

THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

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IN TERMS OF MAN!

CRAFT LABOR DAY Court Clowns for King

BY WILLIAM McDEVITT.

Capital!

Labor Day, the conventional and utterly respectable Labor Day signalized by the appearance in California of the Chief Labor Lieutenant of Capital as the spokesman for the Labor party, is the special day for stock-taking of the labor movement.

Of course to the self-conscious worker of this city. Labor Day means just as much as the Labor party—a sum-total of nothing. Labor Day signifies about as much to the really self-centered toiler as does an election visit from "Alias Jimmy (Valentine)" Rolph, hat in hand, a campaign smirk of L., F. & E. on his gleaming visage, and the usual salutation, "Yes, I'm Jim Rolph, the candidate for Mayor."

Labor Day of 1911 finds the workers of this country still thoroughly conventional, thoroughly and merely echoes for the ideas of their masters. The ordinary workingman, when he wants to think well of himself, assumes an imitation of his master or his master's chosen parasite; he looks at himself in the guise of a capitalist and through capitalist eyes—a distortion of a man seen through distorted eyes.

Hence the popularity of a 'workingman's politician like Alias Jimmy the Dummy Director of the Sugar works and the puppet plutocrat. Hence likewise the popularity of an equally false figure, the figure of "P. H.," the labor leader, the "People's Choice," the candidate who has crowded the "limit of human endeavor" off the dump in his

UNIONS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

FOR CLASS SOLIDARITY

When This is Accomplished Labor's Battle Will be Won.

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

"Our unions are grand and powerful agencies for the **protection** of our labor, but that is all. This Union of Unions is designed to reach farther, and higher and deeper, and take hold and grapple with questions and interests and difficulties which our trades union cannot by its nature handle. We must make social machinery to suit the times."

Was this written yesterday? No! Far-sighted American unionists have always recognized the need of a union of unions. That paragraph appeared in the National Labor Tribune of Pittsburg in 1875!

Since then the Knights of Labor have come and gone. And the A. F. of L. has come—and been found wanting. At least in its present form.

We still have before us the task of unionizing the unions. The workers have now been half organized. They have scarcely begun to organize their organizations.

The need is not confined to this country. It is a social law, an inevitable result of modern industry. The struggle to organize the unions takes different forms in various countries. By comparing them we can see what lies at the bottom of the question. In the United States the chief opposition to progress is offered by craft unions of skilled workers. In England and Germany the chief obstacle consists in union officials who have either become politicians, not necessarily corrupt but always bosses and wirepullers or "businessmen," not necessarily sold out, but always placing more value on a dollar to-day than on the possible capture of industry and government to-morrow. Of course the Civic Federation officials are in the way here also, and craft unions block the road in England and Germany. What, then, is at the bottom of the division of the ranks of labor? It is not primarily the form of' the union nor the conservatism of union officials, but the willingness of a part of the workers to compromise the struggle against capital in return for the certainty of a few dollars more a year. For a good solid trade or industrial agreement they are willing to sell out their own future as well as the present of the less fortunate workers who call on them to come out in more or less general strikes. There may be just as many advocates of such agreements in an industrial union like the miners, as in craft unions like the painters-who take in house, sign, ship, car, carriage painters, decorators, paper-hangers, glaziers, etc., or the machinists, who take in so many kinds of metal workers, or the teamsters, who embrace over thirty different branches and have means for advancing good unionists and holding back scabs such as are impossible to a trade branch of an industrial union, which does not cover the whole trade. The German Metal Workers, which is the largest union in the world, has half a million members and includes nearly all the metal trades. Yet this is a union of trade unions and not an industrial union. It is likely to be more loyal to the national federation than an industrial union. Say we had an industrial union of the railway workers. Is it not possible that it would be in constant conflict with other industrial unions? Such conflicts are less likely with the metal workers because they are interested in every industry and hold the industries together-though of course they might have trouble with the woodworkers (another modern broad-gauge trade union of the same character). What is wanted is not a number of independent industrial or trade unions, but a union of unions. In Germany the metal workers are most progressive, here the Western Federation and the United Mine Workers. But this must not blind us to the great truth that it is not the form of union that counts (provided it is democratic and fair to unskilled labor-as many modern trade unions are). but the solidarity of labor. The Western Federation of Miners has pointed the way. Not by its form of organization. Apparently this could scarcely be improved, but there are other forms of organizations just as good in other directions. The W. F. of M. is superior because wherever it flourishes it promotes all other unions and raises them up to its own militant level. And it is superior because it has pointed the way to a union of unions. It is not necessary to form new unions or a new federation of unions except where a bunch of corrupt leaders has obtained control. Only two measures are needed: (1) that no agreements should be signed, and (2) that membership cards should be freely exchanged between all unions.

The W. F. of M. has already demonstrated the fact that agreements are unnecessary, and it put an end to the only exception it had made, an agreement with Guggenheim's Smelter Trust, at its last convention.

The free interchange of membership cards proposed by the W. F. of M. is also thoroughly practical and already in force in France. The difficulties in the way here arise from unequal benefits, dues and strike payments. With the coming workingmen's insurance, benefits will be managed more and more by the government. Such as remain will be far better administered in the hands of some central organization acting for the unions, such as the last German Labor Congress devised to take the place of the present industrial insurance companies.

The questions of dues and strike payments are of course difficult and complicated, but they could be settled if the national federation of unions had more power and were at the same time under direct control of the rank and file.

Our State governments are being democratized by the referendum, recall, etc. Why should not the same methods be applied to the A. F. of L.?

Why should there not be a permanent national executive council of fifty or a hundred members so that all important industries, trades and localities could be adequately represented?

Plea for Revolutionary Unionism.

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

When the working class abandons the property notion; in other words, when economic conditions have so far reflected themselves in the minds of the workers that they recognize the property notion as no longer tenable, a complete change of attitude towards society occurs.

Property disappearing, man leaps to the front again and the craftsman faces the problem in terms of Man. He does not arrive at such a place in his mental development, however, until conditions have actually put him there. Once there, however, he finds his only way to security through an attack upon the structure of society which has deprived him of his property or of any chance to secure property. He can only make this attack by assaulting the enemy where he meets him, namely, at the point of production in the shop, for it is there that the contact is and that the issue must be fought out.

The fight in the shop for the product is the determinative fight of the future. Where the workingman wins in the shop, improves his economic position, develops his fighting capacity and builds up his organization, every step taken by him is a step towards ultimate victory. He treads the upward path. There is no need to speak of the political phase of the matter here, as that always receives due consideration, but it must not be overlooked that economic victory is the essential; without it the political reflex is no reflex of a class necessarily victorious but may simply be the ineffective protest of an economically incapable and losing class. To call in politics to redress the economic balance is a useless attempt at a physical impossibility. The first essential is victory in the shop, and such victory as we have seen cannot be made in terms of craft unionism with its inseparable small propertv notion. The fight in the shop raises the fundamental question of the so-called contract of employment upon which depends the whole mass of legal and legislative decisions and enactments proclaiming the various phases of that contract and interpreting it from the view point of the employing class. The elimination of the property notion destroys also the notion of contract, for without property neither party has anything about which to contract. The idea of contract disappearing, there remain without any further illusion or concealment. two contending classes, each of them striving for possession of the product. Let this once appear to the mind of the worker and his point of view changes immediately. No longer does he regard himself as an individual bargaining with another individual bound by certain legal concepts and swaddled in preconceived limitations as to what constitutes his position relative to the other individual. He sees himself on the contrary as a member of a group, which group is engaged in a struggle for the possession of certain products. which are the materialization of the life-energy of himself and the other members of the group. The machinery and equipment on which he has been accustomed to look as the property of the other contracting party becomes in his eyes the materialization of the life-energy of other groups of workers like himself, which has found its way into the hands of the enemy, the individual or the group with whom he is battling for the possession of the product. The fight then assumes the aspect of a struggle not only for the possession of the product but in addition for the possession of the tools in the hands of the enemy, which tools are, as we have said above, in their turn the product of a working group. This point of view cannot be taught philosophically. No amount of instruction will avail to raise a question so apparently abstract and implying a knowledge of the working of historical forces as well as a grasp of the economic situation into a practical question deliberately conceived and pursued to victory. Only practical experience can achieve this result. The mental structure of the proletarian is shaped in accordance with the actual environment in which he is, and the unassailable and implacable fact of which. penetrates his brain and shapes his impulses. The property notion is not easily abandoned for it implies a promise of personal growth and of developing importance which cannot be readily overlooked but which are, on the other hand, exceedingly fascinating. To rise above one's station in life, to obtain that which appears to be

anxiety to "make good."

The conventional Labor Day disposes the average workingman to feel satisfied with either Alias Jimmy or the omnific Patrick H.

The conventional Labor Day is a time of disguise, of compromise, of masquerading; it is the carnival day for capitalism's cajolery, and the peddling of petty capitalist confetti for the toilers to wallow in. The god of things as they really, are gets his best laughs of the year out of the larce of the conventional Labor Day, when the addled pate of the hypnotized worker (hypnotized with political and industrial legerdemain and hocus pocus) gets a new consignment of topsy turvy labor-capitalist notions and ideas. And in order that the job of organized deception and deluding may be consummately complete, the, parson and the pastor are being called in to pulpetize and sanctify the dope, and bring Scripture and the Gospels to prove the identity of interest of the master and the slave, at least the GOOD master and the slave.

Press and pulpit and labor politician make a tremendously powerful combination for deception: and, in passing, let it be noted that here in San Francisco where the uncommon reaches the Nth degree in so many fields, we have one grand exponent of the most sublimely incongruous ideas of the respectable Labor Day-the man who consolidates in one Tartuffian personality the trinity of press, pulpit and polly-the Reverend Editor Candidate Walter Macarthur. The triune Walt is a labor editor, who scatters capitalist ideology: a labor pulpiteer on Labor Day I lorget what church pulpit he is programmed to adorn): and, in politics. a perennial Goo-Goo candidate of the utterly respectable petty burgess class --- and just now righthand man for capitalist James Rolph, Jr., alias proletarian Jimmy.

So long as workingmen are fools enough to believe that one man can serve both labor and capital in government or in the union, Labor Day will be simply April Fool's day for the workers. It should be celebrated April 1st, instead of in September. As Puddin' Head Wilson, according to Mark Twain, says of April Fool's Day, "It is the day when we are reminded of what we are the other 364 days of the year." On the conventional and respectable and Walter Macarthur Labor Day, the working mule comes nearer being an ass than on any other day in the 365.

However, the times change; and even the stupid farce of Labor Day as played by workers in the guise of dummy capitalists, is being lightened up with some gleams of returning class-consciousness. Especially when the workers ponder over the English strike, with its splendid display of incipient solidarity, and its terrible menace to decrepit capital, they must feel that sooner or later the conventional and respectable Labor Day will be consigned to the rag-bag of played-out absurdities, and they will prepare to celebrate Labor's Labor Day. May 1st, the international day of the great international class, the workers of all the world.

May 1st as a day for labor to commemorate bears a profound class significance. while the September Labor Day is merely a mockery of the hynotized toiler rejoicing in his own condition of absolute imbecility as King Capital's Court Clown. "Why shouldn't the national conventions meet

" Why shouldn't the national conventions meet for several weeks, and in special sessions, when necessary, like the Mine Workers?

Why shouldn't the President, Vice-Presidents and Secretary be elected by direct vote instead of being elected at the convention?

Why should organizers not be elected locally instead of being sent from Washington?

Why should there not be conventions of city and State federations to consider all political ways and means? Is this not the only effective method?

Would not the overwhelming majority of every real, democratic union consent to surrender a large part of its powers to **such** a national federation? I do not believe that a dozen unions (all small ones), besides one or two railway brotherhoods, would hold out, and they would soon be forced to come into the reorganized movement. With such a national organization working year after year on the problem, even the knotty questions of dues, strike payments, and general strikes would be gradually settled and the day would not be far off when the unions would have industry and the country in their hands—provided they did not infringe on the rights of the unorganized workers.

And here is where'the Socialist party is indispensable. Until the day of revolution be at hand it may be impossible **effectively** to organize agricultural tenants and laborers, government employees. office clerks, and the mass of the professional classes. Yet these are all proletarians and when added together are as numerous and as important as the industrial workers, though in different ways. A general strike, for example, could never be carried out with their active political or armed resistance. With their aid even the vast technical superiority of capitalism, with its machine guns and wireless telegrams, can be overcome.

A union of unions that embraced all, or nearly all, the industrial workers would be revolutionary. A Socialist party that included all or nearly all the non-capitalists, and, by an aggressively anti-capitalist policy, excluded practically all capitalists, would be equally revolutionary. United they would be irresistible.

The first task that lies before the unions is to "get together." When this is accomplished the overthrow of capitalism will be comparatively easy.

The unification of the unions will be one of the greatest achievements in the history of man. We must not be surprised if it takes more than a year or two, or even a decade.

In the meanwhile let a beginning be made by introducing year after year into the Federation of Labor some of that **direct** democracy that already prevails in most of the unions and is being introduced even by the Republicans and Democrats into State governments. With direct democratic government in the Federation, going over the heads of all union officials—except those that become a part of the new movement—every year would mark a leap forward towards **solidarity**.

If a referendum were taken to-day in the A. F. of L., an overwhelming majority would declare in favor of the general principles of solidarity, (Continued on Page 2.)

wealth in comparison with one's evident existent poverty, to become independent of "the chances and changes of this mortal life," at least as far as that important economic side is concerned, has been the ambition of every ambitious lad who has entered a trade. It is an ambition also which has received the blessed sanction of social approval and which points a way to dizzy heights of accomplishment. Is not history full of the stories of the young artisans who have gone forth with their craft as their sword, like modern knights errant, and have carved a path to fame, fortune, and independence? The whole tradition of a century in poetry and fiction, in ethical teaching and scholastic training, has filled the young man of the artisan class with the desire to go and do all these things. It is with pain and difficulty, with the utmost regret and a lingering and reluctant dissatisfaction, that he surrenders the hope of conquering fate and a hostile environment and becoming a small edition of the superman.

Just as with the small trader, so is it with the artisan. The small "capital" which was to function as the Aladdin lamp and bring genii to aid them in their fight, to open glorious palaces for them and to place at their disposal riches which seemed to them incalculable, proves to be no "capital" at all, but a most elusive possession destined perhaps in the long run to cause them more heartache than joy. Small trader and artisan are both subject to the same economic law, they both occupy a precarious foothold, every day sees members of this class precipitated into the abyss of proletarianism or common labor, and every day they find their hold loosening and precipitation into the abyss ever more likely. The process of development brings them closer to the dispossessed, their interests become more closely involved with those who have lost hold or have never had it, and they begin to look at their economic problems rather from the standpoint of the mass of the craftless and their own probable position in that mass of craftless, than from their position as craftsmen, destined to permanent superiority over their fellows.

The same thing is true also, it may be parenthetically observed, of the small tradesmen who are dependent for their living upon the custom of the working class. They discover that their interests are more closely bound up with those of the working class than with their own class, that consequently in increasing numbers they tend to show their preference for the working class point of view by voting the Socialist ticket at elections.

When the proletarian attitude of mind is once attained the revolutionary attitude is adopted as a matter of course, for the proletarian cannot be otherwise than revolutionary. The proletarian is a revolutionist of necessity, simply because he is a proletarian. Hence those who adopt the proletarian point of view are, as we have seen, necessarily revolutionary.

This revolutionary tendency thereupon makes itself felt in the struggle in the shop, or as it grows endeavors to find a means of expression in that struggle. But such a means of expression cannot be found in the old craft union. That truth was recognized quite early in the revolutionary movement. Socialists who had early caught the proletarian idea and were correspondingly eager to try conclusions with the capitalistic enemy, found in the pure and simple trade union their greatest stumbling block. The craft union was obviously of no assistance to them in their struggle with the dominant capitalism. The tendency of the craft unions to negotiate agreements and contracts with the employers, the constant reiteration of the stupid lie that there is an identity of interest between employer and employed, and the actual support of capitalistic interests in political matters by the craft unions aroused the revolutionary portion of the working class to anger which in its turn provoked recriminations from those in the leadership of the craft unions, so that the war between the Socialists and the pure and simple, i. e., alleged non-political trade unionists, increased in intensity from year to year and formed the basis of a widely spread bitter and exceedingly vituperative controversy. The result of this essential difference between the point of view of the average craft unionism and that of the revolutionary Socialist was that in many instances the latter ceased to lay any stress upon unionism and in many cases even to denounce it as unnecessary and of no real value to the proletariat. This still further added to the tumult and the confusion, and the non-political unionists responded to the attacks of the political proletarians with the charge that the latter were opposed to organized labor and paid no attention to the economic necessities of the working class. In this charge there was for a considerable period more than a grain of truth, for the Socialists being wrapped up in the contemplation of an ultimate ideal, tended to become more and more abstract and remote from the actual fight of the proletarian. The truth at last dawned upon these latter that the unionists were a necessity and that no parliamentary action could take the place of the economic fight at the point of production. Still this discovery in itself was not sufficient, for a considerable body in the Socialist movement thereupon endeavored to make terms with the pure and simple craft union movement without any apparent understanding that the two movements were contradictory and could not exist side by side for any length of time. The economic progress, however, as above briefly described, was at its work upon the minds of the craft unionists, and just in proportion as the craft property disintegrated did they become revolutionary, and a totally different aspect of the struggle between employer and employed began to engross their attention. The struggle began to take on a new form. The property of the employed in the tools began to be challenged and there arose a claim for possession of the tools on the part of the workers which so far partially declared itself in the newtactic known as Sabotage. This consists in the partial crippling of plants and in interference with the process of production by tampering with that factory in production the absolute title to which was granted by former unionists to be in the capitalist class.

REVOLT

(By National Socialist Press.)

NEWS FROM LOS ANGELES.

Los Angeles, August 31.—Declaring that he feared that the sleuths, thugs and roughs that hang around the offices of District Attorney Fredericks would start some rioting if the big Labor parade passed the county jail, Mayor Alexander revoked the permit which had been issued by Chief of Police Sebastian which allowed the workers to march up Temple street past the county jail where John J. and J. B. McNamara and a dozen other labor and political prisoners are confined.

A new permit which was issued allows the paraders to turn at Temple block and march southward on Spring street. This will allow labor's hosts to approach within 200 feet of their comrades who are confined in jail. The prisoners will not be allowed to look upon the marchers, but they will hear their voices.

The plan as arranged by the workers was for the marchers to go quietly up Temple-street hill and pass the prison with uncovered heads. The McNamara boys are in cells overlooking Temple street, but they cannot see Temple block and no portion of the street where the marchers will pass is visible from the barred windows of their cells. The plan as rearranged is for the workers to remain silent during the march down Main street until the Temple block is reached. At that point the cheering will be begun and for hours, as the fifty thousand workers march in solid phalanx, there will be one prolonged cheer sent up that will penetrate the innermost dungeon of the bastile.

In revoking the permit for the march Mayor Alexander admitted that all labor and Socialist parades that had been conducted in Los Angeles in the past had been peaceful and that no rioting had ever occurred. But he declared that the demonstration which might possibly be made would result in creating a public sentiment in favor of the accused union men who are confined in the county jail. He plainly said that some of the "thugs and roughs who hang around the District Attorney's office would be glad to do anything to start trouble and embarass the administration as well as the workers."

This is looked on as a remarkable statement from Mayor Alexander, who has just forced the city council to turn over to Burns \$20,400 of the people's money to support the very thugs and operatives which the mayor says he fears. The mayor's exact words were: "I cannot permit you to do anything that is calculated to create sentiment in favor of the men under arrest." It was suggested to the mayor that public officials and Burns' operatives who were living on the city's money were doing everything in their power to create a sentiment against the men.

The parade is expected to be the biggest demonstration ever made by labor on the Pacific Coast.

EDITORIAL NOTE:-The report that the "leaders" of labor FEAR that if a strike be called "it will spread to other departments and completely tie up the railroad system on the Pacific Coast" is interesting. What an awful thing it would be if the railroad workers should carry on an effective strike for a few days without permission of "leaders," cut the leaders out of the chance of fat salaries during long drawn-out "negotiations" with the employers, and bring about class solidarity in action in California! It would mean the end of high-salaried labor-fakerism in this State; it would mean the release of the McNamara brothers without raising another million for the lawyers; it would mean much for the workers, and much to (though not for) the professional "friends of labor" who fatten on the erudite promulgation of alluring plans for the improvement of the condition of labor without permitting labor to be impolite to the members of the master class.

The disappearance of Shoaf is indeed peculiar, and the mystery should be cleared up as soon as possible. If Shoaf really has come to harm at the hands of the Los Angeles police the workers of that city should take every reasonable means of convincing the police that they have made or permitted a serious blunder for themselves.

VICTORY! VICTORY! WHOSE VICTORY?

By CAROLINE NELSON.

John Graham Brooks, who has come to the Coast to deliver a course of lectures in the State University on Socialism of the sane and safe kind, delivers the following to the capitalist press:

"The point is that there is scarcely a thing in the government of these Socialists, at Milwaukee or Butte, which is really socialistic. They are not changing the system, but they are giving these cities the best, the cleanest and the most satisfactory business administration in their history."

Ye Gods! This from a reform capitalist leader, who has devoted his time to study economy, to write and deliver lectures upon it along lines acceptable in our plute universities, always giving warning to the plutes to be a little careful or the Socialists would catch them! Now, Professor Brooks says (and we cannot suspect him of sarcasm!):

"It is a surprise to the men back there that the Socialists, instead of being destructive, are up to date. They have restored the credit of their cities. They are winning the support of citizens in general for a clean, safe, progressive government."

The credit of a city rests upon the submissiveness of its workers, who will go on toiling with their soul and body mortgaged to a lot of shysters. The moment a city, a country or a State should lose hold of its slaves, that moment investors would take fright, and capitalist credit would be gone.

This restored confidence in the capitalist cities "under Socialism" simply means that we have sold ourselves out. by decorating the ruling-class government with our officials. These officials, true to their material interests, make good to the powers that be, in whose interest the laws were made. The "opportunists" stand indicted before the workers. Everywhere the proletarian is sneering at the Socialists, dropping out of our ranks. while the middle class is taking possession of our headquarters and dictating our policies. Over across the bay the capitalists of the Lincoln-Roosevelt fame have literally captured a Socialist and placed him in the city hall as Mayor. This same Mayor met a capitalist politician, Woodrow Wilson, at the station and proudly informed him that he was elected by twenty per cent Socialists and eighty per cent capitalist votes. It is defeat with a vengeance to the Socialists. Yet we are preparing to accomplish a good deal more on the same lines. Radical speakers are carefully eliminated from the platform. Sky pilots, who want to inject sheep-brain into the workers' mind, are advertised as Socialist orators. Socialism of this popular brand is advertised as safe, sane, reliable and progressive. It is a new type of "dope." It reminds me of a patent medicine put up in the State of Maine, under the prohibition law, to satisfy a peculiar longing in the human system, which meant, according to the medicine doctor, that a terrible disease was about to take possession of the organism. This medicine became a great favorite, with the outcome that the consumers became blind, because it was rank poison that consisted chiefly of wood alcohol. Yes, and this "patent medicine Socialism" that is so loved and praised by the middle-class capitalists is put up for the very purpose of making us workers blind, economically. How much more do we want of it? I for my part am sick unto death of it! I have a paper which I don't want stuck under my nose, but for which I am compelled to pay. This said paper is nothing more nor less than a reformed Lincoln-Roosevelt sheet that parades under the title of "Social Democrat." This Social-Democrat contains less revolutionary ideas than another paper of the same name which I read twenty years ago in a little hamlet in a monarchical country in Europe. Oh, yes, we are progressing around a ring, with lawyers and reformed sky pilots as ring masters. They are doing their stunts so well that our masters applaud and dine them and praise them. Hurrah!

official of the party shall serve more than t_{W0} terms.

I now wish to move that Local San Francisco. initiate a motion for a national referendum. as follows:

MOTION.

Local San Francisco, Socialist party of California, moves the initiation of the following as a national referendum and asks that it be published in the national bulletin:

That Section 3 of Article III of the national constitution be amended to read as follows:

"Election of the National Secretary, National Executive Committee and all other national officers of the Socialist party be held annually, and no one who has served three terms or more in any position shall be eligible as a candidate for the same position for any further term." I ask that the local take this matter up and act upon it.

Yours for the Revolution, CLOUDESLEY JOHNS.

(Note:-This will come before the local Monday night, September 4: The recall of Meriam also will be voted on at that time.)

FOR CLASS SOLIDARITY.

(Continued from Page 1.) or what is called in this country industrial unionism (though, as I have shown, solidarity is the less confusing expression). With a campaign of education of a very few years the rank and file of the A. F. of L., if they are allowed to vote on these questions, will declare against the signing of agreements and in favor of an exchange of

membership cards. And when this day arrives

the worst part of the fight will be over. If, in the meanwhile, the Socialist party has filled its role, if it has concentrated its attention in an unremitting warfare against the whole of the capitalist class on the political field, it will have lined up the unorganized masses against capitalism. It will have converted these millions to supporters of the unions in politics while it will have lined up the unions in loyal support of every popular or anti-capitalist measure, even when they get no direct benefit from it, and it is solely to the interest of those of the agricultural and professional classes, government and corporation employees who are their natural and indispensable allies.

The problem is not the overthrow of capitalism. But the political and economic organization of the workers. And the chief part of this problem is to **unite the unions**.

. In his famous climax to the Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx did not call on the workers of the world to hurl themselves into battle against capitalism. He called on them to unite. He realized that when they are united the battle is won.

SOME LINES FROM LETTERS TO REVOLT.

It is believed that nothing can be done to avert the big railway strike on the Harriman system. The employes of the Southern Pacific in Los Angeles have taken no definite action since they were cut to five days a week. There has been no reduction in the force, but this seems to be inevitable. It is believed here that a vote calling for a strike has been taken in many places.

The recent strike in England has been discussed at every gathering of railroad workers and the solidarity of the British laborers has made a profound impression upon the workers in California. The fact that craft lines were disregarded and that the rank and file took quick and decisive action has created much favorable comment.

It is believed here that if a strike is started in the mechanical department of the Southern Pacific it will be difficult to confine it to that department.

The leaders will give out no statement confirming this, yet it is known that they entertain fears that the strike will spread to other roads and completely tie up the railroad system on the Pacific Coast. Beds have been placed in the inside of the stockades and the company is apparently ready for any emergency.

According to a telegram received by Attorney Clarence Darrow, the machine was well greased at Indianapolis when Police Detective James Hosick arrived there and surrendered himself to the sheriff. Within an hour after his arrival, Hosick was arraigned on the indictment charging him with kidnaping James J. McNamara and had given bail in the amount of \$10,000. The bail, it is understood, was put up by the Manufacturers' Association.

"We are not seeking to punish Hosick for the part he played in kidnaping our man. We merely want to try out the workings of the law in these affairs," said Darrow.

Attorney Joseph Scott said Hosick had been given latitude in the affair and had eluded the arresting officer and gone to Indianapolis in order to evade the indignity of going back over the same route a prisoner. Hosick disappeared the day Governor Johnson honored the requisition for his removal to Indiana and no trace could be found of him until he arrived in Chicago on Friday.

Chief of Police Sebastian aided Hosick in his effort to avoid the arresting officer and had Hosick decided to leave the country the chief undoubtedly would have been a party to the plot.

LOS ANGELES, Cal., August 31.—The mystery of the disappearance of George H. Shoaf, the correspondent for the "Appeal to Reason" of Girard, Kansas, has deepened as the days go by. On the night of August 13th Shoaf disappeared from the home of his cousin. Mrs. Lucy Bormann at 1026 West Ninth street. He left the house at 10 o'clock intending to return to his room. At midnight after everybody in the apartment house had retired Mrs. Bormann and others in the building heard the sound of a terrible fall in the hallway. Nothing was discovered to indicate a struggle at the time but in the morning Shoaf's battered derby hat and a bludgeon were found in the lower hallway at the foot of the stairs.

LET'S GET THIS STRAIGHT!

San Francisco. Cal., August 24, 1911. To the Members of Local San Francisco:

Dear Contrades:—Although one of the national party officers who have stood for political trading and the surrender of Socialist principles for the sake of getting the reactionary craft union vote has resigned because he stood convicted, at last, of conduct unbecoming to anybody but a political schemer, his sponsors still remain.

Referendum A, passed by a good majority, would have rid us of these gentry, but the clever putting across of Referendum B has defeated this. Referendum B simply repealed Referendum A before it went into effect—before it was given a trial. Referendum A provided that no national.

JACK LQNDON IS PLEASED.

I want to congratulate you on the dandy paper you have made out of REVOLT. It's alive and straight from the shoulder, and I keenly appreciate every issue of it. JACK LONDON.

FROM ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

Good luck to you and the publication that's straight from the shoulder.

ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

"JUST IN TIME!"

What would the Reds do without REVOLT? I think your little paper sprang into the breach JUST IN TIME to save the Socialist party from compromise and worse than compromise. And I think it will not be long till the rank and file size up the situation and take the reins into their own hands and put the party into the road that leads to Economic Salvation.

All our best wishes to you all.

Fraternally, MARY E. MARCY.

KEEP IT UP!

Inclosed find \$1. Your paper is surely good. Keep it up! Yours for Socialism.

F. G. HENGST.

ODON POR CONGRATULATES REVOLT.

Florence, Italy, July 25, 1911. Dear Comrade:—Returning from a long trip I found here yours of the 17th of June and the first seven copies of REVOLT. I was glad to see you on this paper and the paper is fine.

I will send you some articles as soon as I will have delivered a series of six articles for The Coming Nation, the writing of which will take lots of study and time. I have one article in mind for REVOLT which I think will suit you, i. e. an analysis of revolutionary consciousness. It will be nothing extraordinary, but will throw light on a few things not much discussed yet.

While it will take some time to write this article, I will not forget my promise.

This business against Debs and Haywood is most disgusting, and I hope your influence will go as far as bringing them to California.

With best wishes to you, and all success to REVOLT,

ODON POR.

WILLIAM McDEVITT TO SPEAK.

William McDevitt, Socialist party candidate for Mavor of San Francisco, will speak in Columbia Hall, Twenty-ninth and Mission streets. Friday, September 8, at 8 p. m. C. W. Hogue and E. W. Bender, candidates for Supervisors, also will speak. The meeting will be held under the auspices of the Mission Socialist Club.

McDEVITT AND REGUIN SPEAK.

William McDevitt, Socialist party candidate for Mayor of San Francisco, and E. L. Reguin candidate for Supervisor, will speak in Buford Hall, Bay View, Wednesday evening.

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SOME PLAIN TALK.

The following matter, containing criticisms cutting both ways like a two-edged sword, was sent out by Local East Auburn. While REVOLT takes exception to some of the conclusions (see editorial comment at the close), we wish to congratulate Local East Auburn on its strong stand against ring domination of the Socialist party in general. Here is the East Auburn article:

Solidarity has been industriously preached, but right now it appears to be something none of us know how to practice, at least under present conditions, and that there is grave cause for commotion in the ranks of Socialists of California cannot be denied.

The charges made by Clarence Meily, in RE-V(LT) of July 1, have not been and cannot be satisfactorily answered after the explanation and admission of Job Harriman, in the Social-Democrat of July 15.

These events, followed by the referendum motion of Branch Palo Alto, and that by the explanation of State Secretary Meriam, as to the legal standing of the Socialist party of the State, reveals a condition of affairs that is anything but encouraging, a condition it cannot be expected that the dues-paying membership will long stand for. A crisis is right here, and if the party is to be saved from disruption there must be something done and that speedily. The rank and file of the party have been taught that the party is democratically run and governed, and they will insist on its being so run and governed, or withhold the means that make the active possibility of the party.

In effect the Secretary tells us that the primary law creates two parties, the one to meet in convention, make party platforms, etc., etc. This is the party that does things, 28,000 strong; the other are the 3,000 dues-paying members that have nothing else to do with the organization but to furnish the stuff with which to pay the bills: Delightful job! That on account of this primary. law there is no need, advantage or opportunity to submit to referendum the platform, constitution, etc., adopted by the State convention. Now the dues-paving members may be chumps, but they are not such blind asses that they cannot see that it would be an easy matter to find a way to submit to them for final decision the acts of conventions. What! a party that pays the bills and no voice in its management? We have that privilege with the capitalist parties, which we repudiated when we joined the Socialist party.

REVOLT

The Alameda Referendum.

the referendum of Local Alameda we have little

to say except that the case was fully covered in

the explanation of Secretary Meriam and the

opinion of Comrade Tuttle and we believe that

Regarding the routing of Brown, Haywood et

al. complained of by Branch Palo Alto, we be-

lieve sufficient explanation has been made also.

And yet some thoughts suggest themselves here

that it may be well to consider. Frequently con-

ditions arise where it will not do to advocate or

even express all we may believe; for instance in

writing for publication in a capitalist-owned pa-

per our Socialistic stuff, who would undertake to

say all that he would if writing for the Socialist

press? So, too, advocating open door to Asiatics

and direct action under the present conditions are

premature and out of place. Under strictly So-

cialistic government we can take care of the

immigration problem without difficulty, but at

present to advocate the open door is to turn

thousands of voters against us. Direct action as

an ultimate is all right in a way, but to put it into

practice without a three-fourths majority of all the

people and without political action would be put-

ting your head into the noose with capitalism's

host at the other end of the rope, whereas by

political action with a mere majority; and in

many cases less than a majority, we can control

the legislatures and executives of State and Na-

tion, secure control of the military and win the

Our State Troubles and the Remedy.

To say that the present controversy in our

State is one of moment is putting it mildly. That

a revolution within the party is imminent cannot

be doubted, and the precipitation of a disruptive

fight under the present management and its tact-

ics is only a question of time. What then is our

of the party are beyond the shadow of a doubt

conducting the affairs of the party. Let the Ex-

ecutive Committee resign and go before the party

membership for election or rejection as they shall

Second: Let the name for the party paper

be submitted to a referendum, and if then the

majority decide for the present name that con-

Third: Submit to referendum the Platform

Fourth: Submit to referendum the question of

routing the individuals refused, especially those

whose routing has been requested by members-

To do all this may seem too much trouble and

expense, and by some even farcical. But it should

be remembered that the rank and file of our party

is made up of cheated and grossly defrauded members of the capitalist parties, and that having

repudiated the old parties and declared their al-

legiance to this, a supposed-to-be-democratically'

conducted party, are exceedingly jealous of their

and Constitution adopted at San Jose, 1910.

First: To show that the dues-paying members

fight peacefully.

plain duty in the premises?

by majority decide.

troversy will be ended.

of the party of this State.

referendum deserved its fate.

party of California should contain an Asiatic As to the action of the Secretary in returning exclusion plank.

Considered simply as a political expedient, which was the basis of the arguments in favor of it in the convention, it contains flaws which the voters are bound to discover ultimately if they do not do so at once. All exclusion laws are in the province of the National Congress alone, and State governments have no power. If the plank in the Socialist State platform for 1910-12 was intended merely as a suggestion to the National Congress, it would seem to be of little effect. If it was intended only to win the votes of some Jap-haters, as REVOLT believes, we consider it rotten politics even from the logical viewpoint of a rotten politician.

The whole argument on the plank in the convention, ending in the adoption of the plank by a narrow majority, centered on the bugaboo Jap, the speakers ignoring the fact that, while there has been no exclusion law against the Japanese in the past five years, the number of Japanese in California has not increased.

It was argued that Asiatics might enter into competition with California labor for jobsmight take work from us, in fact. REVOLT agrees. It is being done now. Huge steel mills are being effected by the American Steel Company in China; other mills by the same concern in India. It is not unlikely that the heads of the steel trust may soon be forcing the Chinese and British-Indian governments to take the course that Japan already has taken, and forbid the wage slaves from coming to America. Such a law not only would be useful in keeping labor where the conditions are favorable to keeping down the standard of living of labor, but also would aid the masters in preventing radicals and revolutionists from escaping to a land which, in its statute law, still preserves the traditional stand as a refuge for political prisoners from all lands. An exclusion law in this country also would serve the noble purpose of keeping such men as Kotoku, and the nine other revolutionists who were hanged, where they can be seized and their work for the emancipation of the working class of the world cut short.

With the opening of the Panama Canal the hordes of half-starved workers from Southern Europe, sailing from Mediterranean ports direct to San Francisco for a fare which, with meals, certainly will be less than half what the present railroad fare alone from New York amounts to, will crowd into California. They are not Asiatics. There is no possibility of a treaty under which they could be excluded. These are the men likely to take the jobs left in California, while hosts of other jobs will be taken by American capitalists to China and India. The condition of Japanese workers in Japan effects the condition of American workers here.

What is the answer?

Labor's problem is a world problem, not a California problem.

Do we make ourselves ridiculous by playing politics with a Jap bogy man, or don't we?

The comment on the Branch Alameda referendum presents a proposition similar to that in the

Sex degeneracy and petty grafting on the office force at national headquarters were among the things which Barnes' protectors (notably Hillquit, Hunter, Spargo and Berger) were willing to excuse and cover up for the sake of keeping. him in office to do their bidding, while engineering the expulsion of party members who "slandered" him.

Among those who will grieve over the official downfall of Barnes is "our own" Job Harriman, who assured comrades he was'trying to convert to his fusion scheme that "the national office is with us." Probably Harriman would not care to say that he, any longer, was "with" that part of the national office which has rotted away when all efforts at a surgical operation to remove the human pustule from the body of the Socialist party had been defeated by the frantic efforts of Berger. Hillquit, Hunter and Spargo.

John M. Work (of course!) has been appointed as temporary national secretary to succeed the lamented Barnes by the ruling quartet of the N. E. C. Of course they know that this will have a tendency to draw many votes to the incumbent in the referendum election of a national secretary, and Work will be almost as satisfactory to the N. E. C. majority as was the inimitable Barnes.

Well, we shall see what we shall see!

"SHALL PARTY WRECKERS SUCCEED IN

CALIFORNIA?"

Dear Comrades, recall your real disrupters! Queridos Companeros, revoca sus verdades rompimientores!

Geschaetzte Genossen, wiederufft euere wahren irrefuchrer!

Cteny Soudruzi, vihodte nase pravy jidase! Tisztelt Elotarsaim, dobjatok ki aruloinkat!

The article under the above heading on the eighth page of the last number of the "California Social-Democrat" is the lowest misrepresentation of the actual condition of the party affairs here in our State, that I ever experienced through all my forty-two years of standing in our movement. Of course younger and inexperienced comrades will believe that write-up, because they do not know it better. But I cannot stand for such an abuse.

I myself voted for a party-owned paper; for I know quite well what party papers accomplished abroad; while here in the U.S. this important part of our movement was left in the hands of individuals, over which the party has no control. So it comes that here are quite a lot of different minded Socialists. But I would not have expected that our State officers would become opportunists and assume supreme rulership over the whole State party through our party paper.

So they are sending out men like the Comrades Maynard, Gantrell, etc., with high salaries to dupe the inexperienced party members through misstatements, lies, a. s. f., against the truehearted revolutionary comrades, who are exposing the reactionary doings of the State Executive. That is the main reason they so fervently oppose the coming of such noble souls of the Social Revolution as speakers as the Comrades Debs, Haywood, and others to our State. The simplest-minded member of our party here will comprehend, that if those orators would have been here routed, the greatest avalanche would have been created for our cause. But of course such a political trading would have become impossible. And so we all who are working truehearted for real International Socialism are declared by the above named clique as "impossibilists," "anar-chists," "reactionaries," "disrupters," etc. At the last State Convention held in San Jose. when Comrade Stitt Wilson was talking so long in favor of the Asiatic exclusion, several wellposted delegates showed with real proven facts, that even if exclusion of the yellow race became a reality, it in no way would bring any benefit to the working class here, for big millionaires are already building the largest steel mills and other factories of the world in China. That those sharks will be able to sell that "American" steel, and other products cheaper here, than the cost of the production in this country! Now you "free" men how do you like this? As ever, yours for Revolutionary Socialism. ANTHONY TITTEL,

Branch Palo Alto Proves Too Much.

When Branch Palo Alto tells us: "J. Stitt Wilson, one of the leaders of this ring, went as a delegate from Branch Oakland, to the State convention in San Jose, 1910, instructed to vote against the exclusion of Asiatic labor. Yet Wilson broke his instructions, and used his all powerful influence to get a plank in the platform demanding the exclusion of Asiatic labor," we say your evidence is too strong, you prove too much. We want to know who elected and instructed Wilson? Was it the capitalist party or only its hirelings? Surely you do not mean to tell us that "class conscious" Socialists voted "open door" instructions to J. Stitt Wilson! Open door to Asiatics, or open door to capitalism to augment the hellish conditions labor is struggling under, and coerce them into any measure capital may desire. 1. Stitt Wilson did right.

State Party Paper Name.

To the naming of the party paper the "Social-Democrat," is due in a large measure the present strife and dissension, and it is more than likely to continue until that name is changed. And it is not to be wondered at. Many of us left the Democratic party because it had dragged its good name in the mire and was no longer tolerable by decent people, and now whether we will or not the name is tacked on again, which makes us look to those outside our ranks as the tail to that same old rotten party, and apparently all for the purpose of baiting a capitalist dominated laborparty, to gain a temporary advantage for a few over-zealous political aspirants.

There is no Social-Democrat party in the State of California. Why then a "Social-Democrat" paper, "Official organ of the Socialist party of the State of California?" In all of their answers by the secretary and S. E. C. they have failed to make answer to this question, why? This local protested against the adoption of this name before the organization of this publishing company, and we understand others did likewise, but without avail. Why, then, did not the E. C. submit this proposition to a referendum and let the membership, who furnish the "sinews of war," decide what name should be adopted, as every fairminded representative committee would have done under the circumstances? This act of the S. E. C. alone brands it as a gang of political bosses, political wire-pullers of the capitalist party type, and incompetent and unfit to administer the affairs of the Socialist party, which is supposed to be democratically run in every particular.

rights and privileges, and ought to be, for it is in jealously guarding these personal interests that our party security lies. That occasionally unfounded suspicions will arise is to be expected. But these suspicions cannot be allaved and the solidarity of the party maintained by ignoring them or by assuming rights and privileges not delegated, or by arbitrary acts known to be objectionable to the membership of the party.

That the acts of the E. C. were wilfully wrong or wilfully in violation of party rules should not be assumed, but that they lacked that mutuality of consideration for the wishes of the membership that should characterize every act of a representative official and that inspires confidence and cements the individuals into party unity, cannot be denied.

We believe therefore that the above suggestions are timely, to the point, remedial and should be carried out promptly.

Should any critic, friendly or otherwise, ask why we do not move a referendum, we reply: Coming from the S. E. C., should they decide to act on these suggestions, will be better for them, better for us and better for the solidarity of the party, than if initiated by one of the locals. Should the S. E. C. refuse to act as herein suggested it will brand them as a gang of arbitrary political wire pullers out for all there is in them individually and not for the good of the party, and we shall know them for what they really are.

The request herein made that the S. E. C. submit their election referendum is not such an extraordinary request, and if their acts have been what they should there is a grand opportunity for vindication. Indeed this method is in practice in many of the countries of the old world when a political crisis appears and is frequently a complete vindication of the acts of individuals.

We further believe this to be the only effective way to end this disruptive controversy and secure that solidarity we so strenuously plead for.

Read in open meeting August 27, 1911. and after full discussion unanimously adopted by Local East Auburn, and ordered sent to the Social-Democrat and REVOLT with the request that it be published in these papers.

GEO. HEFFNER, Secretary.

EDITORIAL COMMENT :- The statement by Local East Auburn that "J. Stitt Wilson did right" in going against the instructions of his local is a rather startling one, and REVOLT believes that comrades who show such a degree of understanding along other lines will withdraw it when its significance is shown to them. If individual opinion of a party member elected as a delegate to represent a local of 1000 members is to be held superior to the expressed will of a majority of the members electing him, the party membership ceases to have any genuine representation in conventions. The question of whether the majority was wrong or not does not enter into a settlement of this question.

Now, on the other question, which REVOLT feels that Local East Auburn should keep entirely separate from the question of whether a delegate to a convention should obey the instructions of his local or not.

There are several aspects to the question of whether or no the State platform of the Socialist

Wilson-Jap passage. The main question, really, is not whether or no a particular referendum which the State Secretary refuses to submit without first trying to bluff out the mover and seconds with the threat that capitalist law would give the Socialist party members a chance to sue each other for 80 cents, is good or not: the question is whether it is safe for the Socialist party membership to allow the setting aside of ANY regularly moved and seconded referendum on motion of the State Secretary and an opinion by Comrade Tuttle.

The motive of Meriam in this instance is as manifest as in other matters that the membership. is getting wise to: he is loath to allow anything which would make the circulation of the California Social-Democrat depend upon merit instead of power to compel all party members to pay for it whether they want it or not.

HAYWOOD REDUSED TO SHAKE HANDS.

After going up and down the State, at the expense of the party, misrepresenting Haywood in the most contemptible fashion, Edward Adams Cantrell had the colossal impertinence to state from the platform at Vallejo that he was "one of the first" (Stitt Wilson since has made the modest claim of being the "first") to take the platform "to save Haywood's neck." Coming down, he offered his hand to the man he had been backbiting in his absence, but Haywood refused to take it. Of all things in the world, Haywood most despises insincerity.

It is well known that Haywood used to drink, sometimes to a degree that interfered with his work for the working class revolution. Men who have undergone far less nervous strain than he have been harder drinkers than he ever was, and failed in their efforts to break the habit. "Bill" Haywood tried and did not fail. For more than two years, as those who have been in touch with him know, he has been a "teetotaler." In the early stages it was more of a struggle than some persons can realize, but he won the fight for the sake of the class he represents so splendidly. It is no longer a struggle.

For "our" seven-dollar-a-day state organizer, then, to go from place to place, hurriedly routed. where Haywood was to speak, and declare that "Haywood drinks and is undependable," was---What shall we say?

This is a matter which it should not be necessary to discuss, for it is one which our bighearted and heroic comrade cannot but feel sensitive about, but Cantrell-more scorn to him !-has made it necessary.

BARNES QUITS UNDER FIRE.

National Secretary J. Mahlon Barnes of the Socialist party, willing servant of the reactionary National Executive Committee, and by that committee protected when charges were brought against him, has resigned.' It is unlikely that his masters (Berger, Hillquit, etc.) will do likewise, and it may be long before the party will be rid of all the national officials who-whatever their qualities as Socialist propagandists by the use of tongue and pen-are unmitigated evils as party bosses.

Secretary of Local Homestead, and Member of . Central Committee. Stockton, Cal., August 22d, 1911.

GRAND PICNIC

Given By The

Progressive Organizations of San Francisco

For the Benefit of the

VORWAERTS OF THE PACIFIC COAST

Sunday, September 10th, 1911.

At Lovchen Garden, Colma.

ADMISSION 25 CENTS BEER 5 CENTS

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HUNGARIAN BRANCH TO HOLD FESTIVAL.

A big "Grape Festival" will be given in Helvetia Garden, 3964 Mission street, Sunday, September 10, by the San Francisco Hungarian Branch of the Socialist party.

Among the features promised for the day and evening are, "Grape stealing, prize bowling, dancing." Music will be supplied by a Union Band. Valuable souvenirs are to be presented to all children attending the festival. An admission of 25 cents will be charged, the proceeds going to meet various needs of the Socialist movement in San Francisco.

SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM.

SAN FRANCISCO.

We, the members of the Socialist Party of San Francisco, in convention ting for the Socialist party candidates. assembled, proclaim ourselves an in-the Socialist party stands for the tegral 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 INDUS-TRIAL field.

more dominant by taking possession plenty of the capitalists. There is no of the product of the working class and entrenching itself behind govern-H." nor "Jimmie R." can make peace. mental power.

and reproduce its kind.

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

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 of labor are transferred to the control of the worker and the product is just- fend the laws or injure a bull." ly 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 scious. 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 than eight hours.

FLINGS AT THINGS.

Election day is drawing nigh. Every wage worker that is in possession of the franchise should record it by voabolition of wage system.

billboards in very large and hand-

somely painted letters. This is some peace that "P. H." established and maintained. The blundering "labor. leaders" must learn that the class struggle raging in society establishes a state of constant strife. At times eruptions of a more violent nature wealth that the workers produce, just the party in Texas, which appears in The capitalist class grows ever the suffering of the workers and the Hickey's "Rebel.'

Peace can only prevail when the The working class has been reduced working class takes possession of its wage only sufficient to keep it alive of wealth as well as of its government.

Recently Police Judge Deasy handed down a decision that proved of the capitalist class to keep the his worth as well as his terrible judicial wisdom. For rendering this de-The Socialist Party is alone capable cision he (Deasy) should be elevated to the bench of the United States Supreme Court. The words that flowed from the judicial mouth were to the effect that he knew "this Ernst Haeckel. Though he tended bar in a pretty tough place, nevertheless, nothing he said or did ever caused any is possible only when the instruments trouble; and a person, even though he quoted Ernst in Dago, could not of-

> The hodcarrier, the blacksmith, the laborer, stenographer, the garbage man, the plumber, the carpenter, the printer, and all other wage workers must unite in one grand economic and political organization.

The working class needs leisure more than work. They work too hard and too long. To lighten the work and shorten the hours is the ambition of the toiler that is class con-

Socialism is anti-national. It is international.

"The crushing of militarism, which s an important weapon of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, is an imrerative necessity for the success of the proletariat's fight for freedom."-Dr. Karl Liebknecht.

Against the capitalist and other in-terests behind McCarthy, against the mary laws of Oregon and Arkansas." Against the capitalist and other incapitalist and other interests behind Rolph, stands the Socialist party. Vote for Wm. McDevitt for Mayor, and the straight Socialist ticket.

The question having been put, "why strength of the party itself, by giving 2. Immediate relief for the unem- is it that 'Union Labor' nominee for to active Socialists new interests Supervisor John L. Herget has a side which, in many cases, satisfy the imview picture scattered all over town?" | pulse to take an active part in the fighting for a living in the prize ring, party and its elements, to the end under the name of "Young Mitchell." that the membership actually shall Under capitalism men must get a liv- control the party affairs instead of being somehow; but the shame of the ing led or moved by the sugge situation lies in the garbing of the of politicians within the party. Young Mitchell et al. in the sheltering cloak of "Union Labor."

The men and women that accept Socialism effect a revolution in their lives. Socialism cannot be compromised with any capitalist institutions, parties or individuals.

The most necessary and most splendid work to-day is to fight ceaseless-"I promised industrial peace. I have made good," "P. H." states on ganized industrially and politically. SELIG SCHULBERG.

FOR DECENTRALIZATION.

The following passage is from an article by E. R. Meitzen of Halletstake place. But as long as the Rolph article by E. R. Meitzen of Hallets-gang of robbers steal "legally" the ville, State Secretary-Treasurer for so long must this struggle witness this week's issue of Comrade Tom

> "In short the 'conservative,' standpat Socialists that want things to remain as they are, or do not object to going back to even a more centralized form, are thoroughly organorganized. If they had been only partially organized, Referendum B would have been defeated.

"This brings us down to the point wish to make.

"All things considered, past and present, I think the time is ripe and the need is great for an informal organization of intelligent, unselfish comrades from all parts of the nation that believe in a policy of wise decen-tralization. Such a body of comrades, keeping in touch with one another and with the moves of the opposition, properly directed, can do the most effective work in counteracting the insidious move of the centralizers and in carrying on a campaign of education to induce the party members to consider on its merits the propositions

that constitute its platforms. "With a view of bringing matters to a head I suggest the organization of a Socialist Progressive League, the platform of which in my opinion should have at least the three following planks:

"1. Direct nomination of the national candidates.

"2 Rotation in office.

"3. Absolute state autonomy.

"As to the first plank: If it 'is wise to select national party officers by referendum why not nominate our political standard hearers in the same for every jobless worker. way (as we do in Texas). It is more democratic to have the rank and file select them than a few convention delegates subject to the wiles of cen-tralized wire-pullers. The old parties will beat us to this reform if we do could easily join. REVOLT perceives merit in the all wealth. suggestion, but also disadvantages. Any organization of Socialists which is not an integral part of the Socialist party has a tendency to decrease the

CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL **QUESTIONS ANSWERED**

REVOLT

San Francisco, Cal., August 30, 1911. Mr. Andrew J. Gallagher, Secretary San Francisco Labor Council, City. Dear Sir and Brother:

In answer to questions submitted by Council, I state my position on the following questions:

(1) I am in favor of the working class owning and operating their own water system, under their own management.

(2) a. Better street car service can be secured if the men working on the cars are organized and regulate their business of running the cars.

b. Am in favor of measures that will hasten the completion of the Geary Street Road, and extend the system in all directions; and am in favor of the workers, working on the road, managing same, and not a gang of know-nothing politicians with many and varied ambitions.

c. Under no conditions would I vote to give or sell any franchise to any person or persons, and would oppose such actions as the giving of franchises to any person or persons; and would oppose such actions as the giving of franchises to Improvement

Club members serving as agents of a swindling corporation. (3) a. Would do all in my power to lighten the burden of the con-

sumers of gas, electricity, etc., and shift the burdens on the corporations that at this time have possession of the things necessary to Society....

b. Would by my every act and word urge the working class to take pos-session of the lighting system and other things that they need.

(4) Would be in favor of amending the Charter so that taxation would fall solely upon the capitalist class.

(5) a. There is no harmony of interests between the working class and the capitalist class; and I would do all in my power not alone to prevent the reduction of wages, but would urge the workers to struggle for more and ever more of their product.

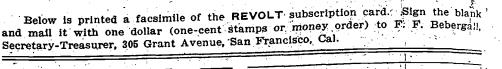
b. Not only am I opposed to the lengthening of the number of hours that workers must work, but would advocate a shorter and shorter work day, until there were sufficient jobs

c. Under no conditions would union workers be displaced by non-union men, but I would urge that the unions be so wide open that every toiler

(6) Labor can make no demands that are unreasonable, as it produces

> Yours fraternally, SELIG SCHULBERG.

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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.

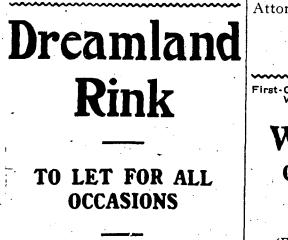
Mayor-William McDevitt. Police Judges-W. E. Dillon, David Henderson

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 Campbell, K. J. Doyle, Louis Fortin, C. W. Hogue, Robert Larkins, Chas. Lehman, Olaf Mork, Chas. Preston, Ernest L. Reguin, John M. Reynolds, Martin Egan, S. Schulberg, George Styche, Lynus Vanaistine, Walter E. Walker.

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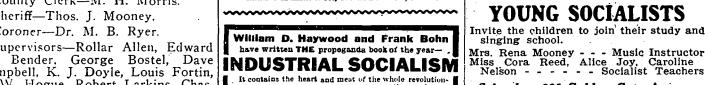
The problem of child labor is only one of the many problems confronting us under capitalism, and it cannot be solved separately. The entire system must be revolutionized before any one of the many such problems can be solved.

The economic motive is the dominant motive in politics, and each party or candidate represents certain economic interests. The Socialist party represents the interests of the working class.

The majority of the working class get their ideas like their clothes,wohnende Deutsche und Deutsch le= ready made. fende Genoffe follte es fich zur Pflicht

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The answer is that Mr. John L. Her- Socialist movement. In spite of the get has a cauliflower ear, which ear loss that follows such scattering of Offers courses in the following: Social must be hidden. This decoration was made before John had the saloon on such an organization for the purpose school, modern drama and literature, the edge of the down-town tender-loin; it was made when Johnny was fighting for a living in the prize ring, under the name of "Young Mitchell." that the membership actually shall San Francisco. ing led or moved by the suggestions

With the first two principles sug- Horseradish Any Way gested for establishment in the conduct of party affairs, REVOLT is in hearty accord, but looks askance on the third. It should be made more specific, and should leave with the entire party membership the power to expel any State organization.

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Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, every Tuesday night in Jeffer-son Square 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.

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