



## THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

VOL. 1.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., MAY 27, 1911.

NO. 5.

### CHOICE OF EVILS.

#### Job-Hunting or Murder As a Trade.

By ED MOORE.

Machinery is taking the jobs of working people and giving them the notion that steady employment is an earthly blessing of the highest value.

"Men Wanted" is a cheering sign to a man out of work, and when he reads that he may have "steady employment for three years and upwards, retirement after 30 years with liberal retired pay for life," it looks good to him.

Only those who have hit the grit, dodged the bulls, bunked in the city jails, and pan-handled for grub, know the trials and tribulations of those looking for a chance to work to get wages to buy food and clothes, pay for lodging, and to have a few dimes to spend in concert halls, the only places single workmen have to enjoy what polite people call "the refining influence of woman's society."

Holding down a job, you have got to take the abuse of the foreman, keep your tongue in your cheeks when they fine you, march on the double quick when the whistle blows, answer to your number by sticking a peg in a clock, stand inspection when you turn in your work, and be clubbed and jailed if you strike. Such is the unhappy lot of a free, independent, industrious American citizen who must have a job to get his meal tickets.

You would not think that the government of a "free people" would let its army and navy officers—gentlemen by acts of Congress—carry on a confidence game to trap unwary out-of-work men to get them to swear that they will shoot to kill for a monthly wage when ordered to, and not ask why, would you?

But this is so, as you will find if you read one of the government's handbills issued to persuade men to take up the trade of professional murder.

It is a choice of two evils that an out-of-work man must make: either hire out as a professional murderer—enlist—or hobo it. A professional murderer has a barracks or a ship to sleep in, regular meals and some spending money. A hobo, as he will tell you, never knows when he is going to "feed his face." It is the uncertainty of the meal times and the whereabouts of the lodging place that drives the jobless to don a suit of Uncle Sam's blue.

Socialists want to wipe out armies and navies so that law-made gentlemen and their employers, the capitalists, shall have to work to make wealth instead of teaching and ordering workers to kill other workers so that the "gentlemen and their ladies" may live in idleness on what they take from those who toil in the peaceful pursuits of industry.

#### THE McDEVITT-GOLDMAN DEBATE.

Twelve hundred persons crowded into the Building Trades auditorium Wednesday night to hear the debate on "Political Action versus Direct Action," the Socialist party candidate for Mayor of San Francisco for the affirmative and Emma Goldman, anarchist, the negative. More than three hundred were turned away after the last space of legal standing room had been sold.

Miss Goldman paid a tribute to Eugene V. Debs for his "Arouse, Ye Slaves!" at the time of the Moyer-Haywood agitation, declaring the lives of the men attacked by the courts for the Mine Owners' Association were saved by the attitude of the "fighting union," the Western Federation of Miners. This was industrial action, she said.

Admitting, later, that the agitation carried on by the Appeal to Reason (she employed the hackneyed capitalistic sneer, "Appeal to Treason") before and during the trials was "political action," she proceeded in her most characteristic sneeringly vindictive manner to declare that the "Appeal" had not aided in saving Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, but was saved by them. She appeared to have forgotten her expression of approval of the "Rouse, Ye Slaves!" (which was carried to the hosts of militant workers throughout the country only by that same "Appeal to Reason" on which Miss Goldman seemed to be taking such a sour joy in venting her spleen), and when reminded of it her normally unpleasant temper did not improve.

In the course of the debate the applause and cheering, from time to time, for one contestant and then the other, was deafening.

In closing the debate, Emma Goldman introduced new matter by reading selected "immediate demands" from the local Socialist platform and pouring out her scorn upon them. McDevitt protested against the unfairness of this, since he would not be allowed opportunity to reply, but was howled down by the anarchists in the house.

The meeting concluded with the answering of questions by both speakers.

### REVOLT—AGAINST WHAT?

#### Class Struggle Taking New Form.

#### CAPITALISM STRENGTHENING ITSELF BY SYSTEM OF "BENEVOLENCE" MUST BE OPPOSED BY WORKERS.

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

Capitalism is becoming "benevolent." The time when it was merciless will soon be past. When there were plenty of wild cattle on the range, steers, cows and calves had little value; now that the range cattle are gone and the way has been discovered how to make more money out of better bred animals by handling them gently and with "scientific management," the old days have passed away.

The State Factory Inspector of Rhode Island and others are urging the capitalists that it now pays to treat the workers like valuable cattle and horses instead of the worthless animals of former days.

"Benevolent" or progressive capitalism is investing enormous sums to increase the efficiency of the working people as industrial animals. Here is the world-wide program:

(1) A minimum wage for the bottom-most layers of the workers who degenerate too rapidly under present conditions, deprive the capitalist class of valuable workers and of still more valuable children.

(2) Anti-child-labor laws and industrial education, in order to produce efficient working animals at the expense of an education which might create men and citizens—neither in any way essential for the "benevolent" purposes of the new capitalism.

(3) Eight hours by law. Individual competing capitalists were willing to throw laborers into the dust-heap at middle age—but this is costly to capitalists as a class. If large sums are to be invested in the health and industrial training of the workers, they must be enabled to work until old age. This can only come through an eight-hour law, which is favored, like the rest of these measures, by Theodore Roosevelt and by the chief figures in the Ministry that is now governing Great Britain.

(4) Working men's insurance against old age, accidents, sickness and unemployment. All these measures advocated by the progressive capitalists on the same grounds.

(5) Government undertakings for the special purposes of making profits out of the unemployed and keeping them at work—by compulsion. Re-forestation, irrigation, canals, reclamation of roads, in the hands of an able capitalist class, in possession of the State, would profitably absorb ten times the number of unemployed we now have and ten million Chinese as well.

This is the labor program which the capitalist class favors, in proportion as it really becomes a class, and in proportion as it enters into partnership with the Government—instead of using it only incidentally and occasionally, as in the past.

With this program goes necessarily Government ownership, which every Socialist who knows his Socialist A B C's understands, has got no connection whatever with Socialism. Besides the Government undertakings above mentioned, the example of France, Germany, England and Australia shows us that the new consolidated capitalist class in control of the State will own and operate:

Railroads,	Telephones,	Shipbuilding
Mines,	Banks,	plants,
Oil wells,	Steamships,	Ammunition factories,
Telegraphs,		etc., etc.

Also municipal undertakings of every kind. These Government undertakings could furnish a sufficient government income, even without any taxes, but their main object is not to increase the income of the State, but to lower prices for the manufacturers, merchants and employing farmers, who constitute the chief consumers. Money will have to be raised also in other ways.

The State capitalists will reduce the tariff, and all forms of indirect taxes for the same purpose that they will enter into Government ownership, namely, to lower rates and charges. All taxes will be produced directly by two means: First, a confiscatory taxation of city land values and of agriculturists wherever large estates exist; second, by graduated income and inheritance taxes.

These taxes will not only secure the sums needed, but will immediately strengthen the capitalists of the new school of "benevolence" and industrial efficiency by getting rid of the merely and purely parasitic capitalist element. Degenerate capitalists will be done away with for the benefit of the active kind—the beast of prey type (Morgan, Rockefeller, Guggenheim, etc.). The beasts of prey, whether large or small, whether numbered by the tens or the millions, will greatly increase their own waste and that of their immediate dependents. But the capitalistic idlers will have to take what is given them.

Workers who have given little thought to the new "benevolent" form of capitalism will scarcely

be prepared for the idea that the Government will absorb some ten billion dollars in land values, and perhaps nearly as large a sum from inheritances and incomes without weakening capitalism in any way, and that it will even use this vast sum entirely for capitalistic purposes—to increase the total wealth of society, of which the lion's share goes to themselves, and to increase their hold on the Government.

II.

Everybody has heard of "scientific management." There is this much truth in what is claimed for it. It is undoubtedly true that by careful instruction and mechanical arrangement skilled workers have been taught to lay three times as many bricks as formerly, and unskilled workers to carry and dump in a wheelbarrow three times as much pig iron.

This alone may, as its adherents claim, accomplish as great a revolution in industry as did the introduction of machinery.

But this is not all. The capitalist fanatics of scientific management forget that it is only a small part of the new "gospel of efficiency" to employ the title used by one of them in a recent series of articles.

The gospel of efficiency acts ten times more efficiently through capitalistic governments than it does through individual capitalists or corporations.

The whole program of State capitalism which I have outlined is simply an expression of the new gospel of efficiency. It will accomplish a political revolution even more important than the revolution in industry.

Through this program of reforms the economic condition of every man, woman and child in the community will be considerably bettered—as is already seen in several countries.

When it gets to working properly the economic position of the working people will improve, even in comparison with the cost of living. But how much will it improve? Something like this: every year the workers will be 1 per cent. better off than they were the year before—and every year the capitalists will be 5 or 10 per cent. better off. Every year the cattle will be fatter and the horses will be able to do more work. Every year the domination of capitalism will be more complete than ever before.

If "State Socialism" or State Capitalism (two phrases for the same thing) continues for a single generation, the modern world will have developed a system of caste more rigid than anything of which the Hindus and Egyptians ever dreamed.

III.

Revolt against what? Against State Socialism or the partnership of capitalism and the Government, as proposed by Lloyd George, Briand, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Bryan, LaFollette, Gompers, Victor Berger and many others.

Working people of the Coast understand where the insurgents are heading. They will soon understand that, while both Berger and Gompers are perfectly honest in their intentions and loyal to their organizations, as they understand loyalty, they are working with the support of nearly all the "progressive" elements of the capitalist class—that is the capitalism of the future, the only capitalism dangerous to Socialism and the spirit of revolt.

Gompers has the backing of the Civic Federation and the insurgents. Berger has had the warmest praise from the whole insurgent and muck-raking press: The Outlook, Collier's Weekly, The Independent, The American Magazine, The Saturday Evening Post, LaFollette's Weekly, The Commoner, The New York World, The New York Evening Post, The Chicago Tribune, and even the larger part of the press all throughout the country.

Of course Gompers has been vigorously opposed by the Manufacturers' Association, and Berger has been opposed by the stand-patter and Bourbon press. Even the muck-raking journals have held themselves free to criticize, but they have usually accompanied their criticism by praise.

IV.

Against what is the revolt at the present moment? We have seen that it is not against the Manufacturers' Association and its policy of starving the worker and crushing the unions, but against the Civic Federation and its policy of fattening up the worker, making him industrially efficient and cajoling the unions.

We have seen that the revolt is not against competition or the trusts, but against progressive capitalists using the government for their own purposes and feeding the people with crumbs and a program

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### FOR FREEDOM!

#### Live Now in Revolution Says Noted Rebel.

By WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN.

We are facing the revolution. Or rather, the revolution is facing us. That does not mean that the revolution is a thing apart from us, a strange personality, a sinister god or devil. The revolution is simply a part of us, a part of our life, its deepest necessity, its ripening, its awakening, its maturity. That is the most significant thing we can know. Other knowledge is of mighty little value, lacking that. We do not and cannot know life, unless we know that. We are not prepared to make our lives count unless we know in all the depths of our being this fact of revolution. We live at all only in the measure of our consciousness of the revolution. That is the measure of our life and our efficiency.

Let me remind you here to-night, on this first day of a new year, of another thing worth thinking about. None of us knows what the coming twelve months will bring to us. One of our comrades, who was here only a few weeks ago, is dead. He no longer has any existence among us. His life here has ceased. Whatever chance he had to live, to be something, to do something, was measured—though he didn't know it—by a few days. If he was to live at all, to do or be anything worth while, he had to do and be and live right then and there. Not all of us will be here a year from now. Existence is the one uncertainty. No one has any sure hold on that. We are here to-day and we are gone to-morrow. But there is one thing we can surely do, if we will. We can live now, and there isn't any other time that we can live. None of us can live to-morrow—to-morrow never comes. We can't live next year or next decade nor in some co-operative commonwealth of a distant time. We can live now, and now only.

Living and existing are too widely different things. Existence alone isn't worth while—for human beings. Life is the only thing that is worth while for them. And we live or can live exactly in the measure in which we are free. We can exist as slaves, as beasts, as things, and nothing more. We can live only as we are free. He only is a man who is free. She only is a woman who is free. Freedom is infinitely more the mark of a man than anything in his anatomy. If you are to live—whether it be a day or a year or five or fifty years—you must assert your freedom. It is you who are to live, not some one else, not a lot of mouldy ideas and silly customs and cramping prejudices through you. You must gain your own freedom, too. No one else—nor the whole of society—can give it to you or gain it for you. It isn't a gift, it is an achievement. And this is true of a race or a class as much as of an individual. Freedom cannot be given to wage-slaves—it must be won by them at any price, and they can't have it unless they will pay the price. One sentence in John Mitchell's book, "Organized Labor," damns it forever and shuts out its author from the paradise of humanity's eternal gratitude: "The average wage-earner has made up his mind that he must remain a wage-worker." That is the word of a man who exists, who does not live, whose energy has never risen to the level of the struggle for life, but only to the low level of the struggle for existence.

Freedom is an achievement. You are not going to be carried into freedom on the tide or current of some blind movement. You are not going to wake up some fine morning and find yourself free. The mind of a slave could not discover freedom in a thousand years. Only the mind of a freeman can know freedom.

If you are going to live, you have got to be free. Why, humanity, instinctively feels that slavery is the lowest humiliation a man can suffer. And so our whole penal system is based on that idea. When society wants to show its deepest disapproval of men or women, it makes slaves of them. It does all in its power to unmake them, to dehumanize them. That is precisely what the whole prison system means. It is society's effort to undo all the slow and painful work of all that is fine and good and sacred in human evolution. It takes freedom away from men and women—in other words, takes their life from them. It treats them as slaves, as things. That is what prisons are for. And, by the way, I would rather be the lowest inmate of a prison than be its keeper. There is more hope and more manhood in and for the criminal than in or for the keeper of a prison. There is more hope for a so-called criminal in the penitentiary than for men and women who believe in prisons. The prisoner believes in freedom and seeks it, if he has a chance; indeed, takes every risk for it—the keeper of a prison and the people who uphold the system

neither believe in freedom nor seek it. They are utterly hopeless.

Did you ever visit a prison? If you have, you know the feeling of gloom and despair which the sight of it creates. You did not envy the men in stripes. You couldn't. You do not admire the sight of the chain-gang as it passes along the streets. But do you never reflect that "four walls do not a prison make?" Prisoners and slaves are not all in jails and convict camps and penitentiaries. Merely to be shut in for a time within four walls is the least awful form of imprisonment or enslavement the world knows. To be cooped in by the narrow walls of some old superstition or prejudice or custom—even though it be supported by a priesthood or a government or untold wealth—is an incomparably more degrading slavery. And are not the streets fairly clogged with that kind of people? How many people whom you know are living their lives or any small part of their lives from the independent impulse and motive of their own souls, and not merely and solely by force of the momentum of old habits and customs and ideas and prejudices which have in them not a particle of sense or truth or worth?

It is true—and fortunate—that none in the great working class of the world can be free until all are free. But we haven't to wait for the co-operative commonwealth before we are free intellectually and spiritually—and these are far and away the most important and vital forms of freedom. It is true right now and here that the freest souls in the Socialist movement are largely from the proletariat. They are wage-slaves the most helpless, and yet many of them are the freest of the free in all that concerns the beliefs of their awakened minds. And any movement in human society that is worth anything is strong, and true and beneficent exactly in the proportion of the free men and women it contains. A free man or a free woman has more lifting power for any cause than any other kind, and they are the only persons who are alive. The rest might just as well be dead—they are a dead weight. The car of human progress is pulled forward by men and women—it doesn't run of itself. And they who pull it forward are they who know the meaning of freedom.

REVOLT—AGAINST WHAT?

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of pure and undiluted capitalist reform which may call "Socialistic." We have seen that many of these reforms are beneficial to the worker, but that each and every one of them is ten times as beneficial to the capitalists. We have seen that hours will be shortened and that wages will rise even faster than the cost of living, but that the workers may be more enslaved to capitalism and the capitalistic state than ever before—unless through their own efforts, self-organization and self-education, the spirit of revolt shall grow even more rapidly than the spirit of capitalistic reform.

But how shall this spirit of revolt express itself here and now? To most working people educated in capitalistic schools, and by the capitalistic press, the answer is not easy.

Along with many other revolutionaries I have to confess to having been misled for several years. Once we thought that capitalism could only sustain itself by military force and the policy that goes with it—nationalism, imperialism and race prejudice. For several years now we have seen that the capitalists themselves are beginning gradually to work towards a great international peace under which all the police power of the leading nations can be turned exclusively against the working classes and a revolution, wherever it may break out.

Professor Herron and many other Socialists have shown that a permanent capitalistic world peace might be almost as bad for Socialism as a permanent state of latent war, as at present. The example of Mexico ought to be sufficient. There is no international conflict among the great powers. All are agreed that international capitalism requires that the revolution should be put down in Mexico and order established.

The proposal that all the navies should be pooled and made into a sort of world-police is the greatest international danger that threatens the Socialists at the present moment. If this be done, and it doubtless will be done, the day for the possibility of the establishment of Socialism in one great nation without the others will have passed.

Anti-militarism is a part of the program of every militant Socialist because the capitalists wear the cloak of patriotism every time they are preparing to crush labor.

But, like many other issues, it is merely a weapon to be used, and not a foundation on which to build.

Only a few years ago many of us thought that we had another issue of which the capitalists would never be able to rob us, namely, the establishment of a pure and complete political democracy. Now the Conservative Party of England has endorsed the referendum, and the legislature of Wisconsin calls for a Constitutional Convention in the United States. It is true that many Socialists have always known that we could not safely attach much importance even to the most far-reaching political reform—but others of us have had to learn by events. We never thought that a completely democratic constitution, the recall of judges, or any other radical proposition, was Socialism, but we thought it fine Socialist tactics to insist on measures which we did not believe the capitalists would ever endorse.

It is doubtless with the best intentions that Berger has proposed a Constitutional Convention in Congress, but in this matter the caution of Senator LaFollette is wiser, both from the bourgeois democratic and the Socialist standpoint.

If a Constitutional Convention were called tomorrow or next year, or probably even within the next few years, LaFollette has expressed the belief that it might evolve a more reactionary constitution than the present. This is probably true, because such a Convention would reform away all the outgrown and weak elements of the present constitution. The strongest barriers to Socialist progress it would leave and probably add others of the latest make. Here, as in many other instances, the insurgent is more radical than the reformist Socialist. In this instance, as in others, Berger doubtless be-

lieves that he is working for the party as well as for himself. But a revolutionary Socialist is privileged to differ from him, and even to believe that he is proposing a step which LaFollette and Bryan would reject as filled with the danger of reaction.

V.

Against what is the revolt here and now?

It is not against militarism. It is not against the present political constitution or any of its results, direct or indirect. It is against the economic system and the enslavement of the working class. And here we come to the last reformist temptation to which we as revolutionaries even are likely to succumb, namely, the idea that any measure which tends immediately to strengthen the organizations of labor—provided it strengthens good, bad and indifferent alike—is a Socialistic and non-capitalistic measure.

In a recent article in the New York Call, which attracted some favorable comment on the Coast, I favored relegating all economic labor reforms such as are advocated by the Civic Federation, to the background; working men's compensation and insurance, old age pensions, the eight-hour day, the minimum wage, etc. At the same time I urged laying all emphasis on measures which would give greater freedom to the labor organization: an anti-injunction law, the repeal of the Sherman Act, the enactment of a law by which a business should no longer be property and a "conspiracy" to do a thing which would be perfectly legal, if done by a single individual, should no longer be a crime.

I do not wish to qualify this proposal in any way. But I do wish to point out that we demand these measures in the same spirit in which we attack militarism or the present constitution or demand the recall of judges.

All these policies are necessary and absolutely indispensable both to revolutionary Socialists and to revolutionary unionists. Not only this, but they are worth fighting for.

But the first principle of a "Socialist" revolutionary as distinguished from all others, is not to deceive himself. Capitalists may establish democratic government and put an end to militarism, not out of fear of Socialism but in their own interest.

And capitalists may repeal the conspiracy law and allow peaceful picketing, as they have done in England, not out of fear of Socialism or the unions, but in their own interest. In 1875 the British Government abolished conspiracy, and two or three years ago they definitely allowed peaceful picketing. They did this not out of fear of Socialism or fear of the unions, but because, like the Civic Federation, they represented the interests of the capitalist class—not of individual capitalists, but of the capitalist class as a whole; not of capitalism in this generation alone, but also of capitalism in the next. For absolutely no measure that can be devised promotes so effectively the plans of the never and greater capitalism as the organization of conservative unions. This is not a guess, it is a fact.

Woodrow Wilson, probably our next President, indicates in his history (Division and Reunion, p. 303) that the theory of conspiracy in industrial disputes is wrong, and that even the sympathetic strike and the secondary boycott, outlawed since Roosevelt's arbitration of the Anthracite strike in 1903, ought to be legalized.

A rumor based on the very best authority, has it that Senator LaFollette has laid his plans to come out with a program of labor union support as soon as he feels he has the power, that is, after the coming election.

The leader of the Insurgent Republicans and the leader of the progressive Democrats are both aware that it is absolutely safe for American capitalists to do what the English and other capitalists have already done.

The right and possibility of labor to organize, the establishment of a government at least politically democratic, and the abolition of militarism, are most useful weapons at the present moment, but they neither constitute Socialism nor the slightest installment of Socialism. All of them are also on the program of the progressive capitalists—the capitalism of the immediate future.

VI.

Against what then is the revolt?

It is against whatever weapons the capitalists happen to be using at the present moment against labor.

Revolt for what? For the organization of labor against capitalism in all its forms—even the most progressive. Therefore, for every measure which aids immediately in the formation of revolutionary unions and a revolutionary Socialist party.

At present for a campaign against militarism, for ultra-democratic government, and for the unlimited rights of labor organization. In the near future exclusively for reforms of an entirely different order.

For economic reforms which improve the economic position of labor, at the cost of capital.

For political reforms which not only put political power in the hands of labor, but at the same time take it out of the hands of capital.

Such reforms, and such reforms alone, are actual steps in Socialism—provided they are sufficiently rapid to get us somewhere, if not actually into Socialism, in our own generation. Such steps, and such steps alone, if sufficiently rapid and continued for a reasonable period, for example, a generation, will bring us to industrial democracy.

All the present reforms, every one of them elements of "State Socialism" or the capitalism of the future, will be serviceable only in so far as they are a favorable soil in which to plant Socialist reform, or a favorable ground in which to lay the foundations of Socialism. But this seed has not yet been planted, and this foundation has not yet been laid.

The present reforms are not in themselves either Socialist foundations or even steps to Socialism. But they are absolutely indispensable to the building up of a Socialist society.

In other words, revolutionary Socialism can only build on the ground of progressive capitalism or "State Socialism."

We cannot and do not oppose a single one of the "State Socialist" reforms. But we oppose the "State Socialists" to a limit. And the more rapidly their reforms are established, the more complete and vigorous will be our attack.

When capitalism has completely evolved into

"State Socialism" then it will be "State Socialism" alone against which we make our onslaught.

And finally, it is only capitalism in this new found "State Socialism" that we can hope to conquer. The private capitalism of yesterday is unconquerable, because it is only capitalism in its youth, and growing stronger every day. State capitalism or "State Socialism" is capitalism matured, and when it is complete, within a decade or two, it will have passed its maturity, will be on the decline, and our victory will be assured.

Already State capitalism is getting the better of private capitalism in every country of the world. The business of every Socialist educator and agitator is to teach: (1) the advantages of "State Socialism" over private capitalism, and (2) the new form of slavery which it is bound to bring.

For the immediate future then, let us put forward not a program which is primarily helpful to the capitalists, and incidentally helpful to the Socialists, but a program which is helpful to Socialism and harmful to capitalism: Socialism demands that wages should be advanced more rapidly than profits, that all governmental reforms should go far enough, so that they better the position of labor economically or politically at the expense of the capitalists.

It is only by such measures that the class struggle will grow more intense as the economic situation of the workers improves. It is only by struggling for such measures that the well-bred and well-trained oxen and horses of the new State capitalism will become men.

It is only through such measures that society will take even the first and smallest step towards Socialism; other reforms may be a part of the capitalistic kind of progress, but they may also be steps away from Socialism.

Only if accompanied by Socialistic reforms will capitalistic reforms aid us in the slightest degree to develop the class struggle and establish a Socialist society.

Let us remember Marx's words in the Communist Manifesto, that "the first step in the revolution of the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the level of the ruling class."

AS OTHERS SEE US.

(Comrade A. Crawford, Editor of The Voice of Labor, Johannesburg, South Africa, is outspoken as to his impressions of the American Socialist party.)

I have been ten days in America. Nine days ago I was certain that the movement in the West was not up to my expectations. American literature, propaganda sheets, speakers and leaders led me to expect a party of revolution. I have an impression already formed in my mind that said literature, press and utterances, however much their authors may belong to the Socialist Party, are no reflex of the party. I hope I may have reason to change my view before I leave the East.

"Boost" is the shibboleth of American Commercialism. It should find no expression in a Socialist Party or its Press. But it does, and the World of Socialism is misled as to the strength and value of American Socialism.

I sat for hours at headquarters in Seattle listening to talk of Socialists. I did not hear a single revolutionary expression. The editors of the local capitalist press sets down the subject of Socialist talk in its editorial columns.

I journeyed to the Party headquarters in San Francisco to look over the files of the Socialist Press. I found all the capitalist dailies, a Labor Union organ, some literature of the A. F. of L., all loose. The Socialist papers and literature were all locked up.

I attended a meeting of the San Francisco local and put in three hours witnessing great emissions of hot air, and omissions of Socialist effort. I have attended and participated in similar meetings in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town. I know the cause—and the cure.

What the movement lacks is PURPOSE. The opposing factions in the San Francisco local have each a purpose of its own. The one wants "votes," the other wants "Revolution." But the PARTY has no purpose. It has a big membership.

But big as its membership it, it is not big enough for those who want votes, and those who are striving for the Revolution are like unto a rescue party in a gassed mine. Their work is difficult and precarious owing to the risk of being smothered. The only danger a revolutionary party has lies in having a membership of compromisers—too much membership.

The cry of the revolutionary is "No compromise," "Education for Revolution" is his motto, and the test of value. Education for votes is waste effort. Suppose the Socialist Party captures San Francisco. What then? Suppose it captures the State. What can it do?

Absolutely nothing without a mandate from the people to abolish private property in the means of production and distribution.

Municipalization is not abolishing private property, nor is nationalisation.

In Johannesburg we have no Socialists in the City Council. During my three years' membership of that council I did not influence the municipalization policy of the Johannesburg capitalists. They have municipal street cars, municipal water, municipal light and gas, municipal markets, municipal slaughter houses, municipal stock yards, municipal parks and farms, municipal shops and houses, etc. This is up to date Capitalism. See how it works!

Cheaper street cars transport the wage slaves to the distant suburbs where land and rents are cheaper. Cheaper water, light and gas enable the shopkeeper to add a smaller margin to the cost price of his imported goods. Markets, slaughter houses, etc., cheapen the price of meat, fruit and vegetables. Cheaper living all round means cheaper wages, for "cost of living" and "wages" are synonymous terms.

The Industrial Capitalists can find means of disposing of profits which come from municipal concerns. Under Capitalism no Socialist Party can find a means of spending profits from municipal enterprises from which the Capitalists will gain no advantage.

Besides, her municipal businesses are run on the cheap, for a whole community acts individu-

ally as voluntary administrators and detectives to see that not a cent is unwisely spent.

And knowing that municipalisation is rank capitalism, the ruling Capitalists slyly and with apparent reluctance permit Socialists to educate the people to that sentiment, knowing that a Socialist Administration will not have a mandate to do more, and, this much being of a Capitalist character, it can do nothing for the unemployed, and in the end becomes discredited.

The same can be said of nationalism as is said of municipalisation. South Africa has one State Railway, one State Telephone and Telegraph Service, State mines, State farms, State hospitals and a State Land Bank. None of these is run directly for profit. The Capitalists inserted a clause in the Constitution when union of the colonies of Transvaal, Natal, Cape Colony and Orange Free State was arranged, to the effect that all South African railways be run at cost. The profits are, of course, declared in gold mine dividends.

The advanced condition of Africa, municipally and naturally, is due to the higher development of Capitalism there than elsewhere in the world.

South Africa has a gold mining trust, a diamond mining trust, a coal mining trust, an Electric Power Supply trust, a dynamite trust, a meat trust, and several large land trusts besides the municipal and state trusts already referred to.

When America started its Capitalist development, England's Capitalism was fifty or more years' old. America started level with England and with the vigor of youth outstripped the mother country as a young girl might outrun her grandmother. America is now the grandmother and Africa the vigorous youngster.

Over twenty-five years ago there was no Johannesburg and no goldfields. To-day Johannesburg is an up-to-date city with an area of eighty square miles and a population exceeding a quarter of a million. To-day the goldfields around Johannesburg produce about \$175,000,000 worth of gold annually, nearly forty per cent. of the entire world's output. I could tell many other astonishing things about South Africa but space forbids.

One other fact, however, I might mention. Our "Labour Party" absorbs all the opportunists and reactionaries and keeps the Socialist movement pure. To my mind it's a pity there is not a "Labour Party" in America.

Those of you who read Deb's article in "Revolt" last week, just read it again. Note that Deb's "Socialist Party" is NOT THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY, but an abstraction, an ideal.

Overindulgence in politics by a Socialist Party will lead to a reaction and opposite extreme. Already the I. W. W. is attacking Socialists. This it should not do, because a political attitude has always disrupted an economic organization and an anti-political attitude is no different from a pro-political attitude. Both are equally dangerous and disintegrating. The I. W. W. is in some places allowing itself to be driven. It must not forget that two wrongs don't make a right.

I have already noticed an anarchist revival in San Francisco. This renescent spirit is a reflex of Socialist opportunism and will find congenial food in the inevitable folly of a premature Socialist power. Only the best balanced minds will be able to withstand the attraction and fascination of the anarchist propaganda. To my mind, only a split in the American Socialist Party will save the position or, which is the same thing, a victory for the "rough necks."

There may be many of my readers who will think me impertinent in thus criticising the movement. Let me say to them that the Socialist Cause is worldwide, and I never did sit on the fence when a fight was on. South Africa, New Zealand, Australia and Canada are all countries which I have recently investigated. Capitalist conditions are alike in all these countries and in Western America. These four British Colonies have parties all more revolutionary than the American Socialist Party as I know it in the West. But all these colonies draw their inspiration from American Socialist literature. Deb's is the most popular speaker; Jack London the most popular novelist; the "International Socialist Review," the most popular magazine, and the "fighting Appeal to Reason" the most popular weekly in the British Colonies. I would like to see One Universal Socialist Party to harmonize all these.

Perhaps "Revolt" will improve the position and send its revolutionary message to all corners of the Earth. Perhaps it will "boost" only the propaganda and tell the truth about the movement so that we comrades in other lands will not build false hopes destined to be shattered on the first application of a true test.

Deb's article in last week's "Revolt" should be printed in great big letters and placed beneath the Red Flag in the most prominent part of every Socialist Headquarters and meeting place in this country and every other country.

"DEATH TO COMPROMISE IS LIFE TO THE REVOLUTION!"

Let the revolution and nothing less be our purpose. Education and nothing else our means to attain our purpose—education for revolution. Let Socialists go to Congress on nothing other than a Socialist vote, and Viva la "Revolt!"

A. CRAWFORD.

RUSSELL'S ARTICLES AND OTHERS.

The promised article by Charles Edward Russell, dealing with the destruction of the Socialist movement in New Zealand and Australia through compromise and political trading, and the dangers to the movement in America, is in the hands of the editor. It will appear in the next issue of REVOLT, in which also will be published an interesting article on the real development of the Socialist movement in the Middle West, written for REVOLT by Frank Bohn.

In early issues we shall present articles by J. G. Phelps Stokes, Rose Pastor Stokes, Anna Strunsky Walling, Rose Strunsky, Gustavus Myers and others as well known for clear thinking, forceful diction and devotion to the Revolution.

## REVOLT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

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## SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One Year - - - - - \$1.00  
 Six Months - - - - - .50  
 Single Copies - - - - - .05

Advertising Rates on Application

Address all communications to REVOLT PUBLISHING CO., 305 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, Cal. Phones: Kearny 2557 and C 4478

## WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING'S ARTICLE.

After a delay caused by the illness of Comrade Walling, the first of the promised articles from his pen appears in this issue of REVOLT. It was well worth looking forward to.

Years ago, young Walling, scion of a family possessed of great wealth but with little admiration for the swinish nature of the bourgeoisie which had not changed essentially with the increasing economic power of the class, was sent to labor in the University settlements of New York's slums. Into his mind had been instilled the idea that what the helpless wretches of that underworld needed was a spirit of contentment which would enable them to bear with their hard lot and find happiness in the midst of the horror and squalor surrounding them. Dutifully, with such purpose, the young university graduate went among the dispossessed of the East Side.

Such was his nature, his understanding, his sense of fitness and true values, that he realized almost at once that to preach contentment to the dwellers in the slums would be a thing monstrous and diabolical. As he expressed it, months afterward, in a letter to a comrade in California:

"I saw that what these people needed was not contentment, but a revolution."

He told them so, and through his labors largely those "settlements," financed by the ruling and exploiting class for the purpose of keeping the exploited class contented, rapidly became hotbeds of revolution.

In the years which have followed, Comrade Walling's wonderfully clear and comprehensive vision in matters sociological and economic has increased in keenness, and though a lesser but more politic mind has gained great sway over the semi-revolutionary proletariat of New York City, the impetus of the truly revolutionary movement there is due in great measure (so far as one man may serve to guide the direction of social forces and tendencies and give them purpose) to William English Walling.

Never was his insight into social and economic conditions, their present and ultimate meaning and the logical position of the revolutionary proletariat in relation to them, manifested more impressively than in his article written for REVOLT and published in this issue.

Some weeks ago Comrade Walling spoke of coming to the Coast, to deliver a series of addresses here. The San Francisco comrade to whom he mentioned this half-formed purpose, when returning via Los Angeles, mentioned it to members of the present State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of California.

"Oh, that would never do!" cried one (who previously had aided in keeping Eugene V. Debs out of the State). "Walling is not in accord with the California movement."

So much the worse for the "California movement," if that be true!

## ATTEMPTING A BACKWARD STEP.

In a note accompanying his initial article for REVOLT, Comrade Walling informs the editor that Local New York has voted to initiate a referendum to rescind the action of the Socialist Party in adopting the motion which adds the new "Section 3" to the National Constitution, as follows:

"Section 3. All national party officers shall be elected annually and shall not hold the same office longer than two terms."

This motion was passed by a vote of 9,050 to 8,511. New York State, where two members of the National Executive Committee have their habitat and greatest influence, cast 567 votes for the motion and 1,447 against it. Wisconsin voted 186 "yes" and 561 "no."

San Francisco did not vote on the question at all, and in consequence the State of California lined up with those voting to let the national party remain under the control of a half dozen permanent office holders. The vote was 500 "yes" and 545 "no." San Francisco could have been counted upon to cast the heaviest "yes" vote of any county in the State. The reason San Francisco did not vote was that the local membership, in meeting assembled, was not informed of the referendum until just after the vote had closed. The matter was in the hands

of the organizer and the campaign committee, which overlooked it.

When the coming motion to rescind the action which so fortunately carried in spite of all that happened to prevent, shall reach San Francisco, REVOLT will inform the membership of the circumstance if there be still an organizer and a campaign committee that might overlook such matters.

## QUEER DOINGS!

It is with the deepest regret that the editor of REVOLT yields to the compulsion of circumstances to criticize the sins of omission and commission of officials of the Socialist Party, or any member thereof. May the time soon come when the movement shall have clarified itself so far that no official will dream of doing the things that compel criticism—whether it be an attempt to put the party in the position of practically endorsing a fake labor administration in San Francisco, or to bar the most efficient workers for the cause of the revolutionary movement, political and industrial, from the State of California!

Last year it was Debs that was forbidden to come here. Now it is William Thurston Brown. The S. E. C. recently sent forth a communication urging all locals to refuse to arrange meetings for this speaker, whose power on the platform for the Socialist movement is recognized as second to none but that of Eugene V. Debs. The fact that one member of that committee sought to eliminate Brown by debating with him in Los Angeles, the committeeman seeking to belittle the importance of industrial unionism and Brown defending it, and was signally defeated by the principal of the Modern School, may have had something to do with this.

The State Executive Committee went farther (even many of its most admiring friends think it was much too far), enraged by the sight of the I. W. W. button which Brown wears, and passed a motion declaring that the I. W. W. is opposed to political action, and therefore no member of the I. W. W. is eligible to membership in the Socialist Party. Under this ruling one loyal Socialist comrade (Sam Murray of Napa) already has been forced out of the party.

As a matter of fact, while the preamble and constitution of the I. W. W. forbid the organization, as an organization, to endorse any political party (as, indeed, many of the most conservative craft unions do), it leaves its individual members free to take part in political action and join a political party if they please.

REVOLT believes that the ones who oppose political action are dead wrong.

The recent statistics gathered and presented by the National Office show that five per cent. of all Socialist Party members in good standing in the United States are members of the I. W. W. That means nearly four thousand members. The expulsion of so large a part of the party membership in the United States, because the California S. E. C. has discovered that the greater part of these members are opposed to political trading for the mere getting of jobs for favored ones, is unthinkable. The party in California soon may have to choose between the alternatives of recalling the S. E. C. or losing its standing as an organized state in the party.

The action of the S. E. C. came up for discussion at the special business meeting of Local San Francisco, but was prevented from coming to a vote by a point of order raised under the new constitution of the Local, which requires a two-thirds vote (something unusual in Socialist meetings) to extend the time of the meeting past 10:30 p. m. The vote to extend the time was 96 ayes to 63 noes, but the motion, under the constitution, was lost.

The next regular meeting of the Local will be Monday night, June 5, when officers and members of the Campaign Committee are to be elected for six months.

## PRETTY ROTTEN, EH?

George Newsome, business agent of Carpenters' Local Union No. 22, is a brother of Commissioner Newsome. That helps—Nay, nay, Pauline! It does NOT help the carpenters, unless they can help the Newsomes hold their jobs by aiding in the re-election of P. H. McCarthy. There are several other Newsomes with jobs. They are not carpenters.

Now, there is a certain building in process of construction in this wonderful city of San Francisco in which all loyal citizens are expected to take great pride. If you want a job on it as carpenter, go see some of the Newsomes or get the O. K. of President Bernard Burns, Superintendent of Public Buildings. You had better make it appear that you can get a vote or two for "Mac," besides your own, of course. That will help.

What a great thing it is to have a "Labor Mayor" in San Francisco! Wow!

## THE VALLEJO TRIUMPH.

Having declared to anxious business men that they would not interest themselves in the commercial welfare of storekeepers, bankers and the rest of the tribe; having refused to give any pledge to be "fair" to the liquor interests when its representatives came to the Socialist party committee and offered the entire saloon vote in exchange for such

a pledge; having, in fact, refused to resort to the compromise and political trading which would have given them the election, the Vallejo comrades were defeated at the polls. Declaring themselves solely interested, as a political party, in the welfare of the workingmen of Vallejo, they received a vote of 677 at the primaries and 671 (six party members in the mean time had been discharged from the yards and had gone away) in the regular election. This means growth, SOCIALIST growth, and, as such, means much more than the "capture" of the city by sacrificing of Socialist development. It is an increase of more than twenty per cent. over the Vallejo Socialist vote for governor last fall.

The party in Vallejo elected no one, but scored a greater Socialist triumph than was achieved where elections were won. It will not be many years, before Vallejo will elect, and then it will be with a solid Socialist majority to aid in giving purpose and power to the administration in its carrying out of the Socialist party program.

## MORE DOPE FOR MUCK-RAKERS.

By FRANK BOHN.

Strange as it may seem there is a radical element of the American people who will be satisfied and pleased with the Supreme Court decision in the Standard Oil case. Ida Tarbell will reflect that her name is now established in American history. Ray Stannard Baker, Alfred Henry Lewis, Lincoln Steffens and all that crowd will, for the first time in their lives, write in an optimistic vein. That is, they will if the one lone magazine not yet gobbled by Morgan will publish their output.

What has been done?

Just this much. The form of organization which the Standard Oil Company made so popular—the organization known as the "trust," has been declared to be, in this one case, illegal. The Standard Oil Company will now reorganize as a corporation and do business in the future exactly as it has done in the past. It will be stronger as a simple corporation than as an involved mass of holdings known as a trust. The decision will strengthen instead of weaken corporate wealth.

For the first time in the history of the Supreme Court, we have that body declaring that it may enforce a statute of Congress when it pleases and let it go unenforced when it pleases. The question is not whether the accused at the bar is guilty or not guilty, but whether he is "reasonably" guilty or "unreasonably" guilty.

Were this practice generally followed by the Supreme Court it would practically abolish legislation by Congress. As it is, we have here a long stride ahead toward the goal of plutocracy—government not by legislation but by court decisions. It takes rank with just one other great case of its kind in the history of America. In the case of Marbury vs. Madison the Supreme Court first held that it was in its power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional and hence not law. The situation was quite similar to the present one. The Supreme Court (John Marshall, Chief Justice) was Federalist. The administration (Thomas Jefferson, President) was Democratic. Marbury, who had been appointed to a federal judgeship by the preceding President, John Adams, on the day before the inauguration of Jefferson, found that his commission was withheld by the incoming administration. He brought suit against Madison, who as Secretary of State, was to deliver the commission. He maintained that his commission was in the nature of a contract. The federal Supreme Court under the influence of John Marshall gave the decision to his political opponent Jefferson. But underneath this cloak was hidden an opinion which from that time established the Supreme Court as the third and supreme legislative body in the United States Government.

The present Standard Oil case runs parallel. The Insurgents under Roosevelt brought suit against the hated octopus, Standard Oil. Everybody anticipated that the Supreme Court would overrule the decision of the lower court and protect the trust. They did no such thing. It is more than likely that President Taft, with his eye on 1912, arranged with the incoming Chief Justice and the other newly appointed members of the Supreme Court to decide as they have. Otherwise the Insurgents would have found in this decision the hook with which they would have dragged Taft from the scene next year. This decision SEEMS so radical. Standard Oil is bad, "unreasonably." It stands for all that is worst, said the Supreme Court, in our economic life. It is hated by the people, therefore down with it. All this will produce enormous galore from the afore-mentioned muck-rakers. They will see victory for insurgency and reform.

But the adder in the neatly piled heap of stones has its head out in broad daylight. If an act of Congress is "unreasonable" the Supreme Court will render it null and void. Step by step, during the first generation of the Nation's history when the property interests of the bankers and merchants were threatened by the rising tides of democracy, was the national government centralized and solidified into its present form. It is now being again fundamentally altered. Every such decision of the Supreme Court as it has handed down in the Standard Oil case makes a peaceful solution of the present class struggle more unlikely. The instinct of the Socialist party is absolutely correct. We are clinging desperately to our hope of political change. But we shall not be misled with the muck-rakers into thinking that plutocracy is alarmed and on the retreat. A majority of Socialists in both houses of Congress might agitate very lustily. They could not now legislate.

From Marshall to White the best politicians have been in the Supreme Court. Taft knew his appointees. They have taken the wind out of the sails of the Insurgents and made Taft a possible candidate for the Presidency. At the same time they have grabbed more power for themselves and for those they serve than any of their predecessors during more than a century.

## ECONOMICAL POWER NECESSARY.

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

The following statement by J. M. Kennedy in the "New Age" of London deserves the close attention of all who are busied in the agitation work of the Socialist movement:

"Take the bills for the Feeding of Necessitous Children. There were certain districts around London where, when these measures were applied, wages showed a decided tendency to fall. On one occasion, too, the House voted £200,000 for the relief of unemployment. This sum was duly distributed, and in the localities where it was distributed wages fell. It would be possible for me to take several similar measures, ostensibly meant for the relief of the poor, and to show that they really left the poor poorer. It would not be such a difficult task, either, to show that this result followed from Labor interference in Parliament, whereas Labor agitation through the former trade-union channel would most probably have had quite the reverse effect."

Some will jump at once to the conclusion that thereby political action is condemned, but such is not the case.

It has been the duty of those who strive to tell the truth and to point out the economic principles which underlie the present system that no amount of legislative tinkering will improve the condition of the working class one iota.

You may reduce the price of gas, of water, of electric lighting; you may give every worker his house rent free, and while the present wage system continues the employing class will benefit by every one of the political measures which you have passed presumably in the interest of the workers.

For years the Socialist has maintained that the wage system is the center of capitalistic exploitation and that the worker is robbed at the point of production in the shop.

It would seem to be a very simple thing to understand, and that an honest person who really intended to tell the truth could grasp it and proclaim it.

But the fact is that there is very little in it for men on the make. To teach this truth and to arouse the working class to a sense of its overwhelming importance does not carry in its train any great promise of popularity, nor does it involve the realization of what is called political success at the present time.

Yet the struggle to make the workers aware of this fact, and the efforts of the workers themselves, when once they have realized it, to overthrow the present wage system, is Socialism and nothing else is Socialism.

For it must not be forgotten that Socialism is not a distant Co-operative Commonwealth; it is the massing, the organizing, the ever forward movement of the working class.

There is no short cut to victory, not even by the political route. Things worth having have to be deserved before they are had. That is, one has to develop the power to get them. The abolition of the wages system does not fall like a ripe plum into the mouth without picking. The biblical advice "Only be thou strong and very courageous" applies essentially to the proletariat on the way to the Socialistic promised land.

Politics is worth nothing without the economic power behind it. In fact, there is no political power worthy of the name unless it is the outward and visible sign of actual material economic power. All else is vanity and vexation of spirit.

Just look at the two classes of legislation which brought decreased wages in their train! One of them devoted to the relief of necessitous children, the other to the relief of the chronic unemployed. Could any two pieces of legislation have appeared less likely to have interfered with the operation of what is called the labor market? Yet here we have the results, results which on second thought must have appeared, according to the Socialist economic theory. Wages fell because the working class was relieved somewhat of its burden and therefore they needed a little less to maintain existence.

It is a horrible fact but it has to be faced. Upon the honest and straightforward facing of it depends the way out of the existing tangle. It is no use waxing indignant over the fact; facts do not mind a little indignation. But one must grow indignant over men who persistently and willfully ignore that fact and persistently and willfully dangle before the eyes of the working class panaceas which can do no good.

All oratory, all politics, all pushing forward of distinguished persons is just so much waste energy unless there is the economic force and the economic organization to achieve definite economic results. Then the political effect follows almost automatically.

## WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN TO SPEAK IN SAN FRANCISCO.

The coming of William Thurston Brown, B. A. (Yale), to deliver three addresses in this city, is an event of great moment in the local Socialist movement.

To many the plucky fight of the Principal of the Modern School in Salt Lake, to establish the institution of radical thought in the Mormon city, is well known, as also is Brown's impressive power as a speaker. Again and again it has been said, by those who have heard both him and Eugene V. Debs most frequently, that it is hard to choose between them for the qualities of thought and manner of delivery which both possess in such rare degree.

The meetings will be held in Jefferson Square Hall, 925 Golden Gate avenue. The dates and subjects are as follows:

Tuesday, May 30, "Does America Need the Modern School?"

Friday, June 2, "How Capitalism Has Hypnotized Society."

**SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM.**

**SAN FRANCISCO.**

We, the members of the Socialist Party of San Francisco, in convention assembled, proclaim ourselves an integral part of the International Socialist movement. We stand in absolute antagonism to the Capitalist Class and to every candidate of that class, including the candidates of the so-called Union Labor Party.

We call attention to the failure and neglect of the McCarthy administration to advance the interests of the working class in San Francisco.

We realize that in society there rages a conflict between the working class and the capitalist class and that this conflict finds expression on the POLITICAL as on the INDUSTRIAL field.

The capitalist class grows ever more dominant by taking possession of the product of the working class and entrenching itself behind governmental power.

The working class has been reduced to a condition where it is allowed a wage only sufficient to keep it alive and reproduce its kind.

Government, whether it be national, state or municipal, has in the past been only an instrument in the hands of the capitalist class to keep the workers in subjection.

The Socialist Party is alone capable of administering government in the interest of the workers, as its historic mission is to further the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

The freedom of the working class is possible only when the instruments of labor are transferred to the control of the worker and the product is justly and equitably distributed.

Realizing that the emancipation of the toiler must be by the efforts of his own class, we call upon the San Francisco workers to unite as one in the Socialist Party, the only party financed and controlled by the working class.

**Program.**

Pledging ourselves to a real working class administration in this city, the Socialist Party presents to the workers the following program as measures to defend or advance the interests of labor. We realize, however, that all such measures are only a part of the legislation needed by labor in its daily warfare with capitalism, and we pledge ourselves to every remedial measure that will aid the workers industrially or politically, or in any way advance the cause of man against mammon, human life against graft and greed, of freedom of thought and speech and deed against every device of the despoiler and the despot. We pledge our candidates to the following measures:

1. A universal maximum work day of not more than eight hours.
2. Immediate relief for the unemployed by giving them employment on useful public work at union wages for union hours.
3. The most improved sanitary shop and housing conditions.
4. The strict enforcement of adequate child labor legislation.
5. Adequate provisions for free public employment agencies and the abolition of private employment agencies and kindred forms of grafting on the workers.
6. Adequate provisions for the education of all children. This to include free text books and free mid-day meals.
7. The abolition of the "third degree" and similar forms of police outrages.
8. The collective municipal ownership of all public utilities as an inevitable part of the general Socialist program to transfer the ownership of the means of production to the working class.

**SOCIALIST PARTY TICKET.**

Primary Municipal Election, September 26, 1911.

Mayor—William McDevitt.  
Police Judges—W. E. Dillon, David Henderson.  
District Attorney—Emil Liess.  
City Attorney—W. H. Sigourney.  
Assessor—H. F. Sahlender.  
Auditor—A. K. Gifford.  
Treasurer—Oliver Everett.  
Tax Collector—David Milder.  
Recorder—Henry Warnecke.  
Public Administrator—W. A. Pfeffer.

County Clerk—M. H. Morris.  
Sheriff—Thos. J. Mooney.  
Coroner—Dr. M. B. Ryer.  
Supervisors—Rollar Allen, Edward W. Bender, George Bostel, K. J. Doyle, Louis Fortin, C. W. Hogue, Robert Larkins, Chas. Lehman, Joe Moore, Chas. Mork, Chas. Preston, Ernest L. Reguin, John M. Reynolds, William Schaffer, S. Schulberg, George Styche, Lypus Vanalstine, Walter E. Walker.

To vote for Socialism, vote this ticket and Vote It Straight!

[Joe Moore, named as a candidate for Supervisor, has expressed his wish to withdraw on account of his disapproval of the anti-McCarthy stand taken in the platform.]

First-Class Union Work Phone: Market 6570

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**TAUNTS AND CHIRRUPS.**

The working class is gradually but surely organizing along class lines, and when a sufficient number appreciate the power of solidarity, it will be curtains for the capitalist class.

Even in San Francisco where shyster lawyers are elected on the "Union Labor" ticket to police judgeships, these legal translators of conduct act very outrageously and impudently when toilers without masters are arrested. The charge against the bossless workers is "vagrancy," and the "Union Labor" police judges sentence them to the county jail, or else order them out of town; giving them a certain number of hours in which to leave. Of course, it can be truthfully stated that this vile conduct is not confined to "Union Labor" judges, but is general. This business of ordering men out of a city or town must be, and will be stopped. There is nothing so cruel as ordering a man to move on, move on! One of these fine days we will put these judges (?) into a ditch and let them dig muck for a while, or turn them into "skinners," as their language and demeanor fits them for the vocation of mule drivers.

It has been said that if the Socialists don't let up in their agitation, the capitalists will take their capital out of this country. We have a mental picture of John D. Rockefeller picking up his oil refineries, tying them in a bundle, putting them on his back, donning a pair of bladders, and walking with his burden across the ocean—becoming a veritable Wandering Jew, until he finds a place where there are no agitators.

Socialism aims at economic equality.

John Kirby, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, gave out a statement to the press, which statement he concludes as follows: "The evidence against McNamara and his associates is conclusive. They should be given a fair and impartial trial, and if found guilty, they should be hanged." In view of John's statement, it appears criminal for workers to claim that it's a "job" on the part of the employers, working through the Burns detective agency, to injure the labor movement. John Kirby is a "friend" of labor; he wants "free labor." He knows what is best for us, and he was in Columbus, Ohio, when the kidnaping took place from Indianapolis, Ind., and as he got a tip from that volume of gall called Otis, he, John Kirby, knows that "J. J." did the job. The only mistake in the statement of Kirby is that referring to a "fair" and "impartial" trial. He should be transformed into a jury of twelve men; he should be counsel for the defense, and he should be the sheriff; then he, John Kirby, could try, find guilty, and hang the entire brood of lawless malcontents that interfere with the exploiters of labor.

On May the 19th there was a court ball given in London, England, in honor of "Crazy Bill," the Emperor of Germany, and our own Mrs. Ava Astor was an honored guest. Ava is getting quite ancient, but the dispatches cabled across the pond make us swell up like poisoned pups with pride. Here is the way Grandma Ava was spruced out: "She had on a silver cloth, fitting her figure like a glove and only just open in wide tabs at the feet." The effect must have been scrumptious and the idea was daring. "There were amber trimmings at the edge of her very low bodice." "Grandma" is still a trump. They seem never to get too old. "She wore a diamond and pearl tiara of unique design in her gray hair." And that's all she wore. She must have been sockless like Trilby, as the despatch did not tell us whether she had her feet shod or not. We judge that the divinely inspired Bill of Germany had a gay time during and after the ball. It's the working class sweltering in dreadful tenements in New York City that pay for this in tears, sweat, and blood. The workers pay dearly to enable their capitalist exploiters and their wives to grovel at the feet of the decaying nobility (?) of Europe. Hasten the dawn of the Social Revolution!

The middle class feels itself slipping, and as a result its members put on a pious mouth and want "honest administrations." This is the same middle class that sells sand for sugar; that puts water and chalk in milk; that cheats in the weight. Oh, no! We are on to the game. The professors, like Woodrow Wilson, or the sainted Bryans, will not save you. Down and out you must go, and we have no compassion for you. The sooner, the better. You can't go fast enough to please the Socialist; for when you are out of our path it will be easier sailing.

Under capitalism, machinery is a curse, as it robs men of their chance for a livelihood. Under Socialism, machinery will be a blessing; for the employment of the machine will increase our opportunity for leisure.

No normal man likes to work for an employer for wages.

An institution called James Creelman, prior to its "attempt" to cross the ocean in a balloon—yes, prior to its "attempt" to reach the North Pole by the balloon route—peddled some junk to a periodical on "The Greatest Man on the Western Hemisphere: President Diaz." According to Creelman this Diaz ruled an ignorant people with a rod of iron and maintained order despite many difficulties, etc., and now look! A few rebellious slaves start something, and as they get going, this great Diaz hunts his hole. The capitalist class is, after all, a cowardly class. The laudations of the intellectual prostitute of the Creelman type cannot strengthen their cowardly natures.

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**A SPLENDID ACHIEVEMENT.**

Covering a wide range of human thought and feeling, revealing essential truths of economics, sociology and biology in the course of a narrative which never for one moment lags in its vigorous forward swing, "The Chasm," by George Cram Cook, is a revolutionary novel worth while.

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Stirring as is the romance, the work is greatest in the reality of the characters. So true is this quality that the reader for the time being lives in their life.

It is a "minor character" (in relation to the plot of the story) that looms largest. Nachman Kaminsky is but briefly described and speaks but little (in the pages of the book, as is the way in the life of such men), but he lives and thinks, and the reader's mind is led to reach after his unspoken thoughts and find them. Though strikingly individual, Kaminsky represents a type—the man whose emotional feeling has exhausted itself in the process of giving his mind and will an impetus for a certain cause. Momentum will carry him on to the end, planning and working dispassionately in the face of all the manifestations of frenzied joy and fear and

anguish in his comrades, weighing everything for its value to the Revolution. He is cynically tolerant of enthusiasm, knowing its uses, and that is all.

Sonya, another "minor character," ranks next. The reader must wish her an early and splendid death as she goes away with Kaminsky to seek the work for the cause which "can't be done by people who care to live." She is reaching the emotionless stage long since attained to by Kaminsky, though in intellect they are widely different.

So striking are many of the characters as conceived that it must have been a great temptation to the author to impress them more upon the reader by slight exaggerations, but the temptation has been resisted.

The romance is based upon Marion Moulton's feeling for two men, a Russian aristocrat and an American working class revolutionist, and for a time she cannot decide which she should marry. All the circumstances conspire to sweep her into the revolution, which she enters with a fierce fervor such as Walt Bradford never had felt.

Among the many lessons which may be seen in perspective (after the book is closed), one of the most important is that one who must become a revolutionist is taking long chances on personal happiness in mating with a person who cannot become a revolutionist.

"The Chasm" is published by the Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York. CLOUDESLEY JOHNS.

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For the present the propaganda meetings of the Young Socialists will be discontinued, the youthful revolutionists and their associates having concluded that the most important work to be done at the present time is the extending of the sales and the subscription list of REVOLT. The resumption of the meetings, when it shall be decided upon, will be announced in these columns.

**MISSING OR DELAYED PAPERS.**

Any subscriber to REVOLT failing to receive the paper in due course (it should be delivered in San Francisco and the bay cities on Monday following the date of issue), will confer a favor upon the board of directors by sending notice of the failure. Address Revolt Publishing Co., 305 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

**WHERE TO GO.**

Regular mass meeting of Local San Francisco at Fifteenth and Mission streets, the first Monday in each month, 8:15 p. m. Educational meetings on all other Monday nights.

Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, every Tuesday night in Jefferson Square Hall, 925 Golden Gate Avenue.

Liberal League for Mexican Freedom, second and fourth Tuesdays in each month, 8 p. m., in Jefferson Hall, 925 Golden Gate Avenue.

Socialist dance every Saturday evening, Puckett's Maple Hall, Polk and California streets.

Open Forum meets in Jefferson Square Hall every Thursday night.

Street meetings of the Socialist Party every Saturday night at Grant Avenue and Market Street.

J. Stitt Wilson speaks in Valencia Theatre every Sunday morning at 11 o'clock.

Propaganda meetings of Local San Francisco held every Sunday night in Germania Hall, Fifteenth and Mission streets.

**"LIBERTY GROUP" MEETINGS.**

The following program has been arranged by the "Liberty-Group" for Sunday night meetings in Jefferson Square Hall, 925 Golden Gate Avenue: May 28, J. Edward Morgan. Subject: "Christ and Revolution."

June 4, Wm. Thurston Brown. Subject: "Ibsen's Message to Women."

June 11, Wm. McDevitt. Subject: Bernard Shaw's "Getting Married."

June 18, E. B. Morton. Subject: "Stray Thoughts of a Kicker."

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