINATION.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE:—Please announce that I decline the nomination for Editor of Solidarity. A practical printer and publisher, as well as writer, is required for the position.
Brooklyn, N. Y., October 4, 1913. JUSTUS EBERT.

FLYNN ADDRESSES I. W. W.

N. Y. District Council Headquarters, 2205 Third Avenue.
New York, Oct. 8, 1913.—Fellowworkers:—Having been nominated for Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W., at the late Convention, principally through the influence of a communication which came from New York in the last days of the Convention, I feel that, regardless of any chances that there may be of election, I should state clearly where I stand and then, at least, no one can say he voted for me under a misapprehension. Briefly stated, I hold: That the Secretary-Treasurer should confine himself to his functions as a Secretary, and as a Treasurer, as laid down by the Constitution. The General Organizer should attend to the organization work and be responsible for it.

The Secretary-Treasurer should refuse to pay any wages to G. E. B. members as organizers, for the Constitution forbids the employment of the members of the G. E. B. in that capacity.

He should refuse to pay wages and expenses to any G. E. B. member going into any territory unless in response to a specific demand from the local bodies in that district over their seal.

He should refuse to pay wages to any National Organizer going into any district, except in response to a specific demand from the local bodies in that district.

The General Office should act in harmony with and be subservient to the local bodies.

Fraternally,
THOMAS FLYNN.

"LONGVIEW" AND LONGHELL.

"Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and all other things shall be added unto thee."

I guess that is what R(ober) A. Long of Kansas City did. Say! You lemon colored, wrinkled faced, humped-backed empty-gutted "Bone Heads" of Louisiana, how would you like to enjoy some of the comforts Long is providing for the cattle, horses and hogs on that million dollar farm called "Longview?"

You could stand the fresh air he pumps into the cattle stalls because you are used to plenty of that, as you live in shacks with

holes often large enough to chunk a cat through. But, those other modern conveniences would likely disagree with you.

But, you have no show to ever experience any of these sanitary measures, because you are merely a two-legged ram of the piney woods and not a cow, bull or horse. You will first have to evolve back to the time when you crept around on your all-fours, which many scientist claim was man's original way of moving around.

But, aint it funny that one of the most devilish lumber concerns in Louisiana has for its head a big churchman? Lord, help us! It makes us dwell on that time-worn phrase "consistency thou art a jewel."

This Long-Bell outfit used to not pay a man at all between their regular pay-days without a discount of 10 per cent. on top of \$2.00 per month for "pil-driver" and some hospital probably located some where in the skies. They discounted my time on two occasions and I am very glad that their method of doing business enabled me to donate so generously to that million-dollar farm surrounded by nine miles of white fence made of heart cypress. It must look real nice.

The "Bone-heads" of Louisiana and Texas live in Longhell and many of them will never rest their optics on a place like "Longview."

Folks like Rob-em-long never did me any harm. By himself he could not. But, ably assisted by "Bone-heads," "Brush-Monkeys," damphools and "suckers," he has.

You peons of Long and others will never be surrounded by a cypress fence painted white, but look out they don't get you in some bullpen painted black by the crimes of gunmen who are upheld by members of "law and order leagues," God forbid.

But, these are wonderful times. The workers pay hospital fees for years and then learn it's located at Kansas City and especially for horses, mules and cows.

Some "Brush-monkeys" and some fairly intelligent people are wondering what will become of the poor in Louisiana and other states when the timber pirates finish destroying the balance of the forests. Don't worry, old Master will find employment for you, because upon your eternal toil depends his existence.

If nothing better offers, you might by raising black-eyed peas on shares for old Master, chase rabbits and bull frogs at night, and go fishing on Sunday.

Whatever you do don't "jine" the union, you might lose your (?) job. Don't read, write or think, or do anything displeasing to your boss.

For as quick as you quit work that day you will starve. It is quite unnecessary that I tell you to do these things because you will do them anyway.

US THE HOBOES.

By Covington Hall.
(Republished by request.)

We shall laugh to scorn your power that now holds the world in awe,

We shall trample on your customs and shall spit upon your law;
We shall come up from life's desert to your burdened banquet hall,
We shall turn your wine to wormwood, your honey into gall.

We shall go where wail the children, where, from your race-killing mills,

Flows a bloody stream of profit to your cursed, insatiate tills;
We shall tear them from your drivers, in our shamed and angered pride,

With the fury and the fierceness of a fatherhood denied.

We shall set our sisters on you, those you trap into your hells
Where the mother instinct's stifled and no earthly beauty dwells;
We shall call them from the living-death, the death in life you gave,
To sing our class' triumph o'er your cruel system's grave.

We shall strip them of their epaulets, the panderers who fight
Your wars against the workers for a bone on which to bite;
We shall batter down your prisons, we shall set your chaingangs free,

We shall drive you from the mountainside, the valley, plain and sea.

We shall hunt around the fences where your ox-men sweat and gape

Till they stampede down your stockades in their panic to escape;
We shall steal up thru the darkness, we shall prowl the wood and town,
Till they waken to their power and arise and ride you down.

We shall send the message to them, on a whisper down the night,
We shall make the warrior women drive the ox-men to the fight;
We shall use your guile against you, all the cunning you have taught,
All the wisdom of the serpent to attain the ending sought.

We shall come as comes the cyclone,—in the stillness we shall form—

From the calm your terror fashioned we shall hurl on you the storm;

We shall strike when least expected, when you think toil's rout complete,

And crush you and your hessians 'neath our brogan-shodded feet.

We shall laugh to scorn your power that now holds the world in awe,

We shall trample on your customs, we shall spit upon your law,
We shall outrage all your temples, we shall blaspheme all your gods,—

We shall turn the old world over as the plowman turns the clods!

TO POLITICAL PLEADERS.

By Phineas Eastman.

The October "International Socialist Review" contains an article by Frank Bohn, entitled, "The State of the Party," in which he severely criticises the action of the last S. P. convention in adopting Article 6, Section 2, and beseeches those members who were alienated from the party by this assinine action to forget

this insult, and to come back into the folds of the party.

He says: "I sat in Tomlinson Hall and saw the majority of the convention worked into a fever of excitement, bitterness and fear of something that did not exist, until the time was ripe to write Article 6, Section 2, into the platform." Now it occurs to me that this writer, in his efforts to cement the gap between the Reds and Yellows, lacks courage.

Why did he not name the prime movers in this "Fever Working Conspiracy?" Why leave a great many of the unthinking and half-educated party members in the dark as to the identity of the big yellow leaders and their political henchmen who were the fathers of this dirty move? Why continue to shield these traitors to the working class, who are directly responsible for the loss of 5,000 dues paying members? The real fact of the matter is, that if Berger, Barnes, Spargo, Hilquitt, et al, had increased the party membership by the insertion of this meddlesome clause, which was an open invitation to the progressives and other "Neverlutionists," to join the party, there would have been no articles written bewailing its adoption instead there would have been much rejoicing—and derision for the I. W. W. and direct action.

It is quite useless for Bohn and other Socialist writers to beseech the Saboteure to come back into the Socialist party because they have had their fill of political opportunists. It is easy to say, "for the time being forget article 6, section 2, because the day will come when those responsible for its passage realizing their mistake, (Bohn says shame) will vote to repeal it." Of course they will, because it had just the opposite effect intended. The harm to the S. P. has already been done and, in my opinion, there is only one remedy for it, and that is for the S. P. to go back to first principles and be a real party of the working class, and kick the opportunists and the Petit Bourgeois over to the progressives. I have been a socialist for ten years and have become thoroughly disgusted with politics and yellow leaders who wish to use the workers votes to place themselves in fat offices and, then, "To hell with said workers."

Being a member of the I. W. W., I bitterly resent the contemptible methods used by these yellows in misrepresenting the the Only Real Labor Union in America. Down here in the South little 2x4 Socialist Party speakers, under instructions from the Higher-Ups have made it a point to visit places, where the F. & L. W. of the I. W. W. have local unions and preach against Industrial Unionism, the General Strike and Sabotage; and have succeeded in persuading unthinking vote-loving members to quit the union. These speakers use the failure of the Merryville, La., strike as an instance to prove the futility of Direct Action; some of these "Dear Comrades," in their zeal to serve Berger, et al, begged their audience to cease contributing funds for the defense of the Grabow prisoners as well as to the Merryville strikers and to rely only on the ballot box. Such talks caused us to lose some union members for the time being, but those who are sticking have lost all faith in political action, and ten to one are lost forever to the Socialist party. Economic conditions will force the "Voters" back into the Union.

The Pure and Simples realize now, that they have been using a two-edged sword, and by far the keenest edge is directed against themselves.

If the S. P. continues its present policy it will have to be rechristened—"The Intellectual Party of the Middle Class," and on its banner will be inscribed: "Down With the I. W. W.!" and, "To Hell With the Proletariat!"

In their frantic appeals to the workers to support the party, the Political Socialists call attention to the fact that the police and militia are now used by the Boss to intimidate and even murder strikers, and PROMISE to stop this procedure when they—the S. P.—get into power. Taking Article 6, Section 2, and the speeches and writings of their acknowledged leaders as a criterion, we Direct Actionists place no confidence whatever in these promises.

The thing for the Proletarian in the Socialist party to do, is to join the I. W. W., do this TO-DAY, and thereby hasten the day of the Emancipation of the Working Class.

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ITA EST.

"Call no man Master; neither call you any man Father." The Rebel Carpenter of Nazareth.

"This is a mighty good world to graft in, To lend or to spend or to give in, But to beg or to borrow, or to get one's own, 'Tis the poorest world that ever was known."

The I. W. W. Preamble

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

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

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid in employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalism, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society with the shell of the old.