THE AGITATOR

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THE AGITATOR does not bear the union stamp because it is not a trade union. It is a letter to union, evoking in its letter a world, and it is printed and published by unionists and their supporters. It is a paper for and by their fellow tellers. Much of the labor is given free. On the other hand, the love of the idea, the world of a free.

Law, in its guarantee of the results of struggle, slavery and exploitation, has fulfilled the phase of development as a capital, twin brother and sister, they have advanced hand in hand, sustaining each other's sufferings of humanity.

Peter Kropotkin

REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

IV.

(In this article is continued the review of some of the chief causes of the failure of the I. W. W. dual organization program.)

THE I. W. W. PLACES ITSELF IN THE ROLE OF A DISPUTIVE ORGANIZATION.

Dispute is in every labor movement. Any individual or organization proven guilty of this offense is given short shift in the organized labor of the country. It is natural, as the means to a successful movement.

The I. W. W., with its weird dual organization program, exposes itself fully to the charge of being a disruptive organization and our enemies, in whose hands we place this powerful weapon, use it continually with telling effect against us. Just a correct knowledge of history and the causes that might be cited to illustrate this point:

Fellow Worker Freeman, an I. W. W. member of the Chicago Horse Guards (A. F. of L.), recently got out a pamphlet violently criticising this antique union, its methods, Civic Federation officers, etc., and winding up by inviting its members to desert it and join the I. W. W.

The pamphlet caused quite a stir among the disgruntled leather workers, who had long suffered from the evils exposed by Freeman, and Bryan, the president of their union, was forced to write an answer to it. His response was as typical as Freeman's. Stripped of non-essentials, it amounted in effect to:

"This Freeman is a disruptor, a scoundrel, a traitor. He has betrayed his trust to destroy our union (quotes Freeman's own words in proof). He is trying to do exactly the same as the M. & T. Teamsters, and destroy between them. He should be expelled from the union.

The vast bulk of organized workers can't understand the necessity of breaking up their present unions and joining others, simply in order to change their minds, which is what the I. W. W. proposition amounts to—and are quick to believe such arguments as Bryan's. Labor fakers using them are placed in the position of defenders of their unions and the I. W. W., in so far as they were disposed to committing so much as to go to court to prevent the destruction of them.

An instructive incident.

Fellow Worker Jackel recently had an account in "Solidarity" of a typical and instructive incident that occurred in the San Francisco hotel waiters union. The waiters were in a position of power and they used their power to the extent of fighting each other. When a strike was called, the hotel waiters union refused to take part and they were replaced by the strike committee of the I. W. W. The strike committee was divided into two parts: one of them was to remain as the I. W. W. out of the hall. It was carried and executed.

This incident should be full of lessons for us. It illustrates clearly the popularity of the two programs of the I. W. W. Our first and successful one, viz., propagation of industrial unionism, presented by Jackel, was well received as usual. Our second and unsuccessful one, viz., dual organization, presented by Morace, was absolutely rejected—also as usual.

This hostility of organized workers for our dual organization program, as evidenced in the I. W. W. of San Francisco, is well known to our speakers, and in talking to such they usually evade mentioning it to them, confining themselves to whatever is possible to our other and more popular program.

How to Get Subs.

This line of thought, the better, and ordinarily either quiet them entirely or at least cease to try to improve them. The double result of this is absolutely to disrupt the militant minorities and to leave the unions in the unchallenged possession of the conservatives and fakers.

Many unions plainly show the evil effects of these disruptive tactics, whether in the East or West. In other words, according to Vincent St. John, when this union was in the best fighting days, 10 per cent of its members were rebels, but the militant minority were so well organized that they controlled the union and made it willy nilly a real suppression organization. And now, if the W. P. F. of M. is conservative, it is chiefly because this once powerful militant minority is disrupted and has practically quit fighting to control the union. This disruption is due to the I. W. W. doctrine that A. F. of L. unions are not labor unions, I have quoted the experience of a lot of these camps, the organizations, who believe that the W. P. F. of M., because it quit the I. W. W., should be wiped out of existence. Let us remove all these organizations from our union and, if we cannot, let them attack our union. If they do, then the militant minority of the W. P. F. of M. can readily be made into a fighting organization once more.

The case of the "International Shingle Weaver's Union" is a sample of I. W. W. tactics. This small radical union (about 3000 members) refuses to be disrupted and join the I. W. W. Therefore, it must be patriotically broken up. In Seattle I heard I. W. W. men proudly boast that they had broken up the American Wood Shingle Union, because the rebels so they wouldn't pay dues into it any more.

"Truly a great and wise achievement, as the rebels are probably enough to run the "Shingle Weaver's Union," as they would were they only members of it and organised to do so. But to do this pre-arranged their getting rid of their I. W. W. patriotism.

The same disruption of the militant minority lasts in the Pacific district of the International Longshoremen's Association's local 316. The local 316 has a lot of rebels and there are hundreds more on the outside that won't come in. They are all disruptted, censored and against the I. W. W. Most of them, a when they were on the inside and organised they could get rid of these same fakers in a jiffy. Kean, the ideal prophet, predicted that if the I. W. W. they raise his cry a few weeks ago against an I. W. W. "sorcing from within" invasion of the I. L. A. Bossini, national organizer of the Italian Socialist Federation (I. W. W.), in "Io Proletario" (November), quotes an ex-organizer of the U. M. W. A. to the effect that the Italian rebels in the U. M. W. A. could control a "great part" of the local unions if they only would. Being obsessed with the I. W. W. idea they don't even try.

This disruption of militant minorities is general in the American labor movement. Innumerable examples of it might be cited. It is one of the most evil results of our dual organization program, from which monstrously it naturally proceeds. It is a potent cause for the weakness of our movement. Indeed, with destroying the effectiveness of rebels as we are, the wonder is not that the American movement is making such slow progress, but that it is making any at all.

W. Z. FOSTER.

(The next article of this series will be on new tactics for the I. W. W.)

The Martyrdom of Ted

The history of Ted, the history of martyrdom. The path of progress is strewn with the bones of sturdy, liberty-loving workers, who fought and died in the battle for a better world. In the midst of this environ-}

ment, the hired hoodlum and slave-driver of the re-}