ADVANCE

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D. M. DELMAS AND THE RECONCILIATION OF LABOR AND CAPITAL.

At a meeting of the Bar Association, D. M. Delmas, delivered an address that, in some respects, is a masterpiece. We give the greater portion of it here.

OPPOSING FORCES.

In their essential attributes the two opposing forces in society present to the eyes of students and thinkers nothing new. The distinctive features of each, the history of the first made them familiar. Under changing forms and varying designations they could discern their existence from the very dawn of social organization. The story of their struggles, their triumphs, their defeat and the consequences brought about by their alternating supremacy or subordination constituted, they knew, the annals of the world. In Greece they had been called the select and the multitude—the aristocrats and the hoi polloi; in Rome, patricians and plebeians; in Europe during the feudal age, barons and serfs. They were known in France in the days which preceded the revolution, the one as the nobility and clergy, the other as the people or third estate. In England they were recognized as the Lords and the Commons. They are found amongst us from the beginning of our national existence, under the designation of Federalists or Monarchists, and Democrats or Republicans. To-day, in the civilized nations of the world, all local or temporary appellations being laid aside, they have assumed at last their appropriate titles, by tacking on the names of the power which each stands for, and call themselves capital and labor.

What is the end for which these two mighty contestants are striving? What the means by which their battles are waged? Which of them is destined to achieve victory? Or, the object of each being unrealizable, or its means of action impracticable, are both doomed to defeat.

ASCENDENCY OF CAPITAL.

The sudden ascendance of capital in the United States during the last quarter of a century is little less than startling. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few men has exceeded in rapidity and magnitude anything ever witnessed in the past. A handful of individuals, having already amassed during their lifetime private fortunes of fabulous dimensions, now openly and almost avowedly seek to rule in their own interest the whole vast field of manufacture, commerce and finance of the Republic. Under the control of these men the great elements of modern industry—coal, iron and kindred products—have already passed, and the main avenues of transportation and communication by land and by sea are passing. We hear of, and naturally must expect, rapidly maturing plans by which, through a perfected system of banking, the circulating medium of the country shall be subjected to their dictation.

The influence which this centralized power wields in the affairs of the nation is as stupendous as it is unprecedented. It dominates political action, shapes legislation, molds financial policies, dictates wars, formulates the terms of peace, and while preserving the external shape of a Republic, transforms a Government originally designed to be carried on by the people for the common benefit of all, into a mere money making machine, worked by commercialism and operated in its interest.

MONEY OLIGARCHY.

The ultimate end which the group of men who wield this power would seem to have in view is the formation of a money oligarchy potent enough to control the government of nations, and hold humanity itself subjugated to their will. Like the absolute monarchs of the school of Louis XIV of France, and Charles I of England, they consider that theirs is the sole right to govern the peoples of the world—with this difference: The Bourbon and Stuart Kings looked to God for the origin and sanction of their authority, they look to money for theirs.

VIEWS OF LABOR.

Widely divergent from these are the views and purposes of the party of labor. To them the declaration that all men are created equal represents not a delusive and glittering generality, but a fundamental truth. Toward the realization of that equality, in its true and therefore its most complete sense, are turned all the aspirations of their hearts and centered all the energies of their minds. In its attainment there will be found—such is their conviction—the balm of all suffering, the antidote of all poverty, the redress of all injustice. They deem it not a difficult task to answer those who deride the idea of equality, as (Continued on 4th Page.)
Late one evening Jean Loqueteux decided that it was time to go home. By that he meant a bench under a chestnut tree on the place d'Anvers, where he had slept during the last few weeks. Famished, he had only made two cents—two foreign coins at that—at the entrance of the Vaudeville Theater, opening the door of a cab.

"Such hard luck", remarked the poor man, talking to himself. "If I had only two sous to buy a crust of bread in the morning."

Dragging painfully his ill-clad person, hungry, suffering, besides from illness, he resumed his walk toward the bench under the chestnut tree, hoping that he would meet a providential man willing to part with ten centimes, the price of his breakfast. Suddenly he stumbled against something in the darkness. Was it worth the trouble to look and see what it could be? Who knows? Providence has little regard for the poor, yet she is kind to them at times. Once he had found a leg of mutton in the mud; maybe this time it was a chop.

"Let me see!" he said, and picked up the object.

"Humph! This time I am deceived! It is no good to eat!"

No one, not even a sergeant de ville, could be seen in the street. Jean Loqueteux went under a lamp post to examine what he had in his hand.

"Well," he said aloud, "this is funny!"

The object was a black pocketbook containing ten thousand francs in government bills, but no letters, no cards, nothing to identify the owner.

"To think," he remarked to himself, "that some people carry ten thousand francs in that way in their pockets. It is enough to make any one sick. And now I have to go to the police station, out of my way, and I am so tired. Decidedly I have no luck to-night."

And Jean Loqueteux went to the police station, where he experienced all kinds of trouble trying to see the commissary, on account of his dilapidated appearance. Finally the magistrate consented to receive him.

"Monsieur Commissary," he said, very politely, handling the portfolio, "I have found this."

"And, naturally, there is nothing in it?"

"Look for yourself, Monsieur Commissary."

This gentleman opened the pocketbook, saw the bills, which he counted at once.

"Ten thousand francs! An enormous amount of money, my friend. You are a brave man, an honest man, a hero! Do you know that?"

Jean Loqueteux remained very quiet, only repeating, "To think that some people carry in that way ten thousand francs in their pockets!"

The commissary was considering the vagrant with more astonishment than admiration.

"And you have found this? There is no use talking, you are a hero! What is your name?"

"Jean Loqueteux."

"What is your profession?"

"I have none."

"Then I suppose you have an income. Where do you live?"

"Alas! Monsieur Commissary, I am a poor beggar. I have no residence."

"What? No residence? This is astonishing. He has no residence," remarked the commissary. Then, addressing Jean Loqueteux, he added, "You have no residence, therefore you are a vagrant. You are a hero, evidently. Yes, you are a hero. But you are also a vagrant, and I am compelled to apply the law. Here is the pocketbook; no doubt about that. You may receive a reward, possibly five francs, if the owner is discovered. But this does not alter the fact that you live in a state of vagrancy: Believe me, it would have been much better for you to find a residence than to find a pocketbook containing ten thousand francs. The law does not compel you to find a pocketbook but it compels you to have a residence; otherwise—"

"Otherwise?" asked Jean Loqueteux.

"Otherwise I have to lock you up for the night and send you in the morning to the police-court."

The commissary rang the bell and two policemen led the vagrant to a cell.

"Really," said the disheartened Jean Loqueteux. "I have no luck to-day!"—Octave Mirbeau, in Current Literature.

Are the Interests of Employer and Emloyee Mutual.

We give here a reported conversation with Bishop Potter. He is asked a pertinent question. The answer is given in the statement of facts.

"I have stood by the open excavation of the new underground railroad in New York City, looking at the men digging. They have told me they get $2 a day for fair days when the work could go on. Living is expensive in New York. These are not the submerged; they are the men of brawn and health. They are the 'labor.'"

"I have gone through the corridors of the fashionable hotels at midnight and looked on the dandies and women, the evening dress of men and women, with liveried waiters obsequiously serving the viands of all lands."

"These are the 'employers.'"

"Are the interests of the two classes mutual? Can easy-going optimism conjure up any relation between the two? Can any bridge span the chasm between them?"

"When I go through our factories and see fine, able-bodied, dexterous, earnest men working nine hours every day and every year a lifetime through, fashioning the uncouth raw material of wood and metal and marble into house material, I ask myself, 'Will the 'laborer' have any of these polished and luxurious appliances in the home of his family or will they only go into the houses of the well-to-do, the mansions of the rich, the 'employer' class? Are the interests of the laborer and the capitalist mutual in this work?"

"I know full well that many will say that money payment settles the whole score; but even if that were so, is there any mutuality when one makes and the other enjoys?"
THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF OPPORTUNISM.

The idea of the supremacy of the proletariat, which forms the climax of the revolutionary policy of the social democracy, may be summed up in these essential outlines: the proletariat, having become the majority of the nation, takes possession of the political powers. The political and military institutions of the state will be reorganized on the basis of the most far-reaching democracy. The abuse of the coercive power of the state will be forestalled so that it can no longer enforce the will of an economically ruling minority on the masses. One department of production after another passes into the hands of the state. Under these circumstances the state is transformed from a machine for the oppression of the people into an administrative organism. The proletariat will promote the development of communal property, of communal plants and cooperatives with all the political and economic power at its disposal. Private property in the means of production disappears and capitalist production makes room for Socialism.

Now, it is precisely the supremacy of the proletariat that is most criticized by opportunists. Not that they absolutely deny the possibility of this supremacy, but they question it, remove it into the far distance and want to eliminate it above all from the considerations of the present. According to them, the conditions are still so immature that the proletariat would only blunder in its legislation if it assumed control of the machinery of state. And its advent to power would end in a colossal defeat of the working class. For the present, therefore, they say, we must leave the control of the state in the hands of those who are now holding it, the landed aristocracy, the bankers, the captains of industry. We should view every electoral victory with evil forebodings because it brings us a step nearer to our—defeat. But with his characteristic inconsistency, the opportunist avoids as a matter of course to draw the logical conclusion from his premises. What has opportunism to offer instead of the supremacy of the proletariat, which it refuses to consider? If not by the conquest of the political powers, how should the proletariat abolish capitalist exploitation? What is to be done, how must the working class begin in order to realize this aim? In short, what is the essence of the much vaunted practical policy of opportunism? Let us try to obtain an answer to these questions from practical opportunism.

It is natural that opportunism, in giving up the hope of a proletarian supremacy in politics, should try to mediate between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Where Socialism has hitherto exposed the sharpest class antagonisms, there opportunism is looking for points of compromise. It strives to smooth the sharp edges, to harmonize the contrasts. In this way those theories of adaptation, of gradually growing into another state of society, etc., are born, by which opportunism tries to hide the hopelessness of its position from itself and from the world. Let us observe what results opportunism has to show when it attempts to apply its theories in practice.

One should think that opportunism would first of all consider nationalization. That would be a way in which nothing could be done without the consent of the capitalist class, and yet production could be withdrawn from the hands of private property. This is also the basis on which dogmatic Socialism is founded. But it is just this idea of nationalization from which the opportunists keep farthest away. Why? The reason is clear: they are afraid of the state. They repeat over and over again that the state is continuously and spontaneously becoming more and more democratic, but in practice they themselves recede from the consequences of their theoretical reasoning.

If not nationalization, then perhaps communalization? Opportunism dwells at great length on this topic, but one vainly seeks to discover what new, practical ideas opportunism has to offer on this subject. The Socialist party has developed its communal policy without violating its revolutionary principles in the least. On the contrary, its activity in the communes only brings new proofs of the necessity of changing the organizations of the capitalist state and of capitalist property. Whether it is a question of homes, of electrical plants, of street cleaning, of placing a few more street lamps in the laboring quarters, or of similar matters, everywhere in communal affairs we finally strike the question of ground rent. The property owners use all progress, all improvements, for the purpose of raising the rent. If we tax them, they shift the taxes to the tenants. But while the revolutionary socialist strives to emphasize those points that bring the policy of the communes into contradiction with the capitalist form of ownership, the opportunist considers them as so much ballast weighing on his movements like lead and so many obstacles to his positive activity. The opportunist cannot solve the contradiction, therefore, he seeks to escape from it by undertaking insignificant tasks that do not show such sharp contradictions. But the less practical value his activity has, the more daring are the theoretical speculations which he founds on it. The opportunist as a logical politician does not find any satisfaction in anything. He has a sharp eye for all defects and shortcomings and for this reason becomes an active force in the commune. The opportunist as a communal politician always has his hands full of "positive" work. He is as busy as a mole, and like this little animal remains in a narrow tunnel. He raises every trifle to a matter of utmost importance and thinks he has laid the foundation of Socialism when he has erected public shower baths and public closets.—The International Socialist Review.

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ADDRESS OF D. M. DELMAS.

one belied by the disparity of the physical strength, the mental capacity and the temperamental energy of men. They maintain that the equality of their hopes and strivings is no such vain delusion as this charge implies. They conceive themselves enlightened enough to know that it means equality in a political and economic sense, and not equality of mind, body or temperament.

PARTY OF LABOR.

Toward the attainment of his object the party of labor has already made a vast advance. If its progress has been slow, its march has been steady and uninterrupted. To prove this, it is not needful to carry the mind further back than the days of the American Revolution. I will content myself, therefore, with an attempt rapidly to sketch the progress of that party during the years which have elapsed since that event.

The statement of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal may have expressed an abstract philosophical conviction, or a generous aspiration of the Fathers; it certainly did not formulate a truth represented by the social or governmental conditions under which they lived. Nothing approaching either economic or political equality existed at that time in any country on the globe. Nowhere less than in the thirteen colonies. There, political power was still the privilege of a class, whose qualification to enjoy it was determined not by any personal virtue or characteristic inherent in them as men, but by the adventitious attribute of property coupled with the distinctive badge of certain religious professions. In none of the State constitutions which were adopted immediately after independence was declared, even in that hour when the fervor of republican principles had reached the point of feverish enthusiasm, and when the success of the struggle against Great Britain must have universally felt to depend upon the co-operation of all classes, in none of those constitutions, I say, is there found so much as a glimmering thought of manhood suffrage. The ballot is everywhere made an appanage of property; and the right to hold office is conferred as its exclusive privilege upon wealth. Everywhere is the propertyless or the unorthodox man impelled declared unworthy to have a voice in the institution of the government, or to take part in its administration.

After stating that the party of labor is searching for a way to put its ideal of economic equality into practice Mr. Delmas says:

I must, therefore, with a brief reference to that one which, setting up before the eyes the most comprehensive plan of operation, finds the most numerous advocates and the ablest. Your thoughts anticipate my utterance when you infer that I allude to Socialism.

AIMS OF SOCIALISM.

There is, beyond doubt, a very large class of men among whom very inadequate and erroneous ideas of the nature and aims of Socialism prevail. There are many who, looking upon the Socialist as the twin brother of the anarchist, pronounce the names, of both with equal abhorrence. It is just as true that there is no inconsiderable number, who, to further their own purposes, though knowing this conception to be unfounded and unjust, deliberately countenance and encourage it. Yet, however impracticable and visionary as a means of bringing about the triumph of the party of labor the schemes of Socialism might in his eyes appear, no candid and impartial judge would deny the ideal nobleness and grandeur of its aims; nor is it not, therefore, that Socialism constitutes the religion of many humble and earnest souls and the passionate longing of some of the most intelligent and purest men the world has ever produced. It was not

a vulgar agitator, nor a mouthy demagogue, but an eminent and distinguished diplomatist, who, while representing this country at the Court of St. James, said:

"Socialism means, or wishes to mean, the operation and community of interests, sympathies, giving to the hands not so large a share as to the brains, but a larger share than hitherto in the wealth they must combine to produce—means, in short, the practical application of Christianity to life, and has in it the secret of an orderly and benign reconstruction."

ULTIMATE GOAL.

Nor, though it be admitted that the ultimate goal toward which Socialism aspires is an unrealizable dream, can it be denied that, under the ideas which it promulgates, no inconsiderable advance in that direction has been made. It is a singular and noticeable circumstance that the socialist looks upon the rapid centralization of capital now in progress and the unification of industry under one control, now already largely achieved, as the certain though unconscious vindication of his own theories and the first step in the demonstration of their practicability. Indeed, if the things already accomplished and those avowedly contemplated by the great money syndicate of the United States be looked upon with approbation, as being, what their advocates and defenders claim them to be, the results of an uncontrollable process of social evolution, it will be found less difficult to sneer at than to answer the claim of the socialist that the industries of the country can be unified under one control. And if the economic gains and advantages resulting from that unification are approved, when they are reaped by a few it will not be easy to condemn as unrighteous the purposes of those who would enjoy such gains and advantages to the benefit of the community.

It is only when he comes to his own solution of this problem of society, that Mr. Delmas gives evidence of idealism. He hopes to reconcile labor and capital with the following:

"The time is at hand, I firmly believe, when the development, the training, the strengthening of the moral facilities shall be deemed to constitute the essential and most principal part of man's education; when parents and teachers shall consider that they have higher duties to perform than to equip their pupils in the art of achieving financial success; when the real philosophy and the true science of life shall be locked upon as the paramount lessons to be taught, and the principles and rules of right conduct, contemplated from an ethical, and not the methods of successful conduct viewed from a money-making standpoint, shall be considered as the lesson above all others to be learned. I look forward with confidence to the day when in colleges and universities the chair deemed in point of dignity and importance to occupy the highest rank in the academic hierarchy shall be the chair of philosophy."

And that's all. A moral philosophy in a university will adjust the struggle between the capitalist and the working class.

Analagamated Woodworkers, Union No. 15

The members of this Union will please take notice that in our last meeting Dec. 24th, it was decided not to hold a meeting on Dec. 30, on account of New Years' eve. The next meeting of the Union will be a General Meeting on January 7th, 1902, where all members, because of the importance of business on hand, are requested to be present.

The Raffle Committee on the tools of our late brother Frank Vigneron will announce that the Raffle which was set for Dec. 30, is postponed until the meeting of January 14. 1902. All tickets held by members and not sold should be turned in before that time.

The Business Agent.
A PROTEST AGAINST THE TRADES UNION RESOLUTION.

Editor "Advance."

Local San Francisco has instructed its delegates to the convention to present the following resolution:

"We, the Socialist movement, being purely political must represent not merely a faction but the whole working class, therefore be it resolved; That the Socialist Party is distinct from and entirely independent of the Trades Union movement."

The matter is brought before the comrades of the State and I take this, the earliest opportunity, of opposing and pointing out what I believe are the defects of the resolution.

In the first place it means a withdrawal, a lessening of our support of the trades-union movement. While to secure its passage its advocates were forced repeatedly to declare that it was not a declaration of hostility, yet the spirit which prompts it is indubitably that of disbelief in and jealousy of activity in the trades-union. We can rest assured that our opponents in the unions will lose no time in interpreting the words 'a faction of the working class' as a denunciation of trades-unions. Thus do we suffer from the inherited curse of De Leonism. "The thoughts of the dead weigh like an Alp on the brain of the living."

Let us see, if an attitude of hostility or indifference can be justified. Let us see if it is not, on the contrary, unscientific and un-socialistic. Unless the Socialist movement is scientific, it is nothing; it is worthless. Its policy must consider the facts, the actual social conditions and, guided by the philosophy of the materialistic conception of history, it must act under these conditions so as constantly to intensify and organize the class struggle. The class struggle is the great fact from which there is no escape. The co-operative commonwealth is only attainable, is only possible because it affords the only means of success for the workers—it is the only possible way by which they can effect the final and complete defeat of their enemy in the class war, the capitalist class. This being so, it follows that everything which makes prominent the antagonism of interest between the capitalist and the worker is in the end of benefit to Socialism. Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that the duty of the Socialist is to fight the battles of the working class everywhere and always. We cannot remain indifferent and neutral in the struggles between labor and capital. And as we expect the support of our fellow-workers at the ballot-box, so must we give them our support in the struggle on the economic field. When we charge them with deserting their class on election day let us not be in a position where we can make counter-charges of non-support when on strike or locked out.

Some comrades object that the slight gains which trades unions make dulls the revolutionary spirit of the worker. They preach that philosophy of misery which bases Socialist progress on parliamentary degradation. But, these same people ordinarily go on to state that the trades-unions cannot gain anything permanently anyhow. The real truth is that a man becomes discontented when his usual standard of living is interfered with whether that be high or low, and if it is interfered with by an attack on an organization which has benefited him, his discontent is all the more liable to take the form of organized hostility to the power that interferes. This we will see exemplified in the trades-union movement.

The facts are these:

There are two classes in society, the capitalist and the working classes. The antagonistic interests of these two classes drive them into perpetual conflicts. Trades-unions represent the organized effort of labor in these conflicts which are growing greater in size and with the more perfect organization of both sides are rising from the plane of petty individual engagements to the dignity of great battles in an organized class war. When these battles are fought between great bodies of organizing workmen who from their number become the representatives not merely of themselves but of the entire class, any associations of employers, who also become virtually the incarnation of their class, then the capitalists invoke the powers of the government to their aid and force home upon the workers the necessity of getting control for themselves of the political weapons. Inevitably the trades-unionist either officially or unofficially takes some kind of political action. The Socialist tendency depends on the number, influence and prestige of the Socialists inside not outside the unions. This is illustrated by Haverhill, Mass., New Bedford, Conn., Northport, Wash., and other places. Had we had a well organized, competently-led Socialist faction in the trades-union movement of this city the Union Labor party which we now have menacing the state with its paltry reform measures and its capitalist politicians, would never have come into existence. The way our Chicago comrades squelched it there shows this. The power, practically the dominance of Socialists in New York, Cleveland and St. Louis gives us assurance that it cannot spring up there. It was our failure to be actually strong in the local unions that gave it its opportunity here. It will not do to say that our efforts among the trades-unions are futile. Half of our 1900 vote was trades-unionist, for it was lost to the Union Labor party this year. And probably half of what remains is also trades-unionist. This furnishes good proof that although the unions comprise only a minor portion of the population, we get two-thirds to three-quarters of our vote from them. In the face of this who will say that work and agitation in the unions is unsuccessful. On the contrary, the theory of the class struggle finds its illustrations in the great strikes. We do not illustrate it by John Smith’s refusal to vote for Mr. Scott for ten hours a day. That is too small and petty to appeal to the average man. Nor is Mr. Scott obliged to coerce Smith by means of injunctions, police and militia thus directing Smith’s attention to the ultimate source of Scott’s power and the vital point which Smith must attack. But when twenty thousand organized workmen proclaim war on Employers Association and injunctions and police and militia are used against them then even a "pure and simpler" like Andrew Furuseth must advocate political action. Thus we have a Union Labor party. Suppose by persistent and able service, Socialists had secured control of the local unions the Socialist Party would have received the union support and the success may not have come yet, a very great advance would have been made. Without an effort, if the U.L.P. did not exist, our vote would have risen to at least seven or eight thousand.

Finally, the trades-unions are here to stay. Circumstances will force them the organized working class, into political action. Shall we abandon them to the mercy of reform treatas and capitalist politicians, or shall we enlighten their awakening class consciousness with the touch of revolutionary Socialism.

Fraternally,
C. H. King, Jr.

RESULT OF RECENT REFERENDUMS.
STATE CONVENTION.

In accordance with the vote of the State, the California State Executive Committee declares that a State Convention be held; that Los Angeles be the place for the holding of the convention, and Jan. 1, 1902 the date of the holding thereof.

The initiative for this Convention fixed the basis of representation as follows:

"The representation will be the membership in good standing of either parts of the Social Democratic Party, with seat of National Committee at Springfield or Chicago, each delegate voting the members signing his credentials."

The vote was as follows: For 178. Against 90. Place Los Angeles 168. Date January 1st, 148.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MAN.

In accordance with the vote of California Locals, the California State Executive Committee declares James S. Roche National Committee man for the State of California. The Secretary is instructed to issue credentials from this Committee to Comrade Roche. The vote of each Local will appear in Advance later.
served while at the same time there was an increase in the amount of the constant capital. (A few facts to corroborate this will be given in Book III in the chapter on overpopulation.) Here we leave out of consideration for the time being the lack of employment and consequent misery of the workers caused by the competition of a given branch of industry with the same branch still carried on by handicraft. One needs only to recall to mind what has been related in previous paragraphs about the weavers of England and East India, who died of starvation by the thousands, while at the same time the number of English machine weavers increased by a few thousands. Bourgeois economists who would have the workers believe that machinery finds new employment for the worker set free by machinery, readily saw and pointed out the few additional thousands of machine weavers, but they wisely kept mum about the hundreds of thousands “set free” by death of starvation.

Even though the setting free of the workers in a certain branch of industry would stimulate the demand for workers in another branch is but poor consolation for the one thrown out of work, can the worker, who has spent nearly all his life learning and working at a certain trade, immediately take up another trade?

Besides, the one tendency of the labor market, caused by the constant shifting of the relation of the amount of constant to that of variable capital, a relation which always changes to the disadvantage of the worker, there develops, with development of modern industry, another peculiar tendency of the labor-market. As soon as all the general prerequisites for modern industry are at hand, as soon as machine-production, the production of iron and coal, the means of transportation etc., etc., have developed to a certain degree, modern industry is capable of surprisingly rapid extension and expansion, which finds barriers only in lack of the market to readily absorb the product, or in the lack of raw material. For this reason we see the constant struggle for the opening up of new markets, places which furnish new buyers for the finished product also furnish new raw materials. In the wake of every considerable extension of the market there follows a period of feverish activity in production, until the new market has been swamped, when a period of industrial depression again puts in an appearance. The life of industry is transformed into a succession of periods of average livelihood, prosperity, overproduction, crises and stagnation. This constant swaying between over-work and lack of work or no work, this vicious circle means for the worker absolute uncertainty of employment or of the amount of wages he will receive, it means uncertainty and anxiety about all of his existence. This tendency goes hand in hand with the one produced by the progress in technical development, that is, it intertwines with the relative and often positive decrease of variable capital. At times these two tendencies work independently towards each other—as in times of industrial prosperity when the technological progress takes care that the worker does not become too prosperous; then again they work unitedly in the same direction as in times of industrial crisis, where with the greatest scarcity of employment, competition is the keenest, where the struggle to force down prices is the greatest, which is accomplished partially through the introduction of new labor-saving machines and partially through the lowering of the already low wages paid to the worker, in either case it is he who suffers most.

6. THE MACHINE AS A REVOLUTIONARY AGENT.

If one of our even at this date only too plentiful aprotles of harmony is confronted with a truthful recital of the effects of the capitalist system and is asked if he still believes that we are living in the best of all possible worlds, he will generally attempt to avoid answering the question by declaring, “that we are still living in a transition-period that the capitalist system has not unfolded sufficiently as yet to overflow all of us with its blessings and that the remnants of the dark ages are still hindering capitalist development! But,” he will keep on, “just compare the conditions of the factory-worker with that of the handicraftsman both of the same branch of industry and you will find that the former is much better off than the latter, that modern industry has materially improved the condition of the workers, instead of having made it worse.” Thus the apostle of harmony!

It cannot be gainsaid, that the conditions of the few remaining followers of house-industry and handicraftsmen is more miserable and pitiful than ever, whenever modern methods of production are entering the field, that even the sorry condition of the factory worker is superior to theirs. We do not believe that this speaks in favor of modern capitalist industry. The fact can readily be explained by pointing out that in branches of industry entered into by the machine system not only the conditions of the workers employed in these factories, but also those of the workers who still continue to work outside of it are rendered more deplorable, and that the lot of the latter is still harder than that of the former. The progress of capitalist industry, as far as the worker is concerned, consists in that all the deprivations and cares which fall upon the factory worker are also the lot of the handicraftsmen, but that the suffering of the handicraftsman is three or four times greater than that of the factory worker.

The exploitation of cheap and immature labor power is carried out in a more shameless manner in modern manufacture, than in the factory proper. This for the reason that the technical foundation of the factory system, i. e., the substitution of machines for muscular power, and the light character of the labor is almost entirely absent in manufacture, and at the same time women and children are subjected in a most brutal way to the influences of poisonous or injurious substances.

(To be Continued.)
FOREIGN NOTES.

At Grenchen, in the canton of Söllere, Switzerland, a Socialist has been elected judge.

At Lausanne fifteen Socialists have been elected to the Municipal Council.

The Independent Labor Party of England has withdrawn its candidate for parliament from Dewsbury, leaving Comrade Harry Quelch, S.D.F. the only opponent of conservative and liberal parties. This is a good move and makes Comrade Quelch’s election possible.

Germany is suffering from industrial depression and 50,000 workmen are unemployed in Berlin and over 30,000 are only partially employed. The municipality takes no steps to relieve the men, nor does the Government. The Socialists have held numerous meetings calling attention to the unsatisfactory state of things.

The New York Volkszeitung publishes a dispatch from Madrid, which states that one of the ministers announced in the Spanish parliament that sixty Socialists had been elected in the municipal elections in that country last week, and expressed great surprise, saying it was the first time in the history of Spain that such a thing had occurred. Probably the capitalistic politicians of the old monarchy will have still greater surprises confronting them before long.

By an overwhelming majority the Socialist party of Austria voted down opportunism, or what has become known as the theories of Bernstein. Vandervelde, the Socialist leader, of Belgium, who has been claimed as an adherent by the opportunists, has written a letter disclaiming connection with those step-at-a-time advocates. The Austrian Socialist party polled 800,000 votes at the recent elections and has ten representatives in parliament. The independent (capitalist) party, polling 150,000 votes has 61 representatives in the same parliament. This gives an idea of the electoral system.

The death of Pf-y. Margall is announced from Spain. He was born in 1824, and lived for many years in Paris, where he became a Positivist, and was an assiduous attendant at the lectures of M. Laffitte. He returned to Spain after the revolution, when the Queen was expelled in 1868, and after the abdication of Amadeus he became President of the Spanish Republic. He was the head of the Republican Party in the Cortes, and his whole life was devoted to fighting for the cause of progress. He was also a strenuous foe of the Clericals.

O. Krinkey, a member of the International Socialist Bureau, writes in Le Peuple, of Brussels, concerning the Socialist movement in Norway. The movement dates from 1849, when a young student, M. Thrane, began to organize the party, but this organization disappeared in 1851. It was not till 1887 that the movement began again. There are grave difficulties, as the right to vote is not easily obtained, but 7,019 votes were cast for Socialists in 1900, and Socialists have been elected to municipal councils. There are two daily papers, one at Bergen and one at Christiania, and there are also weeklies at Drammen and Stavanger. The eight hour day has been adopted in some cases, and good work has been done on school boards.

A SOCIALIST VICTORY.

You will be pleased to hear of a Socialist victory here in Washington. What is known as Northport is a place of about 2,000 inhabitants, but only a portion of the people live in the incorporated portion. The Northport Mining and Smelting works are situated here, and is a central point for the Nelson and Fort Shepard railroad going to Nelson, B. C., and for the Red Mountain road to Rossland, B. C. and the Spokane Falls and Northern going to Spokane. It is the center of quite a mining district.

About eight months ago the manager of the smelting company but forth the edict that all men belonging to the union must quit their union or quit the works. In short, they were locked out, and thereupon a strike was declared against the company. The union men have all stood solid, but the company brought men from Joplin, Mo., and have kept the works going, but it is said at great loss. During these eight months these men, or, rather, a large part of them, have been induced to join the Socialist party and they are studying and discussing economic questions. They concluded it was time to go into politics, and joined in placing a ticket in the field. No sooner did they do this than the democrats, republicans, populists and a few so-called “Socialists” joined in nominating an opposing ticket under the name “Citizens’ ticket.” The fight was brought off December 3, and every man on the Socialist ticket but one was elected. Every man on the Socialist ticket was a laborer except one who had for his occupation accountant. The managers of the Citizens’ ticket declared that the laboring men had no right to enter politics and put up a ticket of their own class. The business men and merchants even went so far as to tell the comrades that they must either quit politics or they, the merchants and business men, would quit them. The men kept to their guns and elected their men with majorities ranging from 10 to 28.

We elected the following public officers: Mayor, councilman-at-large, three councilmen, city clerk, city treasurer and health officer. Comrade George Stillinger was elected mayor.—Social Democratic Herald.

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Liebknecht’s Son Says Archbishop Corrigan Blunders

“The true exponent of Socialism is as good a Christian as Archbishop Corrigan,” said Dr. Earl Liebknecht, the brilliant son of Germany’s late veteran Socialist leader. The reported assertions of the American prelate that all Socialists are infidels, Archbishop Corrigan’s denunciation being based on the pope’s encyclical, has stirred the blood of the whole Socialist party of Germany. Speaking further on this subject, Dr. Liebknecht said:

“We claim that we are working legitimately on Christ lines by making men better and capable of living moral lives. Socialism is religion with the metaphysical mask torn off. We yield to no Christianity in our religious qualities, but we declare uncompromising war on corporate religion which, not being content with works of salvation, misses the real purpose of true Godliness.”—St. Paul Daily News,
AN UNHOLY ALLIANCE.

An alliance between the leaders of labor unions and the trust magnates and the capitalist politicians seems to be the inevitable outcome of the recent New York labor conference. We have watched the career of Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell, Shaffer, etc., and with all sincerity and due regard to the situation proclaim them the worst enemies of the working class in America today. They stand ready to turn over the unions in their control to the steel trust, the coal trust, the railroad trust or any other trust or combination of capitalists that pays them price—the price is sometimes the right to organize, sometimes the right to abstract dues from the pay envelope before it reaches the hands of the laborer. And the compact will mean dividing the working class, setting one section, a favored semi-capitalistic section against a less favored proletarian section, to the eventual undoing of both. The “Chronicle” of this city speaks of the projected compact between Gompers, Mitchell and the trust magnates as an offensive and defensive alliance against all the rest of the world. The actual discovery of identity of interests between labor and capital came when Schwab and the other trust magnates and the labor leaders found their mutual dependence on one another.

The offensive and defensive alliance against all the rest of the world means that all the workingmen not in the unions under the control of the labor leaders mentioned, and in the employ of the trust magnates are enemies. It is against these workingmen the offensive and defensive alliance is instituted. The unions from the very nature of their existence can have only a limited membership. As soon as the full complement of men in a certain trade—that is as many as can have employment—are in the union, very seldom will the bars be let down to admit new men, but rather, an increase of bars, in the shape of exorbitant initiation fees, are put up. This is justifiable under the circumstances. It is an expression of determination not only on the part of the organization, but on the part of the individuals comprising the organization to survive. No man has any quarrel with this practical application of a fundamental law, unless he wishes to drag in an abstract principle such as “justice.” We qualify our remarks about the trades unions that they may not be construed into an attack. We are only pointing out one of their limitations. We shall deal with the trusts in the same impartial way. The trust cannot, or what is more to the point, they will not employ all the workingmen of the country. The nature of the case forbids. Every unnecessary man is an added cost to the production of a commodity. And as things are made to sell, the cost of production must be limited to the demands of competition. This being the case the offensive and defensive alliance between the trust magnates and the labor leaders would mean no more than an offensive and defensive alliance against those working men not in the unions controlled by certain labor leaders and not in the employ of certain trusts.

This alliance does not find its strength in mere sentiment or a collection of phrases. It rests as all things of the same nature must rest, on the visible, tangible, economic betterment of the participants in the alliance. Men employed by the trust magnates are to be given shares of stock for their acquiescence. This “The Chronicle” hopes rrd no doubt echoes Mr. Schwab, will be an agreement whereby the greatest output per man employed will be forthcoming and put a stop to all disastrous strike etc., etc. Of course it will. The conditions for securing the bribe of a share of stock will attract a certain class of prigs, who, when they use their brains at all, do so only to despise the man who does not earn as much or has not as good or as clean or as wet or as dry or as high or as low a position as themselves. And this aristocracy of labor, with the share of stock in its pocket, is just what trust magnates want. The offensive and defensive alliance between the trust magnates and a portion of the working class against the rest of the working class is just what our capitalist masters want. A house divided against itself cannot stand. This division of the working is for the injury of the the working class.

It is foredoomed. And the immediate defeat of the working class with an aristocracy within that class, thinking its interests are merged with the interests of its masters and selling its political convictions to Mr. Hanna for a certificate of stock in the steel trust and allowing Mr. Gompers to do its thinking for it—the immediate defeat of that class will be most emphatic. This our enemies know. (With the ultimate success we are not dealing.)

And only contempt should be the portion of the labor leaders who lend themselves as parties to such tricks of the capitalist enemy.

THE ANTAGONISM BETWEEN LABOR AND CAPITAL AND A RESPECTED CONTEMPORARY.

We have stated in ADVANCE on several occasions that there is no antagonism between labor and capital, but that there is antagonism between the laborer and the capitalist. To this very obvious truth one of our esteemed contemporaries takes exception. The contemporary in question remarks that labor and capital are collective nouns and embrace men as well as things. This we admit is the common understanding, but is not the source from which this “common understanding” comes to be viewed with suspicion. It is to the interest of the capitalists that the odium of “disagreement” be removed from their shoulders and to have it appear that it is two inan-
mate things that are at war—labor and capital—and not men, or classes of men. The interest being accepted, is it not plausible that the "common understanding" was doctored to this end. Writers who are in touch with our common humanity bend all their energies to pervert the truth, and by removing this light between the capitalists and the laborers to the shoulders of "capital and labor" to the satisfaction of a Socialist editor, shows that they have bent their energies to some purpose.

We must always be suspicious of common knowledge when it by no means conforms to scientific truth. The acceptance of labor or capital as a collective noun, embracing men as well as things, detracts but little from the value of the statement that capital is the offspring of labor and that there is no antagonism between them. Here is what Wm. Scholl McClure says about the matter:

"Socialism does not preach antagonism between labor and capital, nor is it blind to the dependence of the one upon the other. It would have labor profit by the use of capital to the fullest possible extent, by utilizing it in its most efficient form. What it does teach is that fundamental opposition of interests which necessarily exists between those who monopolize the capital to their own advantage, and those who, through that monopoly, are being robbed. The antagonism is not between labor and capital, but between laborer and capitalist. We may blink our eyes and cry peace, but none less there is war incessant."

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THE PURCHASE OF HEALTHY EARS—A POINT IN LAW.

"Three hundred dollars is the market price for a healthy human ear, as offered by Dr. Elmer E. Prescott, of New York, a skin grafting specialist, who desires two ears for an unusual operation he wishes to perform.

"He has already received two offers. One is from a paralytic, sixty years old, and the other from a cripple of half that age. Both men declared they needed the cash more than the ear. The paralytic said:

"I would consider it an act of charity if you would pay me that money; my family needs it, and as I am near death, my loss will not be material."

Here is a man ready and willing to sacrifice his ears for sufficient to keep his family over winter. But the law says he may not. Judge Blume informed Dr. Prescott that severing a healthy human ear from a person would be mayhem. Dr. Prescott, who's logical faculty is evidently developed, wonders why the law steps in to save a man's ears and not care about the man himself or his family. They, the man and the family, are starving to death. The man can do nothing. His children are young and cannot work. Their lives and his life hang on the sale of the 'healthy human ear,' yet the law steps in and prohibits the purchase of the ears, and does nothing to preserve the lives of the people to whom the transaction means so much. It is very strange. A man is theoretically master of his body and yet he may not sell a portion of it to keep life in him. He may starve to death, his children may have their toes frozen off or even their ears and the law would take no cognizance of them. But let them try to sell either one toe or one ear to buy sufficient warmth to protect the remaining ears or toes, and down comes the mailed fist of capitalistic jurisprudence and smites with awful force the buyer and the seller alike. As we before remarked, it is strange.

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AN ADDITION TO THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

The Santa Barbara "People's Paper" will come under party control with the beginning of the year. The present owner says:

"This move is in line with the action of the party in Europe. In Germany the party is said to control 150 publications, nearly one-third of them being daily newspapers. Vorwaerts, published at Berlin, is the leading daily newspaper in the empire, and last year the profits of its publication amounted to $30,000 which was used to push Socialism in the weaker districts.

"Probably the fact of the party's control of these publications is the cause of its solidity and its 2,160,000 votes in Germany."

This is true. An organization like ours that would amount to anything must have a press which is not only fearless and brave, but teaching the same truths from exactly the same point of view. The acceptance by the owner of a paper of part of our platform, say the government ownership of monopolies, does not make the paper a Socialist paper in the true sense of the word. There can be only one kind of Socialism for the working class, that is working class Socialism. And in a working class party, such as ours, by the party ownership and control of the papers, a feeling of solidarity will be engendered and a true appreciation of the mission of the working class taught. This the Santa Barbara 'People's Paper' may do from now on and with Comrade Chas. Ross as editor, or assistant editor, it will be done. Comrade Ross is well able to teach the workers of Santa Barbara what genuine Socialism is. He writes well and thinks well.

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Special Instructions

for Delegates to the State Convention at Los Angeles.

1. That the seat of the State Committee shall be San Francisco.
2. That the State Secretary shall receive a salary of not less than $5 per month.
3. That the State Treasurer shall receive a salary of not less than $1 per month.
4. That whereas, the Socialist Movement being purely political must represent not merely a part of labor, but the whole working class, therefore be it

Resolved, that the Socialist Party is distinct from and entirely independent of the trades union movement.

5. That no proxies of members of this Local shall be given to any except the duly elected delegates of the Local.
6. That our delegates protest against the seating of any representatives of the so-called "Liberty Branch" which is in no way connected with, but is a deadly opponent of the Socialist Party.
7. That no one shall hold office in the party who has not been a member for at least six months.
8. That when any officer of the party becomes in bad standing, is suspended or expelled, his office shall thereby become vacant.
9. That when any member becomes three months in arrears with his dues he shall be in bad standing and be regarded as a suspended member and when he shall become six months in arrears his membership in the party shall cease.
10. That if any member becomes three months in arrears with his dues he shall be in bad standing and be regarded as a suspended member and when he shall become six months in arrears his membership in the party shall cease.

11. Resolved that the party hereby pledges itself to assume that part of the expenses of sending delegates to the convention not covered by voluntary donations.

Local San Francisco, Socialist Party, per Secretary Benj. P. Ober.
ADVANCE

THE SUBSTITUTE FOR THE WHOLE.

BY PETER E. BURROWS.

The greatest affliction of the human race has been the sin consciousness and sensibility of failure which come out of the false importance and responsibility assigned to the private life. A poor little atom, a mere corpuscle in the organic race life of the world, as every man really is, how cruelly, how agonizingly false has been the dignity put upon ego, how diabolically strained has been the morality and religion that brought him into angry conflict with forces such as are described by the words society and God. How can society become other than a hateful thing to the individualist who is taught to believe that outside of society lies that carnation of his self-conceit—known as personal immorality. How can he do other than hatefully turn upon social institutions which refuse to be controlled by him, or refuse to subsidize him for imparting to them some of his immortal sweetness. The small self-life put on an equal footing with all the rest of creation as summed up in the terms infinite, absolute, innate, independent, indestructible, self-supporting, self-cultivating, self-sufficient, is necessarily dazed and made sly in its egotistic extravagance; just as we know it to be everywhere about us among pietists and aristocrats. This preposterous unbalancing of unit relations by mixing them in with absolutes, this confusion between the king and his leach, while he can never make a king of the little parasite can only take it away from its cats, if it insists upon nothing less than the royal diadem. The responsibility of this little creature in playing the role of private aspirant for that public crown, has not changed his nature, but only starved him in his nature. It has not shifted him up, no not by one notch from the insignificance of the single life. The exaggerated responsibility of being himself the grand climax of all social evolution has resulted only in a climax of anaclony and absurdity, with no particle of the grand about either of them. He remains just one man, a very wrong man and a very much wronged man, who has been led away by disloyalty from the collective life, from that which alone confers stability or decency upon ego.

When the final social life is established, mankind will be forevermore redeemed from the agony and barrenness of a false and impotent moral responsibility which while it has always failed to make him worse, never could do other than make the private life a blind and ignoble quarrel with itself and all the social life. Whatever is possible to be made of the single life will become possible only when it descends from its preposterous perch among the stars, when it gets down upon mother earth and mingles and loses itself in mother society. Then it will lose a lot of things that must be let go before it can partake of the potentialities of the public life. Then men will escape from sin consciousness in the knowledge that the whole can never err; that there can be no such thing as a wrong selfishness when it is the final substitute class by which the whole race lives and moves and has its being that is selfish for itself for itself that is for all. There can be no unrighteousness in the whole but only in the parts and he, therefore, who seeks his substitute interest in the interest of that class which is vital to and inclusive of the whole race. So also, he that seeks the peace that is permanent the joy that is everlasting seeks and finds it in the substitute for the whole. So it appears that whereas the society life of the world has found its development in the struggle of classes, the salvation of the private life has consisted of the struggle for a class, the struggle for my substitute, the mere physical man first seeking preservation in a class. any class being greater and more secure than himself but the intellectual man struggling for that extension of himself which has been called everlasting, and which I am now calling the substitute for the whole, seeks a true class, a class whose heart and hand and brain are the heart, hand and brain of the entire race—the working class. And until the time comes when the variable final society that shall stand for ever is established, he that finds the substitute for himself in the class that feeds, clothes, builds, labors, and sweats for all, has for the present even in this day anchored himself in the roadstead outside the harbor of the everlasting life. When this discovery has been finally closed then the private man is armed for the first time with the powers of the boundless life.

In the meantime it is possible to cultivate gradually much of this boundless power by moving outside of ourselves into the class life, or whatever commends itself to us as being the greatest visible interest on earth. To find its words and energies thus, to acquire its will and use it on everything, to harness my whole experience to its will and whatever I can use with a specially acquired energy to give that speech and to give it persistently, to substitute for the whole the man outside of me—the proletarian as the priest of the world by externalising themselves into the church have become the giants of history with fictions for their speech we may become with all fact for our propaganda.

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A TRIBUTE FROM A POET.

Edmund Clarence Stedman, one of America's representative poets, recently wrote, to a gathering held in New York in honor of Tolstoy, a letter in which he said:

"In every rank of life men of the first intelligence perceive that civilized races are advancing almost abreast toward a humane and scientific Socialism. The movement is automatic, evolutionary, that of a tendency as absolute as what we call the blind force of nature. It goes on with geometrical progression. The onset of a golden year may be higher than we dare believe. When its luster comes it will be inclusive as day itself. Learned economic journals now honestly loyal to their dismal science, report each inevitable failure of these 'too-previous' conclusions as another refutation of Socialism. These very journals will so insensibly go with the drift as to become the voluntary exponents of the new order."

Max Hayes, the genial, has been nominated for national committee man in Ohio.
Constitution of the Socialist Party

"The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party of the United States. It is a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

A. NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

"There shall be a national committee composed of one member from each organized State or Territory, or, when the number of members from one or more States or Territories shall be less than five, there shall be elected in its stead a committee of five persons elected from the membership of the locality of the seat of the committee.

B. MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE.

"The members of this committee shall be elected by and from the membership of the States or Territories which respectively represent by referendum vote, their term of office shall not be more than two years, and they shall take their seats in the month of January.

C. DUTIES AND POWERS.

"The duties of this committee shall be to supervise and direct the work of the National Secretary, to represent the party in all national and international affairs to organize unorganized States and Territories, to call national nominating conventions and special conventions called by referendum, and to call meetings of the party to submit questions to referendum, to receive semi-annual reports from the State committees and to make reports to national conventions.

Any member of the National committee not a member of the local quorum may require the Secretary to submit to a quorum of the whole National committee questions as to the removal of the local committee or the secretary, also for the consideration of any part of the work of the secretary or of the local committee or any business belonging to the National committee.

The National committee shall elect a committee of five from the party membership of the locality selected for the party headquarters, to supervise and assist the secretary as the National committee shall require and direct. Said committee of five shall form part of the local quorum of the National committee, but shall be subject to removal at any time by the National committee or the secretary, and the removal of the said local quorum shall have no vote.

This committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ.

The National Secretary shall be elected by the National committee, his term of office to be for the period of one year, beginning February 1, 1902, and be subject to removal at its discretion.

"In States and Territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party and representing at least ten local organizations in different parts of such State or Territory, respectively, the State or Territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the number residing within their respective limits, and the said central organization shall be the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such State or Territory, and the National Executive Committee or the committee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective State or Territorial organization.

"Expenses of the National committees in attending meetings shall be paid from the National treasury.

The National Secretary shall be in communication with the members of the National committee, the officers of the organized States and Territories, and with members in unorganized States and Territories. The secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of $1,000 annually.

HEADQUARTERS.

The headquarters shall be located at St. Louis. But said headquarters may be changed by the National committee, subject to a referendum of the party.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

"Each State or Territory may organize in such a way as it may see fit, subject to such rules and regulations, as it may determine, but not in conflict with the provisions of this constitution.

A. STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

"The State or Territorial organization shall be deemed organized and shall have a right to affiliate upon the organization of not less than four branches, and each branch to consist of not less than five members. Each State and Territory so organized shall receive a charter.

"The platform of the Socialist Party adopted in convention, or by referendum vote, shall be the supreme rule of organization, and all State and municipal organizations shall, in the adoption of their platforms, conform thereto.

ADVANCE

DUES.

"The State committees shall pay to the National committee every month a sum equal to five cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories.

REPORTS.

"The Secretary shall prepare a monthly statement of the financial and other business of his office, and when approved by the local committee of five shall be issued in the same way as the National committee shall direct.

"The National committee shall prepare a semi-annual report of all the financial and other business of the party and issue the same to all States and Territories.

"The State committees shall make semi-annual reports to the National committee concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

"The National committee shall also arrange a system of financial secretaries and treasurers' books for locals, the same to be furnished at cost to locals upon application.

AMENDMENTS.

"This constitution may be amended by a National convention, subject to a majority referendum vote of the party and by a referendum without the action of such a convention, and it shall be the duty of the National committee to submit such amendment to a referendum vote within thirty days after being requested to do so by five locals in three different States.

REFERENDUM.

"All acts of the National committee shall be subject to referendum vote at the same manner as provided in the preceding section.

"All propositions or other matter submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without comment.

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

"The basis of representation in any National convention shall be by States each State being entitled to one delegate as large and one additional delegate for every hundred members in good standing.

ASTHMA CURE FREE!

Asthmabelle Brings Instant Relief and Permanent Cure in All Cases.

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Write Your Name and Address Plainly.

There is nothing like Asthmabelle. It brings instant relief, even in the worst cases. It cures when all else fails.

The REV. C. F. WELLS of Villa Ridge, Ill., says: "Your trial bottle of Asthmabelle received in good condition. I cannot tell you how thankful I feel for the good derived from it. I was a slave, chained with putrid sore throat and Asthma for ten years. I despaired of ever being cured. I saw your advertisement for the cure of this dreadful and tormenting disease, Asthma, and thought you had oversold yourselves, but resolved to give it a trial. To my astonishment, the trial acted like a charm. Send me a full-size bottle."

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER,
Rabbi of the Cong. Bnai Israel.
NEW YORK, Jan. 3, 1901.

DRS. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO.,
Gentlemen: Your Asthmabelle is an excellent remedy for Asthma and Hay Fever, and its composition alleviates all troubles which combine with Asthma. Its success is astonishing and wonderful.

After having it carefully analyzed, we can state that Asthmabelle contains no opium, morphia, chloroform or ether.

Very truly yours,

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER.

AVON SPRINGS, N. Y., Feb. 1, 1901.

DR. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO.,
Gentlemen: I write this testimonial from a sense of duty, having tested the wonderful effect of your Asthmabelle, for the cure of Asthma. My wife has been afflicted with spasmodic asthma for the past twelve years. Having exhausted my own skill, as well as many others, I chanced to see your sign upon your window on 130th street, New York, I at once obtained a bottle of Asthmabelle.

My wife commenced taking it about the 1st of November. I very soon noticed a radical improvement. After using one bottle her Asthma has disappeared, and she is entirely free from all symptoms. I feel that I can consistently recommend the medicine to all who are afflicted with this distressing disease.

O. D. PHELPS, M.D.

Feb. 5, 1901.

DR. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO.,
Gentlemen: I was troubled with Asthma or twenty-two years. I have tried numerous remedies, but they have all failed. I ran across your advertisement and started with a trial bottle. I found relief at once. I have since purchased your full-size bottle, and I am grateful. I have a family of four children, and for six years was unable to work. I am now in the best of health and am doing business every day. This testimony you can make such use of as you see fit.

Home address, 235 Rivington street.
67 East 129th St., City.

TRIAL BOTTLE SENT ABSOLUTELY FREE ON RECEIPT OF POSTAL.

Do not delay. Write at once, addressing DR. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO., 79 East 103d St., New York City.
Platform of the Socialist Party.
(Social Democrat.)

MINNEAPOLIS.

The Socialist Party of America in National Convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working classes, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the power of government for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today, however, the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enable the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working-classes, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing, as the number of competitors. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists control of the government, the press, the pulpits, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workers to a state of moral and social slavery, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate the entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, and the destruction of the races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. The active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for a complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by uniting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the revolution to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We therefore consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopoly and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries should be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. The assistance of working people, in case of accidents, loss of employment, sickness, and want in old age; the funds from this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, to be administered under the control of the working class.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and State and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.


7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

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Party Meeting.

At the regular meeting Dec. 25th Comrade Barreau in the chair, the following business was transacted.

Three applications for membership were received.

That the party does not approve of the action of the board of Advance in agreeing to arbitrate the financial dispute with Comrade Bentham, but he can appeal from the decision of the board of directors to the party.

It was carried that Comrades Holmes and Beford, the two delegates elected, are hereby instructed to proceed to the convention at Los Angeles.

Comrade Appel will be chairman and Comrade King will be reader at the next Sunday night meeting.

The following articles and sections of new constitution were passed viz: Articles 1 to 5.

B. P. ONER, Sec'y.

An Entertainment and Dance
for the Benefit of San Francisco's Official Socialist Party Organ.

Advance

Will be given on

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY
Saturday Evening, February 22, 1902
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237 Twelfth St., near Folsom

All Comrades Should Work for the Success of this Event, as the Press is the Greatest Power in the hands of Socialists, and it needs the Assistance of all Progressive People and Socialists both morally and financially.
LECTURE PROGRAM
LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO.

1902
Jan. 5th—G. R. Thompson, An Address.
Jan 26th—Miss J. R. Cole, China and the Chinese.
Feb 2nd—Henry E. Highton, Standards of Life.
Feb 9th—Hymon Strunsky, The Contemporary Mood.
Feb 16th—Chas. Wesley Reel, San Francisco's Water Supply.
Feb 23rd—A. B. Nye, Editor Oakland "Inquirer", Control of Political Parties.
Mar. 9th—Emil Liss, Materialistic History.
Mar. 16th—Miss Strunsky, Socialism vs. Anarchism.
Mar 30th—Jno. F. Wetzel, M. D., Socialism vs. Anarchism.
Apr 6th—Prof. F. J. Bamber, Our Doctrine and Ourselves.
Apr 13th—Henry Meyers, Politics and Family Life.
Apr 20th—Col. Weinstock, Are the Rich Getting Richer and the Poor Poorer.
Apr 27th—Oliver Everett, Architecture Under Socialism.

By referendum all the trade unions and Socialist bodies of Switzerland voted to unite and fight for working class interests, industrially and politically.

Powers, like a desolating pestilence, pollutes whate'er it touches; and obedience, Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth, makes slaves of men, and of the human frame a mechanical automaton. —Shelley

There is a general strike of iron workers of Barcelona, Spain. 9000 men are affected. It has been proved that the recent bakers' riots at Cadiz were fomented by anarchists.

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What will take place at Eintracht Hall,
Washington's Birthday,
February 22, 1902?

See Page 14.
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The Socialist Party holds regular weekly meetings every Thursday evening, 8 p.m., at the Socialists' Hall, 915 Washington St. Admission free. Address correspondence to THRO. RADTKE, No. Broadway.

LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Socialist Party, holds open educational meetings every Sunday evening in room 1, Metropolitan block, corner Pacific and Central Ave. Free discussion, questions, etc. Everybody welcome. Address communications to ALLEN A. BROCKETT, 189 Walnut St.

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