

AS TO MY CANDIDACY.

On my recent European trip, as a result of my observation, I acquired some ideas conflicting with the present policy of the I. W. W., and as I have been nominated for Editor of the Industrial Worker perhaps a statement of what they are may not be amiss.

The question—"Why don't the I. W. W. grow," is being asked on every hand, as well within our ranks as without. And justly, too, as only the blindest enthusiast is satisfied at the progress or rather lack of progress of the organization to date. In spite of truly heroic efforts on the part of our organizers and members in general and "that the working class is rotten ripe for industrial unionism" the I. W. W. remains small in membership and weak in influence. It is indeed time to examine the situation and discover what is wrong.

The founders of the I. W. W. at its inception gave the organization the working theory that in order to create a revolutionary labor movement, it was necessary to build a new organization separate and apart from the existing craft unions which were considered incapable of development. This theory and its consequent tactics has persisted in the organization and we later comers have inherited them and without any serious investigation accepted the theory as an infallible dogma. Parrot-like and unthinking, we glibly re-echo the sentiment that "the craft unions cannot become revolutionary unions" and usually consider the question undebatable. Convincing arguments in favor of the theory I have never seen nor heard—I used to accept it without question-like the vast majority of the I. W. W. membership does now, and in practice it has achieved the negative results shown by the I. W. W. today with its membership of but a few thousands. The theory's strength is due to its being the one originally adopted by the founders of the I. W. W. and to me this is but a poor recommendation, as these same founders, in addition to giving us a constitution manifestly inadequate to our needs and the changing and ignoring of which occupies a large share of our time, made the monumental mistake of trying to harmonize all the various conflicting elements among them into one "Happy Family" revolutionary organization—a blunder which cost the I. W. W. three years of internal strife to rectify and one that gives these founders—who have mostly quit the organization, anything but an infallible reputation. And if we look about us a little, at the labor movements of other countries in addition to considering our own experiences, we will be more inclined to question this theory that we have so long accepted as the natural one for the revolutionary labor movement. It has been applied in other countries and with similar results as here.

The German Syndicalist movement, with a practically stationary membership of about 15,000, is a pigmy compared to the giant and rapidly growing socialist unions with their 2,000,000 members. The English I. W. W. is ridiculously small and weak; the German Syndicalist organization, the English I. W. W. and the American I. W. W. using the same dual organization tactics in the three greatest capitalist countries are all afflicted with a common stagnation and lack of influence in the labor movement. On the other hand, in those countries where the Syndicalists use the despised "boring from within" tactics, their revolutionary movements are vigorous and powerful. France offers the most conspicuous example. There the C. G. T. militants, inspired by the tactics of the anarchists who years ago discontented at their lack of success as an independent movement, literally made a raid on the labor movement, captured it and revolutionized it and in so doing developed the new working class theory of Syndicalism, have for one of their cardinal principles to introduce competition in the labor movement by creating dual organization. By propagating their doctrines in the old unions and forcing them to become revolutionary, they have made their labor movement the most feared one in the world. In Spain and Italy, where the rebels are more and more copying French tactics, the Syndicalist movements are growing rapidly in power and influence. But it is in England where we have the most striking example of the comparative effectiveness of the two varieties of tactics. For several years the English I. W. W. with its dual organization theory carried on a practically barren agitation. About a year ago Tom Mann, Guy Bowman and a few other revolutionists using the French "Boring from Within" tactics, commenced in the face of a strong I. W. W. opposition to work on the old trades unions, which Debs had called impossible. Some of the fruits of their labors were seen in the recent series of great strikes in England. The great influence of these syndicalists in causing and giving the revolutionary character to these strikes which sent chills along the spine of international capitalism, is acknowledged by innumerable capitalist and revolutionary journals alike.

Is not this striking success of "boring from within" after continued failure of "building from without" tactics which is but typical of the respective results being achieved everywhere by these tactics, worthy of the most serious consideration on the part of the I. W. W.? Is it not time that we get up off our knees from before this time-honored dual organization dogma and give it a thorough examination? And I'll promise—or threaten—that if I am elected editor the matter will get as thorough an investigation as lays in my power. The question, as important a one as the I. W. W. has ever been called upon to decide, is an extensive one and in this short letter I have only been able to hint at it. It must be given a full and free discussion and is not to be dismissed by ridicule, sarcasm or a formula. More than once recently the German Syndicalists have been forced to consider

it. At Berlin a few months ago Jouhaux, secretary of the C. G. T., in a large public meeting advised them to give up their attempt to create a new movement and to get into the conservative unions, where they could make their influence felt. At Budapest he extended the same advice to the I. W. W. via myself, and I am frank to state that I am convinced that it would be strictly good tactics for both movements to adopt it. I am satisfied from my observations that the only way for the I. W. W. to have the workers adopt and practice the principles of revolutionary unionism—which I take it is its mission—is to give up its attempt to create a new labor movement, turn itself into a propaganda league, get into the organized labor movement and by building up better fighting machines within the old unions than those possessed by our reactionary enemies, revolutionize these unions even as our French Syndicalist fellow workers have so successfully done with theirs.

Yours for the Revolution,

WM. Z. FOSTER.

FREE SPEECH IN ABERDEEN, WASH.

In regard to letter sent asking for men to take part in the free speech fight, will say men are not needed. Everything is settled satisfactorily to local union 354.

Thanking you for the interest you have taken in the matter we remain, Yours for the I. W. W.

W. A. THORN,
Asst. Sec.-Treas. No. 354.

ATTENTION LOCAL UNIONS I. W. W.

German Labor Organizations, Advanced German Labor Societies and Fellow Workers:

Throughout the country at the present time, there is an increasing demand for I. W. W. literature in the German language. German speaking fellow workers are organizing by the hundreds in various industries into the I. W. W. right here in Chicago. The first question asked is "Have you German literature?" as they can't read English. W. E. Trautmann's "Why Strikes Are Lost" is translated by Trautmann himself into German.

"Von Niederlagen zum Sieg" is the title. Fellow Worker Trautmann needs no introduction; he is as brilliant a German writer as he is good in English. A new feature is the Baldwin locomotive strike in Philadelphia. The book will appear in the same attractive form with red cover. Price per copy 5 cents, \$3.00 per 100. Send in your orders now. The pamphlet will help the local unions of the I. W. W. more than anything else to line up the German speaking fellow workers in the ONE BIG UNION. Send all orders to Vincent St. John, 518 Cambridge Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

FRANK JAKEL.

TOM IRWIN WANTED.

Will Tom Irwin, who worked with F. W. Jamieson at the Adams Lake Lumber Co.'s mill at Chase, B. C., when the latter lost his leg, communicate with F. W. Jamieson at 232 Pender street E. (basement), Vancouver, B. C. Important.

FRED PARSONS,
Secretary Pro Tem Local 322.

ORGANIZING IN CALIFORNIA

MORE AGITATORS WANTED IN CALIFORNIA—NEW BRANCH LOCAL OF RAILROAD WORKERS FORMED —MEN ARE DRIVEN LIKE CATTLE.

The best word from the Rocklyn-Colfax cutoff. Men are coming in daily to agitate the camps and we opened up a branch local of local 71 of Sacramento. The hall is located in Auburn and is large enough to seat 250 people.

Up to date we have not been opposed in any way in forming a Big Union here, but look for the Southern Pacific to open up on us soon. Our street speaker entertained orderly crowds for the last five nights. Conditions here remain the same, dirty, filthy, lousy, stinking bunk houses, poorest of food, in fact a hard boiled proposition. Those lying, thieving, plundering labor sharks, Murray and Reagly, who maintain slave markets in all California cities, supply the labor. Men are shipped in droves, and consequently the supply of labor is never short. The contractors are those famous pirates, Erickson & Peterson, whose soul aim in life so far has been to rob and plunder their many slaves.

Notorious as they have always been, robbing as they always are, still they manage through the labor sharks and the local saloons to maintain an army of unwilling slaves. The wages are \$1.75 per day and a working man cannot clear a dollar a day. One dollar a month hospital dues and highest of prices are charged in the commissaries for the cheapest of clothing, paper shoes, necessities of life, etc. These famous Swedes have an army of Swede bosses, who are tyrants of the worst sort, firing men right and left for the most trivial of things. Lindstrom Walker at camp 9 is the worst, and fired one of our men today because he refused to be driven and take his abuse. Naughty bossy! You need a little touch of direct action. Maybe you will get it—who knows? A long lane where you meet no bosses.

Well, we need more agitators in these camps and have a hard fight ahead of us, so come on fellow workers, and winter in Sunny Cal., that grand state where men are forced to scab on themselves and sell their labor for a pitiful existence. I enclose the shark's permit to slave which is evidence in itself that these