The Skeleton Behind the Flag.

The Seattle Times has taken a serious hit of hysteria over this flag incident; which shows it has a keen eye to business, both as to its circulation and in regard to its function as a defender of the system of exploitation it profits by. Let the Times and its bery of professional patriots take notice: The radical element is not going to be allured into a squabble over the flag. It is an old trick of the exploiting classes to raise false issues and set the workers to battle over them. The flag has been the most fruitful of all in this line, and the most profitable to the capitalist class, who divide the workers under 50 flags and set them to bating each other and forming armies and navies for their mutual destruction, and the enslavement of those who survive.

The flag is the symbol of sectionalism, of which patriotism is the expression. The ruling class has long ago outgrown patriotism, but it keeps up the pretense and insists, strenuously, upon it being inscribed into the minds of the workers, who, were they not blinded by its glitter, would refuse to take up arms against each other. Thanks to our splendid system of education, the most sincere patriot is the poor working slave who does not own a square inch of "his" country, but who, on the contrary, is dependent upon a capitalist master for the privilege of paying, with his sweet blood, the taxes of fighting in it. The rank and file of the Spanish War veterans is composed of such men, men absolutely ignorant of the real meaning of the flag controversy, about which they are inflamed by the shrewd capitalists behind the Seattle Times.

Protecting the Ballot.

A bill has been introduced in Congress making it a crime for employers to threaten a reduction in wages or a shut-down in case any particular candidate is elected President. This is a sop for simpletons. So long as the jobs are "owned," the owners will find means to coerce and intimidate the workers who rent these jobs.

The "Australasian ballot" was hailed by reformers as the great protector of the sovereign American voter. Formerly the boss went to the polls and saw that the free American citizen voted for his man, under pain of losing their jobs. Now they could exercise their proud citizenship rights without being afraid. Like craven cowards, with a lie on their lips, they could go behind the canvas and "knife" the candidates they had just promised their master to vote for.

But the man who holds the key to the free American stomach is not so easily fooled. He calls a meeting of his "men" some noon hour, just on the eve of election and makes a speech. I was once an attentive listener to one of these speeches.

R. T. Crane, the iron master, who died recently, after leaving a million to found a "school" for the female victims of his class, expressed a meeting of his men in 1896, when "Bryan and free silver" menaced the sacred city on the Potomac. R. T. was as venerable looking a old souldier as one could meet in a day's walk through the Wall St. district. His address was as follows:

"Men, for some years our business has been fairly prosperous. I have endeavored to keep you in steady employment. But our future is threatened by a possible political catastrophe. I do not want you to think I am trying to influence your politics. But I think it only just to you and to your families, who are dependent on your wages, that I should inform you that if Bryan is elected I shall have to close this factory indefinitely."

Even the wisest of us democrats, "Pops" and Socialists didn't know but that the old chap was sincere. He surely looked the part. Now, while we were strong on principle, our immediate needs were also strong incentives to action; and I will wager that when we entered the secret, sacred booth we voted for the job and let the principle wait till next election.

The result showed that the job outweighed principle. For the Bryan sentiment was overwhelming, but Bryan was overwhelmed by the vote. Which proves that men are men, and few are willing to risk the present against the future.

The only way to protect the ballot is to make men economically free, and there never will be a free ballot until men are free. The logic of the situation is then to concentrate our efforts on the economic field, and by industrial action directly break through the walls that separate mankind from the means of life—the land and the product thereof.

A New Breed of Men.

There is a new breed of workingmen in this world, who see as clearly as do the Capitalists. They are not symbolists. They are Materialists. They have no time to waste on hunting; and will not be drawn into controversy over its imaginary virtues. They cannot be fooled by silly songs, nor roused by the sound of national nursery rhymes. They modestly demand the earth. You may have all the other spheres, and the heavens, you lead, thrown in. They have no superstitions. They refuse to believe your conventional lies. They will not accept the word of your capitalist class for anything.

They have evolved their own ideals, their own ethics, their own morality, their own social values. They do not play to flags. Their faith is embedded in humanity. You may catch one of them and, in your ignorant, brutal way, force him to kiss your flag. They will not retaliate in kind. They will slip you a pamphlet, and you may come back next week and ask to be allowed to kiss their emblem of universal brotherhood.

They are the heralds of progress and you cannot stop their onward march, no more than you can stop the incoming tide. You may jail them and torture them and hang them. That will only increase their number and hasten the day of your own downfall.

They are not men with an idea in their heads, that may be disarmed or forgotten. They are the material manifestation of the idea itself.

Can you command the lightning? Can you alter the course of the spheres? Then you can extinguish the fire of social revolt. Social revolution is coming as the coming of tomorrow is inevitable. Peacefully or with drawn sword. The choice is yours. Decide.

Tom Mann has been sentenced to six months in jail for taking the soldiers not to shoot their fellow men on strike for a living wage. Will that help the cause of capitalism? Every soldier in the British army will hear of Tom Mann, now. He will be the topic of conversation in every barrack for months to come; and "Tommy Atkins" will not learn any loyalty from talking about that daring rebel.

Syndicalism is the topic of the hour. It rises, like the phoenix of fiction, out of the burnt fire of Labor's experience. It cannot be squelched by the jailing of a thousand Manns.

Pearing a strike such as the workers of Lawrence put up, the textile bosses of Fall River have voluntarily increased wages of 25,000 workers 10 per cent.
THE AGITATOR

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The Agitator does not bear the minor stump because it is not the party for profit. But it is union, every letter of it. It is printed and published by the industrial workers themselves. Their society for the political education of themselves and their fellow toilers. Much of the labor is given free. It is a work of love—the love of the idea, of a world fit for the free.

Government is the great blockbuster. ... No good ever came from the law. All reforms have been the off-spring of Revolution.

Buckle

REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

In the four chief causes for which I have attributed the failure of the I. W. W.'s dual organization program are: First, the wholesale condemnation of all labor movements. The I. W. W. has shown itself open to and encouraging scabbing on the part of these unions; third, the I. W. W. places itself in the vanguard of a disruptive organization; fourth, the I. W. W. violates the principle of the militant minority. It will be seen that they four arise from the nature of the I. W. W. toward the I. W. W. unions in general. These unions present the I. W. W.'s most serious problem. Were they but out of existence, the I. W. W. would have comparatively plain sailing. They refuse to go out of existence and wherever the I. W. W. tries to organize it comes in conflict with them and wastes its strength in fruitless combat. They (as well as the I. W. W. claim jurisdiction over the whole working class and don't tolerate counter organizations.

The seriousness of the problem presented by these unions is general, if vaguely, recognized in the I. W. W. and many and varied are the solutions offered for it. Just a few typical ones held by prominent I. W. W.'s; Haywood, St. John,—ignore the A. F. of L. and organize the unskilled—the "Let Gompers have his million—wield the tax stench—freer works, St. John,—ignore the A. F. of L. and organize the unskilled—the "Let Gompers have his million—we'll take the rest through—Freer works, St. John,—ignore the A. F. of L. and organize the unskilled." Thompson says we should encourage the industrial union idea wherever possible, get into the old unions, capture them, and swing into the I. W. W. He says he has often deterred the I. W. W. coal miners from forming I. W. W. unions, advising them to stick in the T. C. W. A. And so it goes, above and below, having a common theory—their violently contradictory theories running gamut of every possible line of tactics.

The result of these theories is the hasty conviction that the root of the evil is to be found in that none of their holders, so far as can be seen, are making any efforts to have the I. W. W. adopt them. Their organization is simply opposed to all the above. As long as it is, I. W. W. 's "worth a damn." Belief in their proposition explains the present activities (citations) of the members of the I. W. W. (obtained from within the I. W. W. These proposed new tactics are briefly as follows:

1. National Propaganda Organisations

The English, Italian and French movements present types of national Syndicalist propaganda organisations. The English Syndicalist propaganda leagues, of which Tom Mann is the head, and which has played such a prominent part in the recent series of great uprisings in the English labor movement, is a national dues paying organization. It is not trying to build up a new labor movement, but to revolutionize the old one. To which end it is turning vast quantities of literature and every kind of "butterfly" for labor movement, spreading its revolutionary doctrines.

The national organization of the Italian Syndicalists is the "Committee of Direct Action." It is national in form. It is the only national organization in Italy, that nation which is the birthplace of the labor movement. It has effectively combated the numerous invitations to the French Syndicalists to get into the I. W. W. and their propaganda practically neglected. As a result, while rich situations like that presented by the American Southern labor market, all the country can find able I. W. W. organizers on "soap boxes in fevered competition with the Salvation Army, warning chairs," etc.

The French situation is one of haggling in conjunction with the organized militant minorities in the unions involved, would be a powerful force. The French work is an obvious example of how force labor fakers to give up many of their demoralizing practices. It would be a potent means to the revolution of the American labor movement. Though this form of national organization would be effective—if we may judge by its results elsewhere—it would be of no use to the I. W. W. propaganda organisation. The most important features would be the organizations in the various industries. These organizations will be treated in the next article of this series.

W. Z. POSTER

HERVE AND THE GERMAN VICTORY

There appeared recently in several socialist periodicals, Chicago Daily included, a translated article on "German Victory," original of which was written in La Guerre Sociale by Gustave Herve, an imprisoned syndicalist of France.

As an introduction to that article, the Chicago Daily says:

"Herwe is the most prominent direct actionist and syndicalist in the world. Sometime ago he was sentenced to two years imprisonment for his anti-military activities, and his book "Dandix" has been published in English. He has and has since been sentenced to nine more years for articles written while in prison. He was at one time a member of the Central Committee of the French Socialist Party, but finally resigned because, as he said, he felt that his advocacy of direct action was injuring the party.

"What an exhibition of loyal constancy on HERVE's part with gapmg-mouthed, cowed." From now on we, the direct actionists, had better leave the Socialist Party with his activities, for we cannot afford to let him injure the party which must be preserved at any cost.

The Daily gleefully winds up saying: "In view of these facts the future of the German election is most significant." Then follows Herve's article, from which, for want of space, I am quoting only the most vital parts.

"Without giving offense to any one, it seems to me that even if I were an anti-voter (a mania which with I have never been tainted) I still could not repress a cer-

tain emotion when I think that the German Socialists have administered to the Kaiser, and to the united Protestant and Catholic clerics, a well-deserved defeat; and have shamed the most spectable of all German socialists. I believe that I even said to its face, to be sure it was only for the purpose of spurring it on, that it was only a matter for itself to make to such an extent.

"When last summer our German Comrades made their splendid manifestation against war, and when, in France, it had shown so little of brilliance, than it was that I recognized that this formidable misdeed for the
hand. And if we apply our fingers successively at different points nearer and nearer the fire, we will find that the nearer we approach the fire the hotter it is perceived.

Such property of matter and process of energy combined is known to the science of Physics as CONDUCTION (conviction, conviction, conviction) of the radiant energy. But radiant energy is true oil of irreplaceable value to the physical well-being of the human race.

The Editor's Defense

The Editor of this paper has been convicted on the charge of libel, and is now appealing the verdict. We believe that the verdict should be set aside, since it is not supported by the evidence presented.

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

Nathan Levin, Treasurer.

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The AGITATOR

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For Sale—12 acres of good land under good conditions in Aurora Colony, Col., managed by Abe Asak. A proposal by Anthony Fillin, 544 Blake Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Community Library—Meets every Thursday night from 8 to 10: every Sunday morning from 10 to 12. Free. What is English and is out in the language free. 712 Hudson St., Trenton, N. J.
THE AGITATOR

THE ETHICS OF STIRNER

"To all who have been fortunate enough to read "The Ego and His Own," there is a strong desire to impart his doctrine to others, especially to the members of the working-class. It is my belief that I have undertaken to outline his doctrine in a few words. His book is very hard to obtain and does not appear to have been reprinted. Among those of you who have tried to give an estimate of it."

Elitzascher's account is not a very accurate one. It is true that he states that Stirner's doctrine is to be clear and that he used a peculiar philosophical dialect. Stirner's egoistic—or better—nihilistic philosophy is too often confused with the individualistic philosophy of Emerson.

Stirner proclaimed—and this seems to be the most fundamental point of his theory—the doctrine of the joy of power. He said that which will some day help effect a great revolution in philosophy. In essence it is this: "You are your own work for yourself. Respect! Ideal! Do not make your actions conform to this or that standard! Disregard custom, duty, morality, justice, the Law! I am God, and King, and Law! Hold nothing sacred but your own traditions and cravings!" This is what he means by that nihilistic expression: "All things are nothing to me!"

You are not bound if you will refuse to believe yourself bound. You are to yourself a sovereign state.

Or, to use his own words: "You have no duty whatever. If you desire to be a strong man, you may work a real Individual man, as far as you can be the influence of the common hard,—well, in that case, be strong! But not as a duty, but as a gift. The former theory says: Thou shalt be a Superman! The latter says: Be YOUR WAY to be!"

The people—"the man who accepts no morals whatsoever does not restrain himself in the matter of sympathy. An injury to one member of the human race is truly an injury to all. He accepts as absolute the dictates of his heart. He puts no Rights, no property titles, no respect for the State, even though it be the freest democracy im- aginable, no ethical standing above his own de- sire. The sight of a person agony aroused in the spectator pain as real, as truly, as if he himself were the sufferer. And contrary to the feeling of solidarity, sympathy, brotherly love. Stirner proclaims freedom from every social restraint, personal individualism; he is the prophet of unbridled Egoism; he clears away the ethical rubbish of the ages; he points to the last, the true, the right,—moralities of all ages: "Behold, this is fraud!" He turns to the Ego, to all the Egos in the universe and says: "Each of you is to himself the true God! Do as ye will!"

Between the ethics of Kropotkin and Stirner, there is no essential difference. What Kropotkin expresses in simple scientific language, Stirner states in exact but somewhat confusing metaphys- ical terms. When Kropotkin points out that in every individual there is a passion for the good of the group, the self-sacrifice, and support to Stirner's doctrine. We hesitate to proclaim that ethics are a delusion, and duty a fraud, unless we have Krop- tokin has not the feeling of solidarity is brought into the very nature of man. With this known we may send morality to the rubbish-heap without fear for the race. According to Stirner's view, the good is what suits him and the bad what he detests. That which effects his will is good, and what does not is evil, while entirely denying validity to externally im- posed ethics, we find it impossible to deny the existence of an external moral code to be the test. A tyrant, a brutal murder that blood-splattered Monster, the Law—as if such being so much in accord with my sense of solidarity and are therefore wrong. Thus we may add to our war-cry a new one.

As a war-cry, it is a war, a war to the last drop, to the death of the omnipotent Friend! God, Hall to the downfall of the Law! Hall to the de-

struction of property rights!—we may add another: Down with morality! W. CURTIS SWABEY.

CHAIN-GANGS AND GAMBLING

The chain-gang is a penal or, a plutocratic outrage, a perversion of good to evil. Is race-track gambling immoral? Then the chain-gang is inhuman.

The red-light district pernicious; the chain-gang is pestilential.

Christians, Atheists, Unionists, Fraternal orders, Jews and Gentiles should unite in protest against the incum- bency of the devastating, heart-breaking, soul-destroying, brutal badge of this vile species of serfdom.

All punishments are immoral. The chain-gang is retrograde. Who are the chain-gang, and why? World victims! Centralized capital, and improved me- thods of production, great, mighty month, day by day, into the New Grand Army of "out- of-workers."

Kiev city has its quota. International. Unrarity is futile. If they chop wood, the wood already chopped will not be sold. The farmer will re-travel the "tule- road" with his load. If they find work, others will be worthless. They are a product of capitalist society, and cannot be absorbed under existing methods. They must become self-supporting from the soil. How? National grants for tools, shops and implements. Where from? Plutocratic pension lists—excessive votes for armaments, and useless war pages. Men before fish? Not one of the people back to the land, but the land back to the people.

The sotian and jatsmam; the derviscs, the output of the slave, the out-of-work artisans from other countries are assaulted by them. Unemployed! Anarchic steamship companies who plough Europe with航线s. The feeding thousands to keep up dividends. Then railroad com- panies advertise to the utmost parts of the Union— dividends and the chain-gang.

Syndicalism has a proposal. This is from Tom Mann. "Our grievance is industrial, our remedy must be indust- rial." We need more, and more, and more. Chain-gang things must be com- plied with, otherwise we refuse to work. A little later we will stipulate that all persons available for work shall be included in those who do the work, and thus solve employment.

Punctuations shall be hours of work, not of persons employed.

At present it's a gamble, it's business, it's commercial thuggery, holdups enforced by trade; a gamble before which race-track gambling (bad as it is) pales into insignificance. Let us be honest and 'fess up. "Selling below cost price" indeed. Who can appraise the value of a human being? And cheapness in human life intensifies daily.

"It is hard to say whether the increase of the unem- ployed, or that of the unemployed rich, is the greater so- cial evil."—Wright says.

At every event they spring from the same source. Produc- tion for profit instead of use. That there is all that is to it, excepting that the unemployed rich are not part of the chain-gang. They can gamble as they please: their ches-men being human lives and human distinctions. Horse-race gambling and pool-making gambling are twins. We need a new moral sense. Industrialism is evolving that new moral sense. Its name is Interde- pendence, Solidarity!

We've followed the political will-of-the-wisp too long. Nationalism is futile. Stateism is a false conceit.

We want an administration of things, of food, clothes, houses, not men of a government.

The economic base needs shifting. The capitalists must go to work, and then will be the solution of the unemployment. The abolition of the wage system, that's the slogan.

"Rich adding rich to the higher truths to find." And they'll not be found in the system which perpetuates the chain-gang.

JACK WOOD.

A SYNDICALIST LEAGUE

The following circular deserves more than passing at- tention. It is descriptive of a condition that confronts every local of the I. W. W. and awaits a favorable opportunity for presentation in these pages. The same argument is presented in President Foster's contentions that will be very hard to explain away, for the reason that it is not merely a condition confined to one locality, but is peculiar to every locality in the land.—Editor The Agitator.

TO ALL LOCALS OF THE I. W. W.

Fellow Workers: Local 525 has taken a stand which we think is in the interest of the working class in gener- al and 525 in particular; and as our official papers have adopted press censorship, we take this method of notify- ing the Local of its action, trusting they will give it the attention it deserves. It is determined that 50, some 40 of our conservative members signing for a charter. The choice was therefore put up to us of two things: (1) a charter to be given to the group fighting among the men or (2) a charter only to those who, with the odds against the reds, as the contractors had stated that they would hire nobody but F. P. U. members. (Clipping going over to the F. P. U. individually and gain control of it. We chose the latter course as the bet- ter tactics.

A few days after the F. P. U. was organized the con- tractors, thinking they had us where they wanted us, decided to cut the cement mixers 50c. per day, expecting to see the I. W. W. Local 525 give up another, and in the mix-up they would be the gainers. The strike was called and to the surprise of the foreman, for the first time in Nelson, skilled and unskilled workers laid down as one man and gave him to understand, in unmis- takeable terms, that they had fought each other for the last time. It took him just fifteen minutes to find out that the workers were more solid than ever.

In order to carry on revolutionary propaganda, whereby members of all unions could take part without jeopard- izing their standing in their union, we have started a Syndicalist League. It is an educational organization, the principal of tactics being the elimination of all formal rules, as you will see from our preamble:

PREAMBLE

"In the struggle between the capitalist and working class, the abolition of the wage system is the first step toward production and distribution, the form under which the workers are organized is but a minor factor compared with tactics employed."

Believing, therefore, that any and all tactics which fur- ther the interests of the workers are justifiable so long as they lead to success, we organize under this Syndicalist League.

This action may seemusty, but the pressure brought to bear upon us could no longer be ignored. We had in- tended to wait and see the future brought forward by Foster thereby discussed; but "Solidarity" un- ceremoniously closed the discussion, and then showed their fairness by printing two articles against the proposition. We protested to "Solidarity" and "The Worker" against this action; and they refused the protest; we cut off the bundle orders till such time as they decide to practice Free Speech as well as preach it.

We ask all members to read and study the series of arti- cles by Foster now appearing in "The Agitator" with the thought that he and we are the only just, fair, free men in the I. W. W. will drop its coal deal and proceed, with free hands, to educate and organize the workers, and move on to victories undreamed of before.

Yours for Solidarity,


THE AGITATOR EXCURSION

The third annual excursion to Hulcholy, given by The Agitator Club of Seattle, will take place on SUNDAY, JUNE 23rd.

The steamer "Palavena" will leave Pier 3, foot of Madison Street, at 8 a. m. sharp, returning in the even- ing.

Dancing, bowling, games, and other amusement will be provided.

Refreshments served on the boat. Dinner at Home, 9 P. M. Tickets for sale at Lawlor's stand, 115 Prefontaine Place, and Raynor's, 1322 First Ave.

You are very cordially invited to take this delightful trip, get your tickets now.

"The Ego and His Own," by Max Stirner. This is the most thorough-going and most logical application of the philosophy of Anarchism ever penned. The author died of hunger 50 years ago, but his spirit is now alive and well! Read this, and you will fully understand the ideals of Religion and Government. Price, postage, $1.00.

"The House of Gwirlie." 364 Wendell St., Chicago. Publisher—Bookseller—Importer. Write for cata- logue. "$1,000 Books of Panama."