THE AGITATOR
A SEMI-MONTHLY ADVOCATE OF THE MODERN SCHOOL, INDUSTRIAL UNIONS, INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM
VOL. 2, NO. 14
HOME. (LAKEWAY P. O.) WASHINGTON, JUNE 1, 1912
WHOLE NO. 38

The Passing Show

Fighting for Their Homes.

"We are fighting for our homes; we care nothing for Governor Johnson. Only the military will stop us," cried the vigilantes of San Diego. "Fighting for our homes," that's a splendid catch-phrase and very aptly applied by the bourgeoisie who have cast off the thin veil of civilization and the Darkness of night, and come out openly in the clear light of day as vicious, inhuman monsters. In the early part of the struggle they worked under cover of darkness. Today they go about the city terrorizing every citizen and kidnapping, torturing and depecting all whom they suspect as being in sympathy with the workers struggling to retain their constitutional right of free speech.

The police and the vigilantes work hand in hand with each other in the dastardly work of torturing the workers.

The chief of police carries a rifle. The other day he met a union man on the street who had cartooned him in the Labor Leader, and nearly killed him with his boots and the butt of the rifle.

Julius Tumm, a union tailor, was taken from his work, clubbed in the police station, deported with 85 others at night, tortured at the city limits, robbed of $50 and forced to walk 140 miles to Los Angeles. Tumm's crime was that he wore a red necktie. The others were I. W. W. Socialists and A. F. of L. members.

Repealedly gangs of from 10 to 50 men have been taken from the city in this manner, beaten, forced to sing patriotic songs, kiss the flag, run the gauntlet and suffer other cruelties, turned loose on the desert and ordered not to return on penalty of death.

Two men have been murdered. Joe Miklosch was shot nine times, in the I.W.W. hall. The case of Dr. Ben L. Reitman is typical of the methods employed by the bloodthirsty monsters to "protect their homes," except that he was the first to be tarred and feathered. Dr. Reitman, as manager for Emma Goldman, accompanied her to San Diego, where she was to lecture. A window mob of vigilantes awaited them at the depot and followed the auto-bus that took them to the U. S. Grant hotel, using the vilest epithets, but the police never interfered.

At night the vigilance committee, 500 strong, sided by the police, took Dr. Reitman from the hotel and subjected him to the most fiendish and dastardly treatment in the history of criminology, since the witch-burning period and the Spanish Inquisition.

Let Dr. Reitman relate his own terrible story:

"While they were taking me to a place in the desert about thirty miles from San Diego, my captors thrust pencils in my nostrils and ears. They stuffed dirt into my mouth, and struck me with their fists and with clubs throughout the whole terrible trip. Continuously they cited the San viles names I ever heard.

"When we reached the desert we found another prisoner there. In the light of a fire they had burning they stripped me and then began flogging and inhuman torture. I begged them to kill me but they wouldn't hear them. They told me to go away and tell how San Diego treated my kind. They said that if they had Emma Goldman there they would give her the same dose.

"Just before they put the hot tar on my body, their torture became terrible. Each man would come forward and ask me a question. If I did not please them I would be attacked. While some of the men were beating me, others stuck desert thorns into my ears. Then they drew aside and discussed whether they would permit me to go anywhere.

"Just before the tar was applied they held me and burned my face with red hot clips. Then, while I lay there, they plastered on the tar and covered it with cactus and desert grass. I was then stoned into the desert, the men following me until they were tired. After walking a long way I reached Berendo, almost naked, and bought these overalls and jumpers."

Words are feeble implements in such times as these. That there existed in this so-called advanced age of civilization, after 2000 years of Christianity, anarchy, free speech and competition, cold-blooded monsters, in the guise of men, not even the most pessimistic of us would believe. The intense suffering undergone by the martyrs of free speech in San Diego is a big price to pay for such acts.

The working class as a whole will benefit by this immensely.

There is a school of socialists who have boasted so much of the "civilized" methods that may now be employed to emancipate the race, by reason of the humanity of the age. It is to be hoped this experience will dispel the illusion.

A Live Middle Class.

The middle class, that same school of socialists has been telling us, is about extinct, bound and coming to an end. But big capitalists seem to be very much alive. This corpse of a theory is not going to lay down in obedience to philosophy. It knows how to defend itself. It has courage and initiative. While the workers are philosophizing it is grabbing its weapon of direct action, and demonstrates everything they claim for it by practicing on the workers' heads.

It's time our day dreams were dispelled. It's time that Action took the place of Philosophy. But before we can have any effective policy into action we must have numbers. We must continue and carry that mob of workers we are used to calling reactionaries, and the dupes of fake leaders.

In other words, we cannot save ourselves alone; we cannot go far ahead of the main body without meeting with disaster. Still we must keep ahead, pointing the way and urging the workers on.

But our tactics are fine, as we are learning at a heavy cost. The bourgeoisie discarded their own methods and adopted ours. They know a good thing when they see it, and we are compensated for our suffering by the knowledge it brings us.

Trial of the Lawrence Leaders.

The Lawrence strike is just over. It will not be over till the men now in jail are released. It was thought a master stroke of the "mill-owners" to jam Ettor and Giovannitti into jail right in the midst of the big strike.

In olden times such an act would have proven disastrous to the strikers. The history of ages tell of such disasters.

When Spartacus, the greatest revolu-

tional leader the world has ever known, was killed by the Romans, his army was defeated and fifteen thousand of his followers were crucified on crosses along the great Roman road called the Appian Way.

In modern times the slaying of Wat Tyler and the eventual hanging of 1500 of the English peasantry, who under his leadership marched upon London and petitioned young King John for a redress of grievances, is the most prominent example of proletarian slaughter upon being deprived of a leader.

The Lawrence strike was a leaderless strike to begin with. No part of it was due to agitation. The leaders came when the strike was on. It was a strike without organization or premeditation. It was a mass strike—a strike as will one day tie up the country—and the capitalist world; a strike that will surprise nobody more than the leaders, who will be great and by the workers and pushed into the head of the procession.

The mill owners of Lawrence thought they would kill the strike by arresting Ettor and Giovannitti. But other men stepped into the breach and victory was achieved. These two leaders are still in jail and will be convicted of murder, if the mill owners have their way. It is the top notch of infamy to murder a defenseless woman striker. But when the vile and heartless perpetrators charge the crime to the strike leaders the limit of atrocity is exceeded. Such is the case in Lawrence.

These two leaders were jailed, not because of any crime they committed, but to get them out of the way; and now they are to be convicted that the purity of their arrest may be connated. Such is the vicious game being worked up by the exploiters of Lawrence. And they will carry it thru unless the workers raise their voices in a protest so loud the villains will fear the dire consequences of their proposed atrocity and desolate.

In the expense of a legal defense will also have to be met, and it is only by collecting the pennies of the poor it can be done. Send donations to Wm. Yates, 9 Mason St., Lawrence, Mass.

Printers and the Chicago Strike.

The Chicago printers, by a vote of nearly two to one, refused to strike in sympathy with the pressmen who are locked out by the newspapers of that city. The printers were appealed to from all sides to make common cause with their fellow workers, but they remained true to their jobs—their contract—called it. They remained true to their lack of the spirit of solidarity. Solidarity is developed by oppression. Men are driven together by the forces of necessity. They learn the power of unity and its value as a mutual protection, thus was society formed.

The printers must be beaten a few times more before they will accept the lesson of labor history, that no union can stand alone. For if the average worker is convinced of these printers, who have a reputed intelligence beyond the average worker, shud not see the fact before their eyes, and then refuse the folly of defeat and humiliation at a future time. Still if it is only by their own experience they learn, let them pay the fool's price.

JAY FOX
THE AGITATOR

Issued twice a month, on the first and fifteenth, by The Agitator, Inc. Association from its printing office in Tulsa, Wash.

Entered at the postoffice at Lakebay, Wash., as second class matter.

Subscription, One Dollar a Year.

Address all communications and make all money orders payable to "The Agitator," Lakebay, Wash.

Articles published in this paper will be written largely on one side of the page only.

THE AGITATOR does not bear the union stamp because it is not a union. The union stamp is a letter of State. It is printed and published by unionists and is one of the most effective weapons in the arsenal of political education. It is a badge of their membership and their fellow timid. Much of the labor is given free. One is unadvised in the undiluted possession of the law of the land, of a world for the free.

Law, in its guarantee of the results of pillage, slavery and exploitation, has failed on the same phase of development as capitalism, brother and sister, they have advanced hand in hand in maintaining the sufferings of humanity.

P. 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 POSITION OF A DISRUPTIVE ORGANIZATION.

Disruption is every labor movement. Any individual or organization proven guilty of this offense is shown slight in the organized labor circles. The I. W. W. organization is no exception to this rule. The I. W. W., with its weird dual organization program, exposes itself fully to the charge of being an organizatonic and our enemies, in whose hands we place this powerful weapon, use it continually with telling effect against us. Just a couple of weeks ago a committee of the Social Gospel Workers' Council in St. Louis, recently got out a pamphlet violently criticizing this anti-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 responses was as typical of an A. F. of L. organization as is the pallid of non-essentials. It amounted to:

"This man Freeman is a disruptor, a spy, a traitor. He is trying to destroy our union (quotes Freeman's own words in proof). He is trying to do exactly the same as the M. & M. Traders. He is an enemy between them. He should be expelled from the union.

"The bulk of organized workers can not 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 knaves using them are placed in the position of defenders of their unions and the I. W. W., in so far as they are, in aiding to perpetuate what it is attempting to destroy."

An instructive incident.

Fellow Worker J. J. Jekiel recently had an account in "Solidarity" of a typical and instructive incident that occurred to him in the course of organizing the San Francisco Automobile Workers' Union, advising all hotel and restaurant workers to unite and act together. His talk was very well received. He was followed by Freeman, who addressed the A. F. of L. in a bunch of scales, etc., and advised the cooks assembled to get into the I. W. W. A combustion and use the substance of it from memory: The cooks were organizing into the A. F. of L. Jekiel spoke at one of their meetings and addressed the hotel and restaurant unions, advising all hotel and restaurant workers to unite and act together. His talk was very well received. He was followed by Freeman, who addressed the A. F. of L. in a bunch of scales, etc., and advised the cooks assembled to get into the I. W. W. A combustion and use the substance of it from memory.

"This great strike must be directed. Had they separated themselves, so as to make an independent sectional labor union and labeled their organization the only bona fide labor union, and "hailed out" the conservative unions, as the I. W. W. militants are doing, there would have been no strike.

The I. W. W. disruptor article (by E. J. O'Donnell) is an original bit of industry. The effect of disrupting the potentially powerful militant minorities in all American unions. The agitation of the I. W. W. disruptors is a disorganization of the organized workers and fill them with the abortive belief that the I. W. W. is the whole labor movement and make them forget the existence of the Catholic, Federation, Interlopers, etc. They logically conclude that the sooner these unions go out of existence the better, and ordinarily either quit them entirely or at least cease to try to improve them. The double result of this is to absolutely disrupt the militant minorities and to leave the union in the undiluted possession of the conservatives and fakers.

Many unions plainly show the evil effects of these disruptive tactics. From India, for instance. According to Vincent St. John, when this union was in the best fighting days, 10 per cent of its members were rebels, but this militant minority were so well organized that they controlled the union and made it willy nilly a real suppressor organization. And now, if the W. F. 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. units are not labor unions, I have yet to meet a lot of these same sorts of unionists, who believe that the W. F. M. of B. C., because it quit the I. W. W., should be wiped out of existence. Let them try, if they can, to organize the W. F. M. without their heads; let the Mayworts, St. Johns, Heale- woods and the numerous other old W. F. M. militants, now but lookers on, get back into the movement. They think the W. F. M. can ride; the W. F. M. can readily be made into a fighting organization once more.

The same discipline of the "International Shingle Weavers' Union" is a sample of I. W. W. tactics. This small radical union (about 3000 members) refuses to recognize the jurisdiction of the W. F. M. Therefore, it must be patriotically broken up. In Seattle I heard I. W. W. men loudly boast that they had in their control over 10,000 workers, that the rebels so "do not pay dues into it any more." Truly a great and wise achievement, as the rebels are probably going to run the "Shingle Weavers' Union," as they would they were only members of it and organized to do so. But to do this presupposes their getting rid of their I. W. W. patriarchism.

The same disorganization of the militant minority exists in the Pacific district of the International Longshoremen's Associaton. In all of the I. W. W. ports and there are hundreds more on the outside that won't come in. They are all disorganized, crying for the restoration of the good old days, and a mistake, a, when they were on the inside and organized they could get rid of these same fakers in a jiffy. Keen, direct pressure upon them would have put the I. W. W. out of business; when he raised his cry a few weeks ago against an I. W. W. "sorbing from within" invasion of the I. L. A. Bonsalki, national organizer of the International Federation (I. W. W.), in "Je 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 disorganization of militant minorities is general in the American labor movement. Innumerable cases of it might be cited. It is one of the most evil results of our dual organization, from which monstrosity it naturally proceeds. It is a potent cause for the weakness of our movement. Indeed, with us destroying the effectiveness of rebellions as we are, the wonder is not that the American movement is making such slow progress, but that it is making any progress at al.

W. Z. FOSTER.

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

THE MARTYRDOM OF TOL

The history of labor is 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 freedom. Those who have shown themselves in the great struggle for the advancement of the working class—proletarian, hoolied hoodlum and slave-herder of the exploiting class—will, if not on the list of equality,
THE CRY OF THE UNDERLINGS

THE AGITATOR

NEW BOOKS

Elements of Socialism—By John Sparo and George Louis Arser, Ph. D. (The Macmillan Co., N. Y., $1.50, net.) This book is designed as a manual and book and it is quite up to date in its conservatism. According to it, socialism is a very moderate proposition indeed, a sort of evolutionist capitalistic society. It is quite the only one at a time, and issue bonds for the exploiters for the return of the stolen property. Thus the capitalists need have no fear of change, for they may retain their gorgeous mansions and live in comfort and ease for many generations under "Socialism" on the spots graft- ed under capitalism.

The Socialist State will not only fulfill all the "func- tions" of the present State, but it will have the power to operate and control all that is needed so well. Here is an example of the "freedom" it will confer on its subjects: "Liberty is not license. The Socialist State, while granting full freedom to the future, they would not be able to tolerate obesity in the name of art." That is precisely what the present State says. "Glibness" is an indefin itely used term by the Socialists, and it means the suppression of every radical idea in art and education. The Socialist State will use the same pretext for the same purpose.

"The matter of education is socially too important to be left to the children themselves, or to their parents even. The State must assume the responsibility of developing the maximum of efficiency in their future citizens." That the Socialist State will, for its own protection no less than for the protection of the children, exercises some control over their mental development is regarded as crim inal. It may be that it will make marriage a civil contract, compelling all persons to be married by a civil authority. This is not as likely that the Socialist State will forbid the marriages of persons suffering from certain forms of disease and from certain physical and mental defects.

Thus the Socialist State will watch over us like a good old-fashioned parent and see that we abide strictly byetty and make no move upon our own initiative. Was Herbert Spencer too severe when he called it "The Coming Slavery?" J. F.

STRAY THOUGHTS

May First 1912 has marked time in the long procession of the centuries. The beautiful month of May, when all nature emerges from her long, dreary, winter's sleep. Beast-feast month of the State as a pretext for the sup- pression of every radical idea in art and education. The Socialist State will use the same pretext for the same purpose.

May First 1912 has marked time in the long procession of the centuries. The beautiful month of May, when all nature emerges from her long, dreary, winter's sleep. Beast-feast month of the State as a pretext for the sup- pression of every radical idea in art and education. The Socialist State will use the same pretext for the same purpose.

May First 1912 has marked time in the long procession of the centuries. The beautiful month of May, when all nature emerges from her long, dreary, winter's sleep. Beast-feast month of the State as a pretext for the suppression of every radical idea in art and education. The Socialist State will use the same pretext for the same purpose.

The AGITATOR EXCURSION

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

The steamer "Fairhaven" will leave Pier 3, foot of Madison Street, at 8 a. m., returning in the evening.

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

Refreshments served on the boat. Dinner at Home, 50 cents. Tickets, $1.00. Children under 12, 50 cents. Tickets for the excursion will be sold at the 115 Prefecture Place, and Raymer's, 1552 First Ave.

If you wish to be sure of the opportunity to take this delightful trip, get your tickets now.
SYNDICALISM: A WORKING ETHICS FOR BARBARIANS

In his "Principles of Sociology," Professor Franklin H. G. Allen pronounced society not merely sullied, but wholly or in part corrupted by the proletarian elements it has bred. Is his pessimistic prophecy destined to be fulfilled? The move- ment of the time, to say nothing of the sentiment in the air, is if not in sympathy with Sozialismus in its German connotation, at least in sympathy with the Syndicalism movement. Compared with it, Socialism takes on the aspect of a Sunday-school convention, and even Anarchist claims of Syndicalism in the future are to be looked for as barbarians; for it triumphs only after a struggle of many years, and then at the risk of a war of extermination. Compared with it, Syndicalism is the expression of a Sunday-school convention, and even Anarchist claims of Syndicalism in the future are to be looked for as barbarians; for it triumphs only after a struggle of many years, and then at the risk of a war of extermination.

The appeal to French Anarchists of the militant type to merge their spirit of rebellion with that of the syndicalists will note that the Syndicalism movement is one of the most important historical documents of modern times. For Peloullier, according to Victor Dave, "is a poet of revolution. He is the inspiration that the life of the masses may enter into the trade-union organization as a whole. He is the inspiration of the working-class movement, of the trade-union class; and that consequently the triumph of the working class may be realizable only by the destruction of the State. By that he intends the State as a whole, the State that is the shrine of the State, the body of the working-class organization. Thus, the syndicates and federation become a standing army insubordinate to the State, yet conforming to the State, but yet the people of the State, the body of their lives and of their work; and this adverse critic has likened the movement to the Camorra.

The entrance of the Syndicalists into the ranks of the Syndicalists, as the "social war" 677 whatever it is, is altogether an act of the syndicalist constitution, and not a mere grandiose malediction against the capitalist class. It continues:

"Historian will some day see, in this entrance of the Syndicalists into the syndicates, one of the greatest events that have occurred in our time; and then the name of my friend Peloullier will be known, and it merits to be remembered as the time when the Syndicalists who became Syndicalists were men of true originality and did not apply theories which had been manufactured by others and then cut the workers that it was not necessary to blunt over violent actions. Until then, they had tried, in the Socialist States of Europe and elsewhere, to do so. They could not do the work for which the new Syndicalists looked upon these acts of violence as the normal manifestations of the class war. Their reasons for opposing the Socialists, as opposed to the abolition of the State, was that it would be a great error to suppose that the former Syndicalists bristled into these labor associations ideas relative to the evolution of the trade-unions. 'Revolutionary Syndicalism is not, as many persons seem to think, a first confused form of the labor movement; an error of youth, sure to be outgrown in the long run. It is, on the contrary, an attitude inspired by men who come in time to steer the syndicates out of the path of the general organization of the bourgeois capital on the Reformation which wanted to prevent Christianity from passing under the influence of the humanists. and, in the beginning, the Syndicalists, in attempting to suppress the State, if it should happen to lose the sense of its original utility. This is what gives so much interest to investigation into proletarian violence.'

Whether we approve of or condemn the direct and revolutionary methods of the Syndicalists, argues Soeur, Syndicalism has come to stay. "There are profound revolutions, 678 which are necessitated by the findings of the movements of the first two centuries, the conscious awakening of the human beings who exist in society. It is not the result of any organized effort, 679 but of the natural development of the human mind. It is true that the working class is not yet fully developed, but if it is not, then the society is not yet ready for it. It is an attitude inspired by men who come in time to steer the syndicates out of the path of the general organization of the bourgeois capital on the Reformation which wanted to prevent Christianity from passing under the influence of the humanists. and, in the beginning, the Syndicalists, in attempting to suppress the State, if it should happen to lose the sense of its original utility. This is what gives so much interest to investigation into proletarian violence.'

Whether we approve of or condemn the direct and revolutionary methods of the Syndicalists, argues Soeur, Syndicalism has come to stay. 'They are profound revolutions, 678 which are necessitated by the findings of the movements of the first two centuries, the conscious awakening of the human beings who exist in society. It is not the result of any organized effort, 679 but of the natural development of the human mind. It is true that the working class is not yet fully developed, but if it is not, then the society is not yet ready for it. It is an attitude inspired by men who come in time to steer the syndicates out of the path of the general organization of the bourgeois capital on the Reformation which wanted to prevent Christianity from passing under the influence of the humanists. and, in the beginning, the Syndicalists, in attempting to suppress the State, if it should happen to lose the sense of its original utility. This is what gives so much interest to investigation into proletarian violence.'

According to a writer in The Agitator (Lakebay, Wash.), Syndicalism is a power which, if once realized, will enable the working class to do so much more. Syndicalism is a power which, if once realized, will enable the working class to do so much more. Syndicalism is a power which, if once realized, will enable the working class to do so much more. Syndicalism is a power which, if once realized, will enable the working class to do so much more. Syndicalism is a power which, if once realized, will enable the working class to do so much more. Syndicalism is a power which, if once realized, will enable the working class to do so much more. Syndicalism is a power which, if once realized, will enable the working class to do so much more. Syndicalism is a power which, if once realized, will enable the working class to do so much more. Syndicalism is a power which, if once realized, will enable the working class to do so much more. Syndicalism is a power which, if once realized, will enable the working class to do so much more. Syndicalism is a power which, if once realized, will enable the working class to do so much more. Syndicalism is a power which, if once realized, will enable the working class to do so much more.