

# THE AGITATOR

A SEMI-MONTHLY ADVOCATE OF THE MODERN SCHOOL, INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

VOL. 2, NO. 12

HOME, (LAKEBAY P. O.) WASHINGTON, MAY 1, 1912

WHOLE NO. 36

## The Passing Show

### May Day and Syndicalism.

What is this May Day racket all about, anyway? Why are the crowded heads of Europe shivering at the approach of this fine day? Why are the capitalists and politicians conferring together and why is the soldiery, the pillar of kings and capitalists, ordered to be in readiness for instant action? Verily, there must be something in the day.

It is the toilers' day, the day of the enlightened workers, the men who are robbed and know they are robbed, and object to the robbery.

It is the day on which they assemble and discuss ways and means of routing the robbers. Well, may the robbers and rulers shiver and the butchers sharpen their knives. For each May Day brings them nearer the end of their reign and Universal Liberty nearer its birth. It is the day on which the hands of toil rest and the brain fulfills its function; and therein lies the cause of the shivering and the sharpening.

While labor works and merely grumbles he is not dangerous. It is when he stops, thinks and confers that there is cause for shivering.

For thirty years May Day has been the cause of alarm among the exploiters of Europe, but never so much as this year. Syndicalism, the latest and finest weapon of the workers, is growing and spreading its liberating arms across the face of the world. On May Day its praises will be sung around the world.

The barricade and the ballot are things of the past, cast-off garments, discarded tools that, in the natural course of evolution, have taken their places on the musty shelves where the has-beens lie.

Syndicalism is a new world power evolved out of the experience of the past, as naturally as the oak out of the acorn, and the May Day that celebrates its coming is the most glorious day that ever was born out of the night.

With this thot in mind, we dedicate the May Day issue of *The Agitator* to Syndicalism, the emancipator of Labor.

### The Titanic and Ismayism.

In a mad world with a mad people racing madly against time, is it any wonder there is a Titanic wrecked? A gigantic ten million dollar floating palace, specially designed to carry the exploiters of toil across the Atlantic in luxury and with swiftiness, is driven madly over the shorter and dangerous Northern course, and, despite the warning of danger, is kept at full speed till it crashes into a ponderous iceberg and sinks, like a stone, two miles into the sea. The sea was calm and every one of the twenty-five hundred passengers and crew could have been saved, had the money-mad exploiters made provision for such an emergency.

Sixteen hundred go to the bottom and the politicians will make capital out of the "investigation." Is Ismay the cause? Nonsense. He is simply supplying a mad world with what it wants on a paying basis. The

exploiters, twelve of them "worth" 200,000,000 dollars, were as reckless of human life as Ismay, as their records will show, and every immigrant envied the masters for their luxurious seats on the backs of toiling humanity.

But the congressional investigators will fix the blame on Ismay and he will be branded a "bad" capitalist and roundly scored for his "criminal negligence"; and the mad world will rush desperately on and forget in a week that he ever existed.

They will brand Ismay as the cause, but they will not touch the cause of Ismay. They will not go to the base of the madness. As well rail at the iceberg as to rail at Ismay. Ismay, like the iceberg, is an effect. Ismay is an iceberg floating on the social sea, more dangerous than the iceberg on the North Atlantic. We can sail south and escape the iceberg, but we cannot escape Ismay; for Ismay, the type, the symbol of money-madness, abounds everywhere.

Sixteen hundred at the bottom of the sea are but a few of the victims of Ismay; the few whose exit was dramatic, who were accompanied by the soothing strains of music and a dozen Ismayans "worth" nearly \$200,000,000.

The earth engulfs more victims than the sea. The mines swallow them, the railroads crush them, the factories grind them, hunger devours them; and the Ismayans rush madly on in vain pursuit of the fleeting pleasures promised by the possession of millions extracted by force from the hives of Industry. The Ismayan perverted passions must be satiated, no matter what becomes of the millions who travel in the steerage of the *Titanics* they build and go to the bottom in silence. Dumb brutes, what do they know about heroism, where is the pathos in their parting with husbands and wives and children? Like the rats in the hold, let them sink into the oblivion which is their lot in this mad world.

### San Diego and Grays Harbor.

In the pioneer days of the West the "vigilance committee" was the only law. There was no regularly constituted authorities. The "vigilantes" tried the persons accused of crime and duly executed the sentence.

We are returning to the ancient regime. I have often repeated that where the law is insufficient to suppress the workers the ruling class will set it aside and resort to other forms of force. The vigilance committee are in action in San Diego and Grays Harbor. I quote from a press letter issued by San Diego Free Speech League, Kaspar Bauer, Treasurer, 716 D St.:

"The 'vigilantes' have been sworn in as deputy constables and carry rifles and other deadly weapons. This fight is a fight to the finish—no half-way measures. Michael Hoey was murdered by the police and two others reported dead—supposed to have been killed by the vigilantes. Men, women and children slugged—prisoners starved in jail. What are you going to do about it?"

The public has been warned that in future the vigilantes will be met, steel with steel.

This action was taken at a joint meeting of the Unions and Socialist Party.

In Grays Harbor a similar committee is at work assisting the mill owners beat the slaves back to work. In both places the lines have been closely drawn. There is nobody astride the fence. Everyone has to declare himself either for or against the workers.

In Hoquiam, Mayor Ferguson declared for the strikers, but his orders are ignored by the police, who obey the commands of the mill-owners and "citizens'" committee. Thus we have a concrete example that friends in office cannot befriend us, cannot turn the guns on the enemy. The men behind the guns obey the voice of authority only when that voice has economic power behind it. This truth is becoming more apparent as the struggle goes on, and the result will inevitably be that all workingmen will be driven to fight side by side on a purely economic, direct-action basis.

### Jailing the Leaders.

The jailing of Guy Bowman, editor of "The Syndicalist," for six months, the two printers for one month and the arrest of Tom Mann, who will be tried in Manchester, under a forgotten law, passed in 1797, under which there has been no prosecution since 1804, has aroused the English libertarians to a high degree. Big protest meetings have been held. The press of the country has been bombarded with letters. Syndicalism and "The Syndicalist" are being advertised by this silly persecution in a manner very agreeable to the Syndicalists.

When the government digs up an obsolete law, which no one knows anything about, in a vain effort to stem the tide of Syndicalism, it gives its case away most childishly. It tells the world by this act how terribly much the capitalists fear the new enemy, and how extremely anxious they are to crush it in its infancy.

They can jail Mann & Bowman, but they cannot jail Syndicalism. They might even hang them from the gallows tree, as they did the agitators of old. But in so doing they would simply be hanging the banner of Syndicalism in the heavens emblazoned with a thousand stars.

The time is long gone by when the imprisonment or hanging of a leader will suppress a labor movement. Ideas, not men, lead the labor movement today, and government is as powerless in the face of an idea as dust in the wake of a whirlwind.

### The Trust Busters.

What a howling success this trust busting business has turned out to be. The beef trust is "not guilty." Whoever suspected that it was? But there was a large element of simple-minded people in this country who thot the packers had combined to raise prices in defiance of the law, and that the law could just step in and stop the plunder. It has cost the people a lot of money to find out that what the trusts do is law, and that all that trust regulating stuff written in the law books is there merely to furnish the lawyers with a living.

JAY FOX.

# THE AGITATOR

Issued twice a month, on the first and fifteenth, by THE AGITATOR Publishing Association from its printing office in Home, Wash.

Entered at the postoffice at Lakebay, Wash., as Second Class Matter

**Subscription, One Dollar a Year.**

**Two copies to one address \$1.50.**

Address all communications and make all money orders payable to THE AGITATOR, Lakebay, Wash.

Articles for publication should be written LEGIBLY on one side of the paper only.

THE AGITATOR does not bear the union stamp because it is not printed for profit. But it is union, every letter of it. It is printed and published by unionists and their friends for the economic and political education of themselves and their fellow toilers. Much of the labor is given free. On the whole it is a work of love—the love of the idea, of a world fit for the free.

**A proletarian movement can have no part, however slight, in the game of politics. The moment it takes a seat at that grimy board that moment it dies within.**

Charles Edward Russell

## TOM MANN AND POLITICS

A few weeks ago Tom Mann lectured in Battersea, London. Battersea is the Mecca of John Burns, M. P. John went to Parliament with the aid of the Battersea Labor League, and now?—Twenty-five years ago Mann lived in Battersea, and with his companion, on their way to work in the early morning, used to paste "stickers" on the lamp posts and telegraph poles.

The following report of Mann's speech, of said recent date, will help clear the air as to his views on politics, old and new, and Industrialism, too.

JACK WOOD.

"As a card carrying member of the Battersea branch of the Engineers' Union he had been very active in Battersea a quarter of a century ago, and in conjunction with his then associates had been forced to the conclusion that the Trades Union Movement, as then conducted, was 'deadly dull.' (Laughter.) As 'young men in a hurry' they were especially impressed by the fact that while as Trade Unionists the workers acted against the capitalist class, yet, when it came to voting, they nearly always supported some individual member of the capitalist class. To them, in their youth and inexperience, it had seemed to be the right thing to try and get this subject discussed in the Trades Unions and to suggest as a remedy that the workers should not only work for eight hours, but should also vote for someone belonging to the working class. They had not then learned that the thing that was wrong was the voting itself—a method worked out by the capitalist class for the benefit of the capitalist class—and that, very often, to elevate a worker through the voting method into a position of prominence was in reality to lower him to the sad position of a worker forgetful of his class. (Applause.) The present conditions in Battersea—conditions even worse than they were twenty-five years ago—showed very plainly the futility of the political method of fighting working class battles. (Applause.) And this general retrogression of working class conditions in England had taken place in spite of the fact that many honest and capable working class men had been elected to political office—thus proving that it was the system and not the individual that was wrong.

"Some who had not yet had their eyes opened to the futility of trying to fight the capitalist class on its own chosen ground, the political battlefield, might say that the trouble was that the political method had not yet been given a fair trial in England—that the workers had not yet elected a sufficient number of working class representatives. Very well! Let that end of the discussion be taken up—with himself as a witness, and with the course of events in the great British Commonwealth on the other side of the world as evidence. (Applause.)

### Politics in Australia.

"Taking up this line of testimony, Brother Mann went on to say that Fate had sent him to the Australasian world about ten years ago, possessed of a strong initial prejudice in favor of political methods, but in that land, where the workers had in many states achieved a complete conquest of political power—a conquest such as they could not hope to

achieve in England for many years to come, even if all the workers were to throw themselves with full zeal and vigor into a continuance of the political method—his hopes for working class success from political methods had suffered a rude and killing shock. This conclusion he stated thus frankly and positively after nearly nine years of constant observation and study—with opportunities for observation and study such as had come to no one else in that country with whom he, at any rate, was personally acquainted.

"Proceeding to narrate specific episodes as the ground of this loss of confidence in Parliamentary methods, Brother Mann piled up a tremendous mass of evidence that left his hearers more and more doubtful of the probability of any real benefit being likely to come from the injecting of the working class members into the talk-shop at Westminster.

"In New Zealand the small plutocrats had simply stolen the name of the Democracy and were posing as a working class Government. As a matter of fact, there never was even a Labor group pure and simple in the New Zealand Parliament, and that country was, therefore, out of the evidence as much as England was.

"In Australia, however, a great strike had turned the attention of the workers, nearly a dozen years ago, to the fact that the politicians were firing at them in the interest of capital, and being captivated by the idea that the thing to do was to abandon their frontal attack made by industrial methods and go after the capture of this side fort, they had succeeded in getting possession of the fort—only to find that capital's main fortress held the really dominating position by virtue of its occupancy of the economic field.

"That nothing was gained by all these political so-called victories was proved not only by the capitalist minds developed by many Labor members, and even Labor legislatures as a whole, but still more convincingly by the material conditions of life—the pay the workers received, the conditions under which they had to labor, and the purchasing power of their pay as revealed by the quality of food and clothing they consumed, the houses they lived in, the joy of life at their commands in the way of recreation.

"All these tests gave crushing evidence as to the utter incapacity of politicians—no matter what party name—to remedy the conditions of Labor.

### Industrialism the Only Remedy.

"These conditions could only be remedied by the working class itself taking action on the industrial field—by the workers in each industry determining what the conditions in that industry should be, and then enforcing those conditions by direct action methods calculated to render impossible any other method of carrying on the industry. (Loud applause.)

"It might be asked how it was going to be possible to get all, or even a majority, of the workers organized for industrial action? This would be accomplished by steadfastly continuing to call the workers' attention to the meaning of the circumstances which from day to day were exposing the weakness of those so-called Labor leaders who were in the habit of insidiously claiming to be in favor of industrial action, but who were at the same time advocating the capture of that glorious old 'Mother of Parliaments.' (Laughter.) These fellows constituted the really dangerous element because of the plausibility of their pretense of friendship for industrial methods, while their real love was reserved for the political method whose tendency was to confuse the workers and thereby prevent them from intelligently uniting their efforts on the field where all their trouble really arises—the field of actual productive industry. (Applause.)

### Are Strikes Barbarous?

"Would this industrial action mean strikes? Possibly yes; but only when striking was necessary, and when organization had been perfected to the point when striking would prove quickly victorious.

"Of course it would be pleaded by the masters and their friends that the strike is 'barbarous.' That might be; but there was something that was still more barbarous, and that was the rotten, stinking poverty and degradation that was everywhere forced upon the workers and their wives and families. The workers would change all this by the working class revolution—the "right kind of revolution" that Brother Hird had spoken for. (Applause.)

"This would bring us far readier and more satisfactory results than that policy of 'peace, sweet, sweet peace!'—(laughter)—which would delude us into waiting years to get our men into Parliament, then further years of endeavor, on the part of those representatives, to 'catch the Speaker's eye'—(laughter)—and finally the winning of permission to make a speech that after all would be received with empty plaudits—that would be followed by no action!

"The stirring events of the recent years had taught the workers the truth as to their real power. The workers were now fighting directly for the abolition of poverty, and a few old frumps would no longer be able to head them off by drawing logey pictures of the horrors of revolution and that 'strength of the military' which the workers had now found out to be powerless and ridiculous when pitted against united and intelligent working class action.

"Fired with the zeal of our fathers, we will use our opportunities to remove all stumbling blocks and to leave to our children not a fight, but a victory—the achievement of peace and plenty, and the glory of a world redeemed from poverty. (Hearty and continued applause.)

"After the ovation to Brother Mann had died down, Chairman Hird called for questions, and in answer to the many that were propounded Brother Mann explained in still greater detail that Syndicalism means:

1.—That the workers who manipulate the tools shall regulate the conditions under which the tools shall be used.

2.—That there shall be no class above the workers to dictate to them.

3.—That the tools of each industry shall be owned by the workers in connection with the rest of the community"

## OTHER BIG STRIKES COMING

In the May American Magazine, Ray Stannard Baker presents a report and interpretation of the Lawrence strike. "No strike" says Baker, "that has ever taken place in America is fraught with a deeper significance than this." He goes on:

"The strike at Lawrence as I shall show more fully later, was far more than a revolt; it was an incipient revolution. It was revolutionary because it involved a demand for fundamental changes in the basic organization of industry. Thinly veiled behind its demand for higher wages, lay the outspoken declaration of the leaders for the abolition of the entire wage system, and the suppression of the private ownership of capital.

In so many words the organization declares its position:

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

"In short, this was a Socialist strike as a contrasted with the familiar craft or trade-union strike of the past.

"Now, the same revolutionary organization, the Industrial Workers of the world, which conducted the strike at Lawrence with so much skill, is at this moment organizing rapidly in other parts of the country. Its victory here will give it a new prestige, and new enthusiasm.

"Already it is threatening to move upon two of the greatest industries—the meat packing establishments of Chicago, and the steel mills of the Pittsburg district. In both of these localities, among the same sort of low-paid foreign working people as those of Lawrence, it already has well rooted branches of its organization and only awaits a convenient reason to open war. In this strike at Lawrence we have a concrete example of the revolutionary strike already familiar in France and in the other European countries."

## ORIGIN OF SYNDICALISM

The Syndicalist advances beyond political or constitutional action. He works, not thru any Parliamentary group, but thru the class war, waged by the direct action of workingmen, grouped in Industrial Unions, and employing the triple weapon of the multiplied strike, the sympathetic strike, the general strike, "The pivot of Syndicalism is the general strike."...

Both the Utopia and methods of Syndicalism are closely allied to Anarchism. According to the famous exponent of Syndicalism, George Sorel, Syndicalism actually had its birth when the Anarchists entered and dominated the French Trade-Unions. "Historians," says M. Sorel, "will one day recognize that this entrance of the Anarchists into the syndicates was one of the greatest events of our time." ("Fortnightly Review")

**FORCE AND FREEDOM**

Armed to overthrow, impatient to enchain,  
 Making the year all winter, how shall ye  
 Persuade the destined bondsman he is free,  
 Or with a signal build the summer again?  
 Oh, ye can hold the rivulets of the plain  
 A little while from nuptials with the sea.  
 But the fierce mountain-stream of Liberty  
 Not edicts and not hosts may long restrain.  
 For this is of the heights and of the deeps,  
 Born of the heights and in the deeps conceived.  
 This, 'mid the lofty places of the mind  
 Gushing pellucid, vehemently upheaved,  
 Heart's tears and heart's blood hallow, as it  
 sweeps  
 Invincibly on, co-during with mankind.

WILLIAM WATSON

**THE TURNING OF THE TIDE**

For fully twenty-five years those in earnest on the social question were compelled to break their hearts in isolation or wear themselves out on such petty propaganda work as alone is possible when the masses are asleep. It is fully twenty-five years since the Knights of Labor, at one time a really radical organization with a membership reputed at 500,000, went to pieces, its chosen leader retiring into a fat government position. It is more than twenty-five years since free speech was suppressed in Chicago and a bomb was thrown in the effort to uphold it. During all those twenty-five years, the average span of human life, it has been a dead pull against the stream. For the most part the masses, when they could be stirred into a semblance of activity, have attended routine meetings, paid their dues obediently and gone thru the red-tape flummery that kills all life. Periodically it has been possible to induce the disgruntled to label themselves Socialist Labor Party men, Socialist Party men, United Labor Party men, or God knows what, and deposit in a ballot box a slip of paper notifying the authorities of their disgruntlement. Whereat the optimistic have rejoiced greatly, altho it is obvious that such a proceeding calls for no self-sacrifice and guarantees nothing. At rare intervals a disillusioned soul, under the impression that some one ought to make a fight, has stepped into the open and crucified himself, being rewarded almost invariably by the curses of the many and particularly by those of their allegedly revolutionary leaders, scenting trouble for their own skins. In a word, we have some twenty-five years of terrible re-action, during which capitalism has been busy as a bee, sucking the honey out of every flower in sight and leaving the masses empty husks.

Economically Labor in the United States is a hundred times weaker than it was twenty-five years ago, and the one hope lies in the supposition that out of its very economic weakness it may have gathered what I call, for convenience, spiritual strength. If out of this muck-bed of cowardly submissiveness there has not grown the flower of the "Spirit of Revolt" the case is hopeless, because, while the masses have been grumbling about their poverty the classes have been adding to their wealth; because while the one army has been wasting years in squabbles as to the best methods of attack the other army has not lost a minute in occupying every point of vantage and making the economic fortress, as far as possible, impregnable. That fortress is incomparably stronger than it was twenty-five years ago, and it is defended by a much larger and more powerful garrison; said garrison being our adored army, our befattered navy, the National Guard, in which all good young men are urged to enlist; a police and detective force of immense but unknown size—in short, the whole arsenal of government; that hideous Moloch at whose feet State Socialism worships. Let us have no doubt about the fact that the fortress is far better fortified than it was twenty-five years ago. Whatever Gompers and the other conservative labor leaders may say as to there prodigious success in protesting the American Workingman. Let us also have no doubt that we owe the existence of the powerful defending army almost exclusively to the insane State Socialist delusion that the stronger the central government the better.

Mexico gives us the best of illustrations, because in Mexico the war between Have & Want is being actually fought out on the battlefield. Any one can understand that the Mexicans would have been wise if they had started the fight before their national resources had been given away and before Diaz had formed a strong, central government to protect the favored few. Anyone can see that the Mexican insurrecto's hope lies in the temporary weakness of the central government, and that

if Madero or his successors can gather a big army and police force power and privilege will be able to sleep soundly once more. It is self-evident, moreover, that what has happened in Mexico has happened also in the United States & Europe, in which latter everything was placed long ago under lock and key. Real revolution—revolution that changes the property basis—is still comparatively easy in new and undeveloped countries. Even in these United States the West is always more radical and quick to move than is the more staid and settled East. In such a country as England, where established institutions have been hardening for centuries, it will take many such struggles as those of the coal miners to relax the grip of power. Let us not delude ourselves. When a strong central government has been formed Privilege is at once seated most firmly in the saddle.

Unquestionably, however, the tide has turned, and turned with astounding violence. It had to. Hope will not let itself be cheated forever; such fires as glow within the Labor volcano have to find a vent. To my individual thaut the McNamara case was important mainly because it gave us a peep into the crater, but that peep roused us all. We have traveled very far within the last twelve months; surely much farther than in all the preceding generation. And the movement has been, on both sides, in the opposite direction; deeds taking the place of words, direct action pushing parliamentary talkification more and more contemptuously aside, legal formalism being put more and more on the shelf to gather dust with companion antiquities. The McNamara case was a dropping of the mask; a quick revelation of the war as it actually exists. And both sides promptly took the hint. Never has their been in this country or in England—the only two countries whose current literature I can make a pretence of following adequately—anything like the outpouring of purely Anarchistic sentiment that has characterized the last twelve months. I care not from what angle you approach it. They prosecute the Trusts. Suddenly every one has come to understand that the whole procedure is a roaring farce. Trade unions enter agreements. Instinctively it is acknowledged all round that these are made only to be broken whenever either of the warring combatants finds it to his advantage. Nobody believes any longer in the minimum wage, compulsory arbitration or similar make-shifts in which so much confidence was placed only a year ago. One would like to see the audience that Victor Berger could enthuse on the subject of old age pensions. The Populist movement, the Nationalist movement and certainly a large percentage of the Socialist movement looked to government ownership. Tom Mann, for the moment the most prominent figure in the English Labor movement, singles government ownership out for special exposure as the most transparent of all humbugs. Charles Edward Russell sees it as it is when he visits Australasia, and today there are few, even of the Socialists, who honestly indorse it. The governmental idea has received another serious setback and the tide runs more strongly anti-government than ever.

There have been a series of most bitter conflicts and events have educated where abstract argument could not. Without exception the workers have found themselves opposed by the military and other essentially governmental forces every time they endeavored to assert themselves. Our leading illustrated papers have swarmed with sketches representing the soldier pointing his bayonet at the worker's breast. I. W. W. men are lectured from and sentenced by the bench—as in the case of Charles W. Pinknam of San Diego—for avowing their disbelief in law; and, to cap the climax, members of the organization are handed by professional guardians of the law to private Vigilantes, and a fearless editor, A. R. Sauer, also of San Diego, is kidnaped by members of the kid-gloved Kaklux gang and all but lynched for daring to protest. You will not find many believers in government among the Lawrence or I. W. W. fighters, and even when you use the old Socialist argument that the kind of government you intend to establish will be something entirely different the audience will be extremely skeptical. It is not this or that form of rule that is becoming unpopular, but the thing itself; and, as the mask is laid aside and the conflict of interests acknowledged with increased frankness, both sides show themselves more indifferent to all those legal formalities on which government is supposed to rest. Only yesterday an unfortunate San Diego pawn-broker was beaten badly for displaying a red flag which the sailors of one of our warships mistook for a declaration of Anarchy, and thus again government itself rebelled against itself, its own agents defying authority.

WM. C. OWEN.

Subscribe for THE AGITATOR.

**UNEMPLOYED OF AMERICA**

March on San Diego. Join the army of 10,000 marching from San Francisco; join the March of the Hungry. Go to San Diego. Demand your right of Free Speech; demand bread; demand freedom. You are not wanted where you are and San Diego needs you. Fall in line **BE MEN.** (Signed) California Free Speech League.

**THE EDITOR'S DEFENCE**

The Editor of this paper has been convicted on the charge of "encouraging disrespect for the law". If this verdict is allowed to stand every radical paper in the State will be at the absolute mercy of the prosecutors, and may be thrown into jail at any moment.

The interest of free speech demands that this case be appealed, and we urge that you subscribe to this fund. The Free Speech League.

NATHAN LEVIN, Treas. Home, Lakebay, Wash.

Previously acknowledged, \$173.49  
 Jos. T. Wilhite, 5.40  
 Ruby Hill, 1.50

**THE AGITATOR**

**Financial Report For March**

Receipts, (subscriptions, etc.,)	\$59.20
EXPENSES	
Deficit from February,	\$30.58
Jay Fox, wages, (five weeks)	\$50.00
Faler & Co., Linotype	10.20
Postage, etc.,	4.14
Total,	\$94.92
Deficit,	35.72

**THE WORKERS' UNIVERSITY.**

**Books and Pamphlets For Sale By the Agitator Publishing Association.**

A Physician in the House, Dr. J. H. Greer.....	2.50
Flowers of the Mind, the best poems.....	1.25
The Moods of Life, Poems, W. F. Barnard.....	1.00
Love's Coming of Age, Edward Carpenter.....	1.00
The Changing Order, Oscar Lovell Triggs.....	1.00
The Materialistic Conception of History, Labriola.....	1.00
The Bomb, Frank Harris. A powerful novel based on the Chicago tragedy of '87, cloth.....	1.00
Looking Forward, a Treatise on Woman.....	1.00
The American Esperanto Book, Arthur Baker... ..	1.00
The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals, Fitch... ..	1.00
Thoughts of a Fool.....	\$1.00
The Cost of Something for Nothing, J. P. Altgeld.....	1.00
Slavery of Our Times, Tolstoy.....	.65
The Sale of An Appetite, a Purpose Story.....	.50
Origin of the Family, Property, State, Engels... ..	.50
The Positive School of Criminology, E. Ferri... ..	.50
Social and Philosophical Studies, P. Lafargue... ..	.50
Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies, P. Lafargue.....	.50
The Evolution of Property, P. Lafargue.....	.50
Human, All Too Human, Nietzsche.....	.50
Freeland; a Social Anticipation, The. Hertzka... ..	.50
Communism and Conscience, E. C. Walker.....	.25
Stories of the Struggle, Morris Winchevsky.....	.50
Who Is the Enemy, Anthony Comstock or You? ..	.20
Vice: Its Friends and Its Foes, E. C. Walker... ..	.15
Patriotism, Emma Goldman.....	.05
What I Believe, Emma Goldman.....	.05
Francisco Ferrer; His Life, Work and Martyrdom.....	.25
The Rational Education of Children, Ferrer.....	.05
The Curse of Race Prejudice, J. F. Morton, Jr... ..	.25
Modern Science and Anarchism, Kropotkin.....	.15
The State: Its Historic Role, Kropotkin.....	.10
The Open Shop, C. S. Darrow.....	.10
Crime and Criminals, C. S. Darrow.....	.10
Law and Authority, Kropotkin.....	.05
The Wage System; Revolutionary Government... ..	.05
Anarchist Communism, Kropotkin.....	.05
Appeal to the Young, Kropotkin.....	.05
Evolution and Revolution, Reclus.....	.05
Trade Unionism and Anarchism, Jay Fox.....	.05
Direct Action vs. Legislation, J. B. Smith.....	.05
Roosevelt and Anarchy, Jay Fox.....	.05
What the Young Need to Know, E. C. Walker... ..	.15
Anarchism vs. Malthus, C. L. James.....	.05

**Communitic Library**—Meets every Thursday night from 8 to 10; every Sunday morning from 10 to 12. Free lessons in English and Esperanto. Books in any language free. 711 Hudson St., Trenton N. J.

**HENDERSON BAY ROUTE**—Steamer **Tyconda** leaves Commercial Dock, Tacoma, for all points on Henderson Bay, including Home, week days at 2:30 p. m., returning next morning. Sunday at 8 a. m., returning same day.

**NORTH BAY ROUTE**—Steamer **Tyrus** leaves Commercial Dock, Tacoma, for all points on North Bay every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 10 a. m., returning next morning.

## REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

II

In this article will be considered some of the chief causes of the failure of the I. W. W. dual organization program.

First. The universal and indiscriminate condemnation of non-I. W. W. labor unions as worthless and incapable of evolution.

The I. W. W. was organized, and still organizes, on the theory that all American non-I. W. W. labor unions, A. F. of L. and independent alike, are not labor unions at all nor even capable of becoming such. It is asserted that they are capitalist institutions and must be supplanted by a new and revolutionary organization—which the I. W. W. claims to be. Having been kindly given a monopoly on the labor movement by a bunch of theorists at the first I. W. W. convention—most of whom unquestionably didn't know even the names of half of the labor unions they were so sweepingly condemning,—the I. W. W. claims jurisdiction over the whole working class, and is organizing unions indiscriminately in all industries regardless of the existence of older unions in these industries.

It claims to be the whole labor movement. All other unions are interlopers and must disappear as rivals. The I. W. W., alone for some mysterious reasons, of all American unions, possessing the magic quality of being revolutionary.

What a wonderful and original theory, and how absurd and egotistic it is.

This wholesale condemnation of non-I. W. W. into the position of the sole and only possible labor union is the foundation theory upon which the whole I. W. W. dual organization program rests.

And it is a purely arbitrary one as even the slightest investigation shows. Its justification can be found in neither American nor foreign labor movements. On the contrary, it is being given the lie everywhere in labor movements, both here and abroad. In the United States many of the condemned non-I. W. W. unions are making progress—even tho we refuse to see it; and in the labor movements of foreign countries, notably England, one of the great facts being demonstrated is that the course of evolution of labor movements is gradually from the conservative to the revolutionary. Everywhere, where ready-made revolutionary labor organization, a la I. W. W., have been established (German, Sweden, England, etc.) they have proven failures, while revolutionary movements aiming to gradually revolutionize the old conservative labor unions (England, France, Italy, Spain) are all achieving great success.

Many of the unions becoming revolutionary in these various movements have been as conservative as many American unions now under the ban of the I. W. W. These non-I. W. W. unions, and there are many of them, there being 115 in the A. F. of L. alone—are of all types—good, bad and indifferent—and in all stages of growth and decay. Some, like the "Boot and Shoe Workers" and "Textile Workers," are decadent, scabby, yellow unions and apparently doomed to extinction. Others, such as the U. M. W. of A., W. F. of M., etc., are unquestionably unions of much higher types and susceptible to progress. For the I. W. W. to sweepingly assert, as it is doing, that none of these unions can become revolutionary—unless it affiliates with the I. W. W. and so gets permission, is ridiculous. There is absolutely no justification for such a conclusion unless it can be proven that the I. W. W. is endowed with the absolute gift of prophecy.

## A New Brand of Patriotism.

Nevertheless the theory still prevails and serves as the fountain from which all the difficulties of the I. W. W. dual organization program flow. It has long since become a sort of official dogma and woe unto the heretic who calls it in question. Logically, because of it, we have erected the I. W. W. into a sort of labor union deity that can do no wrong and without which there can be no good.

We have become I. W. W. patriots; and this patriotism is natural, nay compulsory, for having founded our organization on the theory that all non-I. W. W. unions cannot evolve and that the I. W. W. is the only possible bona fide labor organization, we cannot admit that these unions can

evolve ever so little; for if we do we must admit that they can evolve to any extent, an admission which would do away with our justification for the I. W. W.'s existence as a labor union. Consequently we don't admit such evolution on their part even tho it be patent to all observers.

The American labor movement hasn't yet accepted the I. W. W. theory, and is everywhere exhibiting signs of progress, which we as good patriots must explain away. The recently organized system federations gave us a fine opportunity for such "explanations." We proved it to ourselves, if not to others, that the System Federations—which anybody but a bigot can see are a higher type of unionism—are a step backward for the unions composing them.

## The Recalcitrant W. F. of W.

A typical illustration of this I. W. W. patriotism is exhibited in our attitude towards the W. F. of M. Formerly we considered the W. F. of M. a progressive labor union and part of the structure of the future society which the I. W. W. has the exclusive contract to build. This was when the W. F. of M. was affiliated with the I. W. W. But now this is all changed. To us the W. F. of M. is no longer even a labor union, much less a progressive one. It has had its sub-contract to build the mining department of the future society revoked. It has lost jurisdiction over even its own members and like all other non-I. W. W. unions is a target for our condemnation and dual organization tactics. Many of us would rejoice to see it wiped out of existence.

This great change of attitude has been brot about simply because the W. F. of M. has withdrawn from the I. W. W. and affiliated with the A. F. of L. Its membership and form have remained the same and to an unsophisticated observer, it is as much a labor union as ever. But to us I. W. W. patriots consideration of form or membership don't necessarily enter into the determination of whether or not an organization is a labor union. The determining factor is whether or not it is affiliated with the I. W. W. Those organizations affiliated are labor unions, the unaffiliated ones are not. The affiliated organizations are parts of the structure of the new society and not to be dualized. The unaffiliated ones are not parts of the new society and are to be dualized. Very simple—and patriotic. We are applying this gauge to the W. F. of M.

This patriotic attitude on our part will last as long as we maintain our ridiculous theory that the I. W. W. has a monopoly on the labor movement and the revolutionary—as long as we continue trying to build up a name rather than the thing. And if we persist much longer in this patriotic attitude, we may easily suffer the fate of the English J. W. W., which has been swept aside into "innocuous desuetude" by the rapidly evolving English labor movement that refused to conform to cut-and-dried I. W. W. theories. Indeed, the I. W. W. and the labor movement in general as will be shown later, has already suffered from it. All the failure of the dual organization program in the last analysis is due to it. Other causes for this failure are of secondary nature, springing from this original cause.

Second. The I. W. W. lays itself open to scabbery on the part of rival unions.

Another cause for the I. W. W. dual organization program not being a success is that time and again, as in Goldfield, Bonner, Brooklyn, etc., the I. W. W. has been scabbed out of existence by A. F. of L. unions. And there is small promise that the I. W. W. will ever be able to build up a strong membership against these scabbing tactics before which the K. of L., A. R. U. and other unions went down. Being a revolutionary union, the I. W. W. cannot reply in kind, and this seems to be the only method of defence or retaliation.

True, by seizing control of the situation at Lawrence, while the discredited and decrepit old "United Textile Workers" union was asleep, the I. W. W. acquired such prestige that the usual scabbing tactics couldn't prevent its winning the great strike. But this was the result of very fortunate circumstances. Ordinarily such easy victories over A. F. of L. unions cannot be expected.

The A. F. of L. machine is thoroly stirred by this I. W. W. victory and, unless all signs fail, are going to wage a bitter war with the I. W. W. for the mastery of the textile industry; and, as

usual, the advantages are on the side of the A. F. of L. In addition to the usual scabbing tactics, it can depend on the large Socialist element in the I. W. W. textile union for assistance.

This is because the I. W. W. is a direct action organization and so intolerant of Socialists,—that it is only a matter of time until this Socialist element, however large, is forced out of the I. W. W. The A. F. of L. will be the natural haven for it to go to, more especially as it is rapidly falling under the control of the Socialists.

And when the A. F. of L. is finally captured by the Socialists, the I. W. W.'s chances of breaking it up will go glimmering. The Socialists will give the A. F. of L. a new lease of life, not by making it revolutionary, perhaps, but by at least modifying it so greatly that it will be next to impossible to destroy it as we propose.

This warfare between the I. W. W. and rival unions is the inevitable result of our dual organization program. These non-I. W. W. unions won't accept our ambitious scheme of organization, and they have no other choice left but to fight. And the blame for this fight rests with us, as we are precipitating it needlessly, simply because we are obsessed with the belief that the I. W. W. has a monopoly on the labor movement.

For years we have scathingly criticized the futility, harm of and absurd causes of the jurisdictional quarrels continually raging amongst A. F. of L. unions; and yet with naive inconsistency, on the strength of the above trivial pretense, we are trying to provoke an internecine war in the labor movement beside which all such heretofore would pale into insignificance. It is to be hoped that the I. W. W. will now see the folly of continuing this useless warfare in which we can hope to gain nothing and in which we are dissipating our scanty strength.

In the next article of this series, more causes of the failures of the I. W. W. dual organization will be reviewed.

## NOTES

As we go to press the Magon brothers and other members of the Mexican Junta have been put on trial for "violating the neutrality laws." These variant Revolutionists go penniless into the court, and should they be convicted they cannot appeal for want of funds. Their imprisonment will mean the death of "Regeneracion," the nerves and spirit of the Mexican Revolution. Send funds to Manuel G. Garza, 914 Boston St., Los Angeles, Cal.

The first number of "The Toiler," a magazine of Militant Industrial Unionism, is before me. The principle article is an essay on syndicalism, translated from the German, of that vigorous revolutionary writer, Max Baginsky. Max Dezettel, 1621 Locust St., Kansas City, Kan., is the editor. We welcome you, fellow-toiler, on the stormy sea of labor journalism.

The Locomotive Engineers on fifty eastern railroads, by a vote of 23,000 to 2,000, have decided to strike should the railroads refuse to grant their demands for an increase in wages.

## Agents for THE AGITATOR.

Seattle: Lavroff's stand, 115 Prefontaine Place.  
Raymer's old book store, 1522 First Ave.  
Lynn, Mass.: S. Yaffee, 233 Union Street.  
New York City: B. Waselevsky, 212 Henry Street; M. Maisel, 422 Grand Street  
New Zealand: P. Josephs, 43a Willis St., Wellington.  
England: T. Keell, 127 Ossulston St., London, W. C.;  
Guy D Aldred, 17 Richmond gardens, Sheperds Bush, London, W.  
Australia: J. W. Fleming, 6 Argyle Place, Carlton Victoria.  
Vancouver, B. C.: The People's Bookstore, 152 Cordova St. W.:  
Tacoma: Local 380, I. W. W., 110 South 14th St.  
Boston: M. Andelman, 291 Tremont St.

For Home—Take the Launch "Hoo-Hoo" at the foot of 15th St., Tacoma, week days, except Saturdays, at 4 P.M.; Saturdays at Point Defiance, 5.30 P.M. Round trip 50c. From SEATTLE (south side the Coleman Dock) every Saturday at 3 P.M. Round trip \$1.

For Sale—In Home. Two acres and a small house, cheap. Apply to THE AGITATOR.