



THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

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NO. 3.

INDUSTRIAL WAR!

Oakland To Be Scene of Bitter Struggle.

Everybody who knows anything about labor affairs in Oakland is anxiously inquiring at the present time whether the Building Trades organization has gone out of business for good and all, or whether it merely sleeps.

There is no doubt that the present state of things shows an appalling lack of confidence in the organization, and inability to maintain itself in face of the existing facts.

The strike of the Sunset Lumber Company, which was practically a lockout, still goes on, and the strike-breakers have been carrying arms for some time. A few days before election the Mayor and several of the trade-union officials are reported to have visited the company, and to have requested that the men carrying arms be not paraded in front of the people until after election. It is understood that the corporation agreed to this, and, consequently the guns have been taken from the strike-breakers for a few days, and will be given them again immediately after election.

The Mayor has always declared that he could not interfere with the strike-breakers carrying arms, but it seems from the above that he has power at least to persuade the employers to disarm their men for a specified period. This is peculiar in view of the pretension of friendship to labor made by the city administration.

Of course everybody is well aware that Mott and the entire administration stands ready to support the Open Shop, and to break up what is left of the former powerful labor organizations in Oakland.

What can we say about union labor leaders who agree to this proposal? There is no doubt that there is a tacit agreement somewhere. Certain union labor leaders have supported the administration through thick and thin, knowing all the time that the administration is opposed to organized labor. They have agitated and canvassed for the candidates in the election just passed, and there is every evidence of as dirty a piece of pure and simple intrigue going on in the union labor movement as has ever been known.

Let us look for a minute at the conditions:

The Sunset Lumber Company is not only Open Shop, but absolutely discriminating against union labor.

To show how little power the organizations have in Oakland at the present time a schooner loaded with lumber came up the creek. The schooner refused to supply the lumber to a local firm unless that firm agreed to take the union stamp off; the firm did so without any hesitation and has received no punishment.

Union men all over town are using Sunset lumber. If a house is to be built, and say \$500 worth of lumber is to go into it, the contractor will scale the price \$100 to put in Sunset lumber, the result of course is the elimination of the small lumber man. He cannot afford the slight delay which even the present crippled organizations would expose him to, and therefore he stands out for the union terms, and against the scab lumber, and of course gets crushed.

It would seem as if the present building trades organization in Oakland were as unable to help their friends as to hurt their enemies.

This is a very great shame, for many men have made sacrifices all this winter in order to keep up the scale, which has been largely inoperative. They have starved their families; gone without necessities and otherwise showed a degree of self-denial which is highly to be praised in itself, and which is pitiful in view of the way in which they have been treated.

Even now the true state of affairs is being hidden from the men of the unions. They are not told the dangers of the situation. The facts are concealed from them, they are being led by the nose in the dark, and will have to suffer in the end not for any fault of their own, but through the stupidity of their officers.

There is no question that industrial trouble is looming very near in Oakland, and that the newly-elected administration stands ready to use the strong arm for the defeat of organized labor, and the institution of the Open Shop.

MASS STRIKE IN OAKLAND!

In marked contrast with the conditions in the trade organizations is the outbreak of a mass strike at the Oakland Cotton Mills. The entire force of the mills, or at least that part of it employed in the textile manufacture, walked out on strike. It is one of the best and most inspiring examples of the spontaneous mass strike yet recorded in the history of the State. The mill workers are among the poorest

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FOR THE REVOLUTION!

Local San Francisco Stands Firm!

INSISTENT EFFORT TO ALTER PLATFORM AND CHANGE CANDIDATE MEETS WITH CRUSHING DEFEAT.

By a vote of more than two to one, in a meeting which packed Germania Hall to the doors, Local San Francisco, Socialist Party of California, defeated the effort of the Campaign Committee to have the platform changed and the candidate for Mayor, William McDevitt, withdrawn. Not a word, not a comma in the platform was changed, and McDevitt is to be the standard bearer of the Socialist Party in this city.

At the opening of the meeting Comrade McDevitt was elected overwhelmingly as chairman, and presided during the discussion of the platform paragraphs objected to by those who felt that possible offense should not be given to men who still pin their hopes to the so-called "Union Labor Party." With the decisive settlement of that matter, and the introduction of the Campaign Committee recommendation that the candidate for Mayor be withdrawn and an "eligible" candidate substituted, McDevitt yielded the chair to Johns, who presided through the remainder of the session.

Intense enthusiasm marked the meeting at every stage of the proceedings, and, as point by point the revolutionary position from which the Local had been asked to withdraw was sustained, thunders of applause and cheering greeted the formidable "show of hands" by the majority and the announcement of the vote.

Notice of reconsideration was given by members of the minority, promising yet another effort to force the Local to retreat from the position taken, and Monday night, May 15, was set for the next meeting.

The fight to force the revolutionary candidate from the head of the Socialist ticket began with the reading of reports from three attorneys, acting as a committee under the direction of the Campaign Committee of the Local. These dealt solely with points of law, differing over the question of whether the language of the charter, "qualified elector," should be interpreted "registered voter" for the five years of required residence. On questions of fact, and any legal interpretation of what should be interpreted as constituting "residence," no report was made.

All questions bearing on the situation were taken up by Comrade McDevitt in his opening address. He told of his leaving Oakland with the purpose of making San Francisco his actual and legal residence, more than five years ago. Thereafter, for several months, he was campaigning for the Socialist Party in different parts of the State, and though he allowed his name to be used as a candidate on the Socialist ticket in Oakland it was not as an "eligible" candidate that could qualify if elected, but solely as a representative of the party to teach the principles of Socialism and win adherents to the Socialist party during the course of a political campaign.

Dealing with questions of law (admitting that he "used to be a lawyer"), McDevitt reiterated his belief that even capitalist courts would hesitate to declare, in the face of a working class majority for the candidate of the working class party in San Francisco, that a difference of one, two or three months in the requisite five years (according to the same court's interpretation of the term "qualified elector"), that such candidate should not take his seat as Mayor of this city.

It was in regard to the actual purpose of the Campaign Committee (elected five months ago by an "opportunist" majority) in seeking to change candidate and platform, that McDevitt spoke at greatest length, and with the greatest response of enthusiastic approval from the audience.

It had been the original plan of the Opportunists, he said, to have a conservative platform and allow the Revolutionists a radical candidate, in which event, the Campaign Committee being in control of the situation, the campaign could

be made mostly by means of literature and the platform. Given a radical platform and a radical candidate, however, by the convention, the plan was formed to dispose of the candidate by means of the plea of "ineligibility" and substitute for the head of the ticket some member who could be depended upon to make a good impression and give no offense to voters not yet ready to give any favorable consideration to the revolutionary program of Socialism.

"No one who does not try to deceive himself believes we shall elect the Mayor this year in San Francisco," said the speaker. "Our campaign must be a campaign of propaganda."

This campaign, he insisted, should be a campaign for Socialism, and not for votes on any basis other than the straight Socialist program of the advancement of working class interests and the advancement of the cause of working class control of industry.

Many comrades of the opposition, declining the issue presented by McDevitt, argued that it would be wrong and ridiculous to run a candidate who might fail to qualify if elected.

"This is a year of accidents," said one, "and no one can tell what might happen. We intend to elect our candidate for Mayor."

The majority voted that even for the hope of such a sensational accident as the election of a Socialist Mayor of San Francisco at this time we shall not forego our opportunity to impress upon ever increasing numbers the principles of Socialism and so make Socialist voters that will elect a Mayor ON PURPOSE in the time to come.

The motion, as carried, was:

"That we declare William McDevitt the legal candidate of the Socialist party of San Francisco for Mayor."

The chair interpreted this as meaning that McDevitt was to be the legal candidate under the rules and the laws of the party, whatever any capitalist courts might say. The interpretation was approved by the mover and by the majority vote for the motion—138 against 60.

The entire matter came up as a special order of business following the reading of the reports of five meetings of the Campaign Committee. At one of these meetings the committee had voted to hold up further distribution of the platform as adopted (16,000 having been distributed and 4000 remaining in the hands of the organizer), and refer the document back to the local for reconsideration of the planks which, it was feared, some members of union labor might take offense at. The approval of the Local, on vote of the meeting, was withheld from this action of the committee.

Among the matters left over, to come up Monday night, May 15, are the nomination of the Local officers, including members of the Campaign Committee; the endorsement of REVOLT as the organ of the Local, and various communications of interest to be acted upon.

WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN, B. A.
(YALE), PRINCIPAL OF THE MODERN
SCHOOL SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

Three addresses on Socialism and the Modern School, Building Trades Auditorium.

Tuesday, May 23—"Reform or Revolution—Which?"

Friday, May 26—"Does America Need the Modern School?"

Tuesday, May 30—(Subject to be announced). Admission 10 cents.

Wm. McDevitt, candidate for Mayor, will preside.

DANGEROUS GROUND!

Organized Labor Seeking New Position.

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

More than all abstract considerations, which, after all, appeal more to the student than to the man in the street, with the ordinary workman who is more concerned with getting his daily wage than with anything more remote, actual practical results count. The average trade-unionist finds himself confronted by a very uncomfortable situation. His security which has up to the present depended upon the utility of the strike and the boycott is imperiled by the declining efficacy of these weapons against the present organization of employers. The strike of a craft is impotent against an aggregation of crafts of which that one craft is merely an isolated factor. The pick of the skilled unionists with large treasuries, and with a fairly complete control of the labor situation as they have thought, find themselves rudely challenged when the call to action comes and the fancied superiority ebbs away before the actual situation. Menaced on the one hand by the overpowering strength of their organized enemies, their craft eaten away from under their feet by the encroachments of the industrial processes which little by little have destroyed their standing ground, and surrounded by a hungry crowd of out-of-work "unskilled" men whom the very process of machine development has converted into highly skilled at least as regards their effectiveness in keeping the works going during a time of strike, they confront a situation as novel as painful. It is no wonder then that in the hour of defeat they examine the structure of their organization and endeavor to discover the reasons for the failure. They find it in the fact that they are unable to contend against the industrial power of the masters in terms of the craft union.

Those who have been forced from the position of craftsmen into the ranks of the unskilled by the operation of the same forces also are made aware of their whereabouts. They are unassociated. The crafts are iron to their endeavors to join the union; they are confronted by the gates and enclosures which the so-called skilled have raised about themselves to maintain their hold on the market. The body of which they form a part is unorganized; it is a horde seeking force and shelter where it best can, self-devouring, in great part, a roaming horde. But a horde may be organized. Given the proper stimulus which can impel the individuals of the horde to seek a common end and the secret of organization is discovered. Henceforward the horde becomes an organized body and all the better organized and the more enduring in that it has suffered the hardships and known the adversities of poverty and lack of organization.

Common labor, with no differentiating qualities, common unskilled labor, is the fundamental of such an organization, which must obviously permit of the widest possible extension and fulfill the deepest and most intimate needs.

This opportunity for the organization of the unskilled occurs really only in the industrial form of organization. The crafts it is true are endeavoring to organize the migratory unskilled labor, but they must fail because the crafts can never allow the unskilled the necessary voice in labor affairs. The unskilled man approaches the question from an entirely different standpoint than that of the craftsman. His attitude is naturally and unavoidably revolutionary, for he has nothing to conserve. Hence his presence in the same organization with the craftsman organized in the craft union is distressing to the latter for the unskilled will make demands which the craftsman cannot agree that the unskilled man can have, and the unskilled man by virtue of his basic position can if he be organized, upset the entire trade structure and bring the craftsman willy-nilly along with him. This explains the following dialogue between the writer of this and a prominent trade-union leader:

Q. Are you organizing the unskilled?
A. No.
Q. Why?
A. Because if we organize them they will want something right away and then we shall be in a bad fix.
Q. Are you organizing the foreign laborers?
A. No.
Q. Why?
A. Because they have no vote, and for the same reasons that we are not organizing the unskilled generally.

This, which is a bona fide conversation, explains the attitude of the craft union man to the unskilled laborer. It could not be otherwise in his present view of the functions and ends of unionism.

But directly there is an attempt made at industrial organization a new point of view becomes necessary. All grades of workers in the industry must be brought in and from the point of view of the control of the industry all are equally important. Hence there comes about a gradual leveling up of

the lower grades of labor with no leveling down of the higher. Indeed, the problem is to at least maintain the best level for the skilled and raise that of the unskilled, the very antithesis of the existing plan which endeavors to reap benefits for the skilled without improving the position of the unskilled and thus keep in reserve a hungry army ready to rush in and devour in times of strikes and bad trade.

MASS STRIKE IN OAKLAND!

(Continued from Page 1.)

in the Bay District. The eight-hour law going into force, the employers determined to cut the pay of the hands to correspond with the reduction in the hours of labor. To the workers this meant an intolerable condition of affairs.

At present they get barely enough to keep body and soul together. Only the most highly skilled and the most active employees are able to make even a bare subsistence, two dollars a day being an unusually large sum for them to earn. The lowering of wages would have meant actual starvation. Rather than submit they went out and six hundred of them struck work with enthusiasm and, indeed, eagerness. There is no doubt that they will fight, and there is little doubt that they will win if the craft unions do not spoil the victory for them. The Machinists and the skilled crafts who are engaged in conducting the necessary operations leading up to the product of the factory, but who are not actually engaged in textile work, however, will probably doom the strike to failure.

We shall probably have a repetition of the same old story. The contracts will be observed and the slaves of the loom will be driven back to their toil by the actions of the highly skilled and comparatively highly paid engineers and other craftsmen.

Child labor is largely employed in the mills and the report is that the children in many cases are under the legal age of fourteen. But small though they be, they have courage, and they put up a splendid fight against the police who endeavored to interfere with their picketing. The brave police used their clubs on the bodies of little boys and girls. This is a first sample of the treatment which labor may expect at the hands of the newly elected administration.

The demands of the strikers are as follows:

- "No cut in wages.
- "No blacklist.
- "No speeding the machines.
- "Recognition of the union.
- "No sliding scale of wages.
- "Minimum rate of wages for children, none to be under 14 years of age, \$1 per day.
- "Eight hours per day."

The present rate for children is 75 cents per day, and the present rate of wages for adult mill hands is from \$1.75 to \$2.50 per day.

There is a report that the mill will be closed down indefinitely but the general impression is that the report is circulated to intimidate the strikers.

TODD WAS TOO SURE

The following screed appeared in The News, San Francisco, three days before the meeting at which the candidacy of McDevitt was re-endorsed by a vote of 138 to 60. (One of our comrades since has sent to the "News" for its "Why I Like the News" department, the tribute—"Because it gives me the Socialist news before it happens.") The communication was not published. From the "News":

"McDevitt to be taken off ticket.

"Wm. McDevitt will be taken off the Socialist ticket as candidate for mayor, because he is not legally qualified to be elected. The party nominee against McCarthy, Curry and Rolph will probably be Edward W. Bender, a former law book publisher, now engaged in the real estate business. The hottest kind of a fight will be put up to place Bender or some other Socialist on the final ballot. For this purpose a four-page weekly paper, "Socialism," designed to be read by non-Socialists, will be published and delivered free under the direction of the party local. This was decided at a meeting last night. Gallagher's withdrawal from the mayoralty fight was highly satisfactory to the Socialists, who saw in the event a chance to appeal to the workingmen and reform element of San Francisco to choose between the McCarthy administration, a "business" administration and an administration following the lines laid down in Milwaukee."

A GOOD PLAN!

Lompoc, Cal., May 6, 1911.

Dear Comrades:—Your recent communication was received O. K. and acted on at our meeting last evening. The Local sends fifty cents to defray expense of sending a sample copy to each of our members. For myself I enclose \$1.00 for a sub. I feel that REVOLT is needed, and wish it success.

Fraternally,

(Signed) FRED A. PARKER, Sec'y.

Los Angeles, Cal., May 3, 1911.

Revolt Publishing Company:

Please find enclosed \$1.00 for a year's subscription to your valuable paper, REVOLT.

A revolutionary paper in the State of California will be greatly appreciated by the proletariat clubs. We state further that we will buy anything with Austin Lewis' name on it.

PROLETARIAT CLUB,

J. F. O'Brien, Fin. Sec'y.

GEORGE STERLING FOR REVOLT.

Carmel, Cal., May 6, 1911.

Here's my dollar, with a great many wishes for your success.

If I write anything I think good enough for REVOLT, and likely to meet your approval, I'll send it in.

GEORGE STERLING.

**DEBS APPROVES
Advocates Revolutionary
Movement.**

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

The workers are ripe for revolt and ready for the paper of that title you propose publishing to proclaim their militant mission. I have read your declaration of purposes and am in hearty accord with it. Above all we must have a clear and uncompromising revolutionary movement. Any dickering, bargaining, or trading at the expense of the Socialist party's revolutionary principles and program should be swiftly rebuked and emphatically repudiated.

Let the party stand its own ground and make its own fight on its own principles, and then, and then only, will it command the respect and confidence and support of intelligent workers. The Socialist party cannot afford to be tainted with compromise for the sake of temporary political advantage. If its revolutionary integrity is open to question its foundations are at once weakened, enervation takes the place of virility, and sooner or later it goes the way of all makeshifts and compromises.

The Socialist party is a revolutionary party, or no party at all. It is not fishing for votes. It is not casting out nets to drag in votes. It wants no votes except those that freely come to it in unqualified approval of its principles. The vote-seeker has no place in the Socialist party. The party's mission is the education and political organization of the working class, and if this is done in thorough revolutionary fashion the votes will take care of themselves.

In standing fearlessly and uncompromisingly for a revolutionary party and for industrial unionism, REVOLT will occupy solid ground and the militant workers will rally to its support.

Death to compromise is life to the revolution.
Success to REVOLT and to the revolution!

KEEP THE MOVEMENT PURE!

By CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

[In the Coming Nation.]

A movement that is worth a man's best effort and the devotion of his life is worth keeping pure and clear. I don't believe we know here in America how much of an inspiration we can give to the movement in some other places if we keep clear of the political ambitions and compromises that have wrecked so many proletarian movements.

I do not know any reason why the movement in America should not steadfastly pursue and achieve very different aims. I can think of no good reason why it should ever bother with "reforms" or seek mere political success or attempt merely to put somebody into office. And so long as it keeps clear of these pitfalls I should think it would offer to every young man the noblest of careers and to the world an illustration of a proletarian movement that was a success.

Compromise is normal, easy and advisable if all you desire is success at the polls. But how can you compromise about a fundamental moral faith? The two things do not go together, you might as well talk about white blackness or hot snow. Socialism is either right or it is wrong. If it is right, then it is a thing far too noble and fine and far too important to mankind to be mixed up with sordid motives and ideals of parliamentary success, and if it is wrong the men in it had better drop it.

One thing or the other.

It is not of the least importance that John Smith should gratify his ambition and become Premier of England, it is of the greatest importance that wage slavery should cease.

THE CLARION HAS A GOOD WORD.

The following is from the Labor Clarion, San Francisco, organ of the Central Labor Council
"New Socialist Weekly.

"The REVOLT appeared last Monday, May 1st. It is 'The Voice of the Militant Worker,' according to the sub-head. Newspapers are excellent mediums for propagating policies, and the Socialists have long felt the need of an organ. The political topics are decidedly interesting, and the articles on Socialism are up to date. Cloudesley Johns is the editor, and F. F. Bebergall is the secretary-treasurer of the Revolt Publishing Company. There are associate editors and regular contributions from well-known writers are promised. We wish our contemporary success in its field, for each man or paper with a message has a mission in life."

MELROSE FOR REVOLT.

Melrose, Cal., May 4, '11.

REVOLT:—Your communication received and having been referred to Branch Melrose, has their unanimous approval, and no doubt so soon as the election campaign is over you will hear from the individual members in a more substantial manner.

The branch voted unanimously against the party paper as set forth in the referendum.

Your initial number rings out clear cut, and I like it.
Fraternally yours,
(Signed) MARK SILCOX.

**"CONTEMPT OF COURT"
Cigarmakers of Tampa
Again on Strike.**

In the face of threats of wholesale arrest and imprisonment for "contempt of court," fifteen thousand cigarmakers of Tampa are on strike in protest against an opinion of the Supreme Court under which La Campa, Russell and Bartlum, members of the strike committee, must spend one year in prison for seeking to interfere with the American Tobacco Company's merciless exploitation of its wage slaves in the cigarmaking industry. The opinion was handed down May 9. On that date Robert Ricker, Secretary of Cigarmakers' Union No. 228, San Francisco, received the following telegram:

"Circuit court has sustained lower court in case of conspiracy. La Campa, Russell and Bartlum will have to serve one year. They refuse to accept pardon. Men are very indignant and a general strike is inevitable. Edward Stanley, Jr., Secretary Joint Advisory Board, Tampa, Fla."

May 10 a second message was received in San Francisco:

"General strike declared. Absolutely every cigarmaker out. Details mailed."

This is the first general strike in this country in protest against the judgment of any court, and the institution condemned by fifteen thousand determined men in this instance is a Federal court. It will not be the last.

The struggle will be watched with the keenest interest by all workingmen who realize anything of the character of the class struggle in human society, but they will find little in regard to it in the columns of the capitalist press. That press not only is disinclined to call attention to any such shocking wickedness as the condemnation of a judicial decree by workingmen, but most of it is not unfriendly to the Tobacco Trust.

In the next issue of REVOLT, John J. Balam, delegate from the Cigarmakers' Union to the San Francisco Labor Council (who supplied the data for this brief report), will have an article dealing with conditions in Tampa and giving a review of the murderous campaign of the employers against the unions, which already has caused the death of several union men.

AS TO POLITICAL ACTION.

The following quotations are from a letter received recently by the writer:

"As for myself I have come to the conclusion that the fight for the emancipation of the workers is an economic one instead of a political one. I am of the opinion that the workers must unite industrially, or form some kind of an industrial organization before they can accomplish anything. Capitalism will soon have performed its historic mission in the United States, that is: of facilitating production to the point where a very few hours' work each day will produce for all the workers enough to enable them to enjoy life as men and women should. Will the workers be in a position to take that wealth? Economic organization is the necessary thing."

A few years ago the writer of the above few lines was in the Socialist party. If this tendency was confined to the writer of the above, and only a few others, it might be advisable to pass it over, but as many are getting infected with the anti-political bug, it is necessary to see if they are reasoning from a sound basis.

1st. There is as much compromise in the economic as on the political field.

2d. Society exists to-day by finding expression on the industrial and in the political field. It matters not whether that industry is carried on a semi-capitalist or highly capitalist form; it matters not whether the political form is called monarchy or republic: it is in a dual capacity that society is organized.

3d. Of course the workers should not seek political power to give a parasite few the chance to pass as redeemers and enable them to fatten nicely at the toilers' expense, no more than should the workers allow a few crafty individuals to get control of their economic organization and use it as a club, not only to enhance their power, but to perpetuate the specie of labor misleaders.

4th. By using political action, the class conscious Socialist is able to reach out to the workers and show them the necessity of class solidarity and put in their possession the facts needed to strengthen them, so that speedily the workers will end the capitalist system.

5th. The wage workers are crippled when they neglect their economic organization. They are also crippled when they neglect political action. *Direct economic action is needed; so is direct class-conscious political action.*

6th. Because there are men and organizations that have abused the labor movement in the economic field, it does not follow that it is now proper to discontinue labor unions. That is also true of the political situation. Because a so-called revolutionary party is backward enough to lose its revolutionary fire in a desire to get municipal club yards, or advocates lustily the natural rights philosophy, it does not follow that no political organization is capable of taking a revolutionary posture.

7th. In countries where the proletariat is not allowed to organize, he must do it by persistent struggle. In countries where he has that power, he must use it. Don't deaden any of your opportunities. Economic and political power are both essential. Let's use them and use them to our best advantage as revolutionists. "RED."

SHOCKS AND SHIVERS.

The fear of hunger for himself and his loved ones is more effective in making a wage-worker do the bidding of his capitalist master than was the whip of the slave drivers before the Civil War.

If, as some wise ones says, "Socialism is a dream"; then capitalism must be a nightmare.

Will we always go hand in hand, trembling with fear, to the "masters of the bread," beseeching of them the privilege of adding to their wealth so that we can get a wage sufficient to keep alive? There is no humiliation like that of the one who is looking for a job. Let's own the job and the product as well by hastening the triumph of the working class.

Consciously and unconsciously, things work out harmoniously. How fitting it is that at this time "Social Clubs" are springing up all over town to advance the interests of a miscalled Union Labor party. Has the choosing of "Social" in the name, any relationship with the "Social Evil"? Beware of Social Clubs! The Socialist party is the workers' political organization.

Learn to hate a system that robs little children, despoils womanhood, subjects and destroys manhood. Learn to hate capitalism and hasten the social revolution by working for Socialism.

Has the Prohibitionist ever stopped to think that crimes, such as burglary, housebreaking, shop-breaking, and the like, are four times more numerous among youths over sixteen who are not addicted to drink, than they are among men of over thirty who are? Crimes like all other capitalist pestilences are not caused by drunkenness, but drunkenness itself and crime as well is caused by poverty or the fear of poverty.

"Every woman should bear a child every two years, between the ages of twenty-four and forty. Allowing that death may take two or three of them, she should have a family of five or six to raise." Thus spake Professor Eliot, erst of Harvard, and when Eliot says so, it must go, for is he not the geek that after severe labor pains gave birth to the expression, "The Scab is an American hero"? Did not the professor give birth to a "five-foot book shelf"? He knows how easy it is to bring children into the world. "Every woman should bear a child every two years," etc. But, Doctor, don't say "every woman," for there are many "bachelor maidens" who have been too wise to get smitten by intellectual crooks, and others who are willing to support themselves without adding to their burdens and supporting a man in the bargain. You, Doctor, would be the first to yell blue murder if these "bachelor maidens" obeyed your demand. Again, Doc, it's pretty tough to raise five or six children when one has an income of about \$2.00 a day, and that income can be taken away altogether by the boss. Doc, you can bury two or three kids without a murmur, not to mention the heartache, remember also the cost of funerals are heavy to bear by a wage-worker. Please, Doc, butt out, let the women regulate this family question. Sometimes one wishes that you and Roosevelt could be kept busy giving birth to all of the world's children.

Wages can never be the equivalent of the value the worker creates in his daily toil. We aspire to abolish the wage-system.

On all sides we see the grandeur and ability of the working-class—rivers spanned by bridges, sky-scrapers, mansions, tunnels, magnificent ships and equipages, etc. Labor did it all, and as a reward, the workers live constantly on the verge of starvation.

There is no "race question"; we are exploited as workers no matter which "race" we are part of. The capitalists, the world over, are the exploiters, and the workers of the world must unite and use industrial and political power to stop the exploitation.

The class struggle rages fiercely. In France, the workers are organizing industrially and forcing concession, though many of the Socialists are in the French prisons. In Germany the powerful Social Democracy along with a disciplined Labor movement has Emperor Bill in a terrible condition of hysterics, and "Ich und Gott" is playing out. In Russia, England, Japan, Spain, everywhere the workers are closing ranks for a final attack on capitalism. Shall we in this country lag behind? Join the Socialist party!

"You scratch my back, I'll scratch yours" is the spirit in which the *pollies*, seeking office go into the game. They do "scratch" and the workers are the suckers. Get wise! Go into politics on your own hook, and have your political officers give as careful reports to you as you expect from the officers of your unions.

By the way, why does not Hiram Johnson, "the destroyer," explain his part in the kidnaping of J. J. McNamara from Indianapolis? Surely he told his friends in the Labor movement about the requisition papers he issued for a secretary of an international union. The hateful Governor Gooding, who did the same job in Idaho did not pose as a "Reformer," and to that extent he was more decent than Johnson of California. It's time for the Labor leaders (sic) to square "the best Governor we ever had." A reminder—Mayor McCarthy some time ago said "that Gillett was the best governor we ever had." I guess they are *all the best* for the boss.

We don't take the boss into our union? why trust him with political power?

The working-class is not ignorant. All we must do is to put them next to the game, and when they do get next, woe to the man or men who have used them to advance themselves at the workers' expense!
SELIG SCHULBERG.

REVOLT

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REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES.

Among the Socialist victories of this momentous year, the one achieved in San Francisco last Monday night must take high rank. The value of the many Socialist party victories here and there over the country, should not be underestimated, for in spite of the fact that many of them were gained by practical compromise which will create some degree of confusion in the future, it must not be forgotten that the reaching of a point where so many cities could be captured by the Socialist party by any possible means is profoundly significant of the growth of Socialist sentiment. Beyond that, these party successes serve to turn toward Socialism the minds of thousands who took no interest in it before, and though the keenest interest may be manifested by the pinched and frantic members of the middle class who find themselves without any effective political organization, their hope of controlling the party is not at all likely to be realized in any permanent manner. Besides these advantages, there is the probability that in many places the elected Socialists will find the way, and are to take it, to serve the working class interests even at the expense of the good will of those non-socialists who, in one way and another, were brought to provide the needed hundreds or thousands of additional votes to elect the Socialist candidates.

The San Francisco triumph, however, was not a mere Socialist party victory. It was a VICTORY FOR THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT, and as such means more to the Socialist party than could the election of a Mayor by anything less than a genuine Socialist majority.

The most impressive thing about the proceedings was the practical unanimity with which the members of labor unions in the meeting gave their voices and votes to maintain the revolutionary character of the Socialist party even though such a course should temporarily drive some votes away from our candidates. In the minority were to be found in larger numbers those who never have known what it was to serve a master for wages, in spite of the fact that that minority numbered but sixty-two.

The pitiful part of the plea for conciliation and practical endorsement of one of the most utterly discredited administrations (from the logical working-class viewpoint) that San Francisco ever has had, was that it not only would have interfered seriously with the propaganda for Socialism, but would even have been poor politics. No one who knows the attitude of the rank and file of the union men in San Francisco labors under any illusion that they either respect or approve the alleged "labor" administration in this city. At best, their disgust for it is less than their fear of what might happen to them under an administration presided over by a genuine representative of the larger capitalism instead of a political adventurer posing as a representative of union labor.

Sooner or later, as everyone knows, McCarthyism is bound to play itself out in San Francisco, no matter how many Rolph Juniors may be raised up, leading the union men to support "P. H." Any one who believes that the Socialist party would gain credit in that time to come, in the eyes of the present self-unwilling supporters of McCarthy, by now opening the doors for political trading in the interest of McCarthy's candidacy, is deceiving himself most shamefully.

The question settled last Monday night was that there shall be no compromise, no political trading by the Socialist party in San Francisco. This means the more rapid development of the Socialist movement in this city.

If ever it shall happen that, through carelessness on the part of the genuinely revolutionary majority of the Socialist party membership in San Francisco, the minority faction in the party shall be enabled to present an actual majority in some meeting and vote for reactionary measures, REVOLT predicts that the meeting will be comparatively a small one. Wherever two hundred or more party members gather in this city, there will be a revolutionary majority.

OAKLAND'S SPLENDID OPPORTUNITY.

The Socialist party of Oakland, unfortunate in a few of the political "friends" which flocked to it in the closing days of the mayoralty race in the hope that some exchange of votes might be effected, is

in a splendid position to establish firmly its revolutionary character.

For years Local Oakland, and later Branch Oakland, stood stalwartly for the revolutionary movement, discouraging all suggestion of compromise and political trading, and though the overtures of capitalistic "friends" of the Socialist candidates were given welcome by campaign directors in the heat of a campaign which promised more than a hope of electing a mayor, there is every indication that the rank and file of the party intend to keep the movement to its true course, to the end that Socialism shall carry Oakland in the end by the votes of a genuine Socialist majority.

THE I. W. W. MANIFESTO ON THE KIDNAPING CASES.

Somewhat ungrammatical, more than a little flamboyant in its verbiage, certainly inaccurate in some of its illustrative statements, the manifesto of the Industrial Workers of the World, published on page four of REVOLT, gives a call to battle in the class war which it were well for every workingman in this country to give thoughtful consideration to. Indeed, it is high time for workingmen, when it comes to a question of any matter of class interest, to forget whether they like the way some other workingman writes or talks, whether they like the sound of his laugh or think he dresses properly or improperly, or whether he buys a drink when it's "up to him," or not. It is a fact that must be recognized that people do dislike or like each other for all sorts of funny or pitiful causes; and it is a very big fact that all sorts of workingmen must work together in the class war if the working class is to win.

The committee that drafted that resolution shows a very clear perception of the fact—which many workers still fail to see—that the purported judicial murder of the kidnaped McNamara is part of a general purpose to place all labor organizers under the shadow of the rope and crush organized labor utterly and forever.

The editor of REVOLT happens to have read so much beautifully written English (having had lots of time, since he went to school only a few months in all his life) that he likes to see things smoothly and correctly written. Also, he likes to hear things talked of in tones cultivated to carry most pleasingly the speaker's meaning, without excitement. But when it comes to questions of the class war, the editor of REVOLT would rather find an understanding of the working class movement in some clumsily written discourse, or shouted with many unnecessary words and too much noise, than give his attention to the esthetic manderings of reformers replete with nothing but miserable lies.

For this I know: Whether the One True Light Kindle to love, or wrath consume me quite,
 One flash of it within the Tavern caught,
 Better than in the Temple lost outright.

—Omar Khayyam.

THAT EIGHT-HOUR LAW!

The eight-hour law for women, so earnestly and intelligently fought for before a capitalist legislature and so splendidly won, is going into effect. But what is the effect?

At the present writing there are many notable examples of the failure of such laws in the interest of labor where labor itself remains unorganized or in a condition of imperfect organization on an unsound basis.

Two of these instances are presented in the cities of San Francisco and Oakland. The first in the Tubbs Cordage Works in the Potrero district, where the women, placed on the eight-hour basis under the law, were told they must instruct a gang of Greeks (males, and therefore not affected by the new law) that were to replace the women in the factories as soon as trained. The girls struck without asking permission of any labor leader in this great city of organized labor, and appealed to the Central Labor Council for approval of their action. The machinery and traditions of craft unionism, however, do not comprehend anything calculated to meet such emergencies, and the strikers were given scant comfort.

The viewpoint of the employers is illuminatingly simple. The very reason for employing women was that they could be compelled by economic stress to work longer hours for equal or less pay than men would demand. Forbid the employers to utilize the labor of women on these alluring terms, and the employers turn to male labor if it can be obtained on better terms than female labor under the eight-hour law.

REVOLT hopes not only that the striking women may win their struggle with their employers, but also that they may help persuade the labor unions of San Francisco that the industrial form of organization must be adopted to meet the conditions which are arising in the class war and assure the genuine application of such labor laws as may be passed.

The strike of the women workers in the Oakland textile mills, treated in other columns in this issue of REVOLT, resulted from an effort on the part of the employers to cut wages for the purpose of neutralizing the effect of the new eight-hour law.

CONTEMPTIBLE COURTS.

Contempt of courts which are almost beneath contempt is rapidly becoming a high moral duty in the minds of class conscious workingmen. It is a most healthy sign. Nothing could be more inspiring and encouraging than the action of fifteen thousand cigarmakers in Tampa two days ago (unnoticed in the capitalist press) in striking in protest against an opinion of the Supreme Court under which three of their fellow workers are condemned to serve a year each in a state penitentiary for daring to oppose the interests of the American Tobacco Company by picketing their scab shops. This glorious contempt for a contemptible court may land a majority of the strikers behind the bars, as has been threatened, or it may result only in the imprisonment of the prominent figures in the great general strike of protest; but either way, there will be nothing added to the lost dignity of the court.

It is funny to see some fat, hang-jawed, dissipated-looking sample of a decadent class in hu-

man society, perched behind a barrier of polished mahogany in a manner calculated to inspire awe or laughter, according to the common sense and the sense of humor of the onlooker, glaring, fuming and fretting because some useful members of society have dared to disobey his decree that they shall not do anything to protect the interests of their shopmates and their class. It is good to look with understanding upon the spectacle.

There is nothing so forcefully indicative of the expanding public intelligence as the steadily increasing manifestation of contempt of court. Ultimately it will serve to compel the courts to conduct themselves in a less contemptible manner.

MADERO AT JUAREZ.

A Drop on the Crest of a Wave.

By ROSWELL R. BROWNSON.

Juarez has fallen. Francisco I. Madero, who by the indulgence of "his" troops still remains in technical command of that portion of the Mexican insurgent forces whose vigorous action forced him into an eleventh hour approval of the victorious attack on the border town, accepts the accomplished fact with his usual graceful aplomb and in a characteristic statement assures the people of two nations that the victory "is of a very great military and political importance to the revolutionists"—a fact which the untutored herd might have overlooked had not the astute Madero condescended to elucidate for the benefit of minds less penetrating than his own. So far, so good.

Now the capture of Juarez, while it is obviously an exploit which will fill the hearts of all lovers of human freedom with joy, is also, in the manner of its accomplishment, an object lesson which may well prove of value to "leaders" of radical movements not only in Mexico but elsewhere. For no event of current history so forcibly exemplifies the truth of Lucien Sial's happy dictum that "a leader is only a drop on the crest of a wave" as does this taking of a strongly defended city by a body of determined men whose "leader" had at the crucial moment failed to measure up to the degree of aggressiveness which the occasion required. Madero, one of several drops waited for places of temporary eminence on the crest of the great popular wave of Mexican revolt, has been for some time conspicuous for his futile attempts to turn aside the irresistible onrush of that wave into impossible channels, rather than for any intelligent willingness to aid it in its natural and destined course. It was in spite of him, not because of him, that Juarez was taken. And the fact that he still remains the titular leader of the men who against his orders went ahead and did the work that they had to do, is simply an evidence of amiable tolerance on the part of the rank and file of the popular movement of which he happens to be a somewhat incongruous unit. It is likely that Madero will think twice before again trying to emulate the lamented King Canute.

Meanwhile the revolution in Mexico goes merrily on. If an aroused working class on this side of the border can prevent Mr. J. P. Morgan and his pals from jumping their troops across the river its success is certain. And gradually it is dawning upon the public mind that the fracas over the Rio Grande is a genuine popular revolt of the Mexican people against the intolerable oppression of outworn feudal institutions, and not a mere private political venture of El Senor Francisco I. Madero, gentleman and slaveholder, peevish at the irregular exactions of his overlord and hungry for more slaves and more power.

FACTIONAL FIGHTS.

By DAVID MILDER.

To a newly converted Socialist who joins the Socialist party and expects to bring the millennium within at least a few months, his first meeting happens in a good many cases to be his last one. Unless he or she is made of that fiber that will stay with the movement in spite of his first impression, it acts like a cold shower. The first thing that strikes him is a manifestation of two, and sometimes more, factions. The question immediately occurs to him, "Why these factions? Are not all of them Socialists? Don't they believe that Labor produces all the wealth, and that Labor is entitled to a full equivalent of the product of his labor?" Yes, comrade, we are thoroughly agreed to the above, but the mere wishing for it, or believing in our fundamental principles brings us nowhere. And here is the rub. How are we to get the full product of our labor? We could easily dispose of that question, provided nothing were in the way. We would simply take possession of the means of wealth production and distribution. We would all perfectly agree on that. But the capitalist class, or owners of the land and tools, their retainers, and the ignorance of the working class to their class interest, are in the way.

To gain our ends, the education of the workers to their class interest, the organization of the workers, and the capturing of the powers of government and means of wealth production, become necessary. This is where the factional fights come in. No matter how trivial the motion on certain questions appears, it always revolves on these pivotal points: Is it necessary to first educate the working class to their class interest, so that they will understand Socialism, at least to the extent that they realize themselves as a class and organize on the industrial and political field in order to capture the powers of government to assist them in their shop organization to fight their daily battles with their masters in the shop, mill, mine and factory for better conditions and shorter hours, with the main object of taking over the means of production and distribution? Or, should we get them to vote the Socialist ticket regardless of their understanding, in order to elect Socialists to office, so as to use the offices to help the working class through government ownership finally establish the Co-operative Commonwealth? This question is world-wide, wherever a Socialist movement exists. In every convention of Socialists, when you sift the de-

bate of tactics down to its final analysis, these are the points of contention.

Naturally, the acrimony and personalities dragged into these debates have the tendency of obscuring the issue. There never will be any harmony in the Socialist movement until we thoroughly agree as to which tactics are to the interest of the working class in our emancipation from wage slavery. A thorough understanding of sound Socialism will naturally lead to an understanding of the best tactics, with the result of having a unity of purpose which will bring with it solidarity of action and the abolition of factional fights and no delay in the abolition of capitalism.

THE LAW—A CRITICISM.

By DONALD D. HORNE.

When once we have the economic conception of history, we have to interpret all the institutions of the present day in accordance with that conception. In some cases this results in what the bourgeoisie might consider treason, as when we find that the law, which we have been taught from childhood to reverence as our shield and protection from villainy, is really a creature of economic determinism and a means in the hands of those who hold the economic power whereby our freedom is withheld from us. When we find this out, we denounce the law, and the government which it creates, and that is treasonable. But our conscience is clear. Our patriotism is broader than the nation. It is international, and comprehends the brotherhood of man.

Blackstone, in the first part of his classic commentaries, quotes Justinian's three precepts as the fundamental precepts of human laws: "that we should live honestly, should hurt nobody, and should render to everyone his due." These precepts are above criticism. But they do not form the basis of our law, and Blackstone himself—and Justinian, too—paid no attention whatever to them in any other parts of their writings. The violation of these three precepts has in all ages been the sole cause of revolutions; for no man will revolt against conditions under which his fellow beings live honestly, hurt nobody, and render to everyone his due.

In all past ages there has been a misconception on the part of the majority of the people as to what constitutes rendering to everyone his due. The Institutes of Justinian, for example, are full of provisions concerning slavery, every one of them a direct recognition of the right of one person to own another. The slaves of that day were not persons of a different race, so the defense of inferiority could not be offered. It was the privilege of any free man to sell himself into slavery, and of any slave to buy his freedom, if he could get together enough money. These things seem absurd to us now. But it was merely a different means of exploiting from that employed to-day. The laborer, then the slave, was exploited of his labor, and was given just enough in return to keep him alive and laboring. The laborer to-day receives no more for his toil. Since the employer has the economic power to extract profit out of the toil of his employee, he exerts that power to the utmost, and takes the whole product. Yet the employee will rebel when he thinks he can no longer exist; so the employer is forced to give him in return as much as the employee thinks constitutes a living. But all the time the employer keeps driving him to the belief that he can live on less. The employment of women and children is primarily for the purpose of reducing the wages of men.

These conditions are not so by accident. It is a premeditated plot on the part of the ruling (the exploiting) class. The aristocratic John Adams voiced it in Congress in 1776, and well may the reader be horrified at the import of his ugly words: "It is of no consequence by what name you call your people, whether by that of freemen or of slaves. In some countries the laboring poor are called freemen, and in others they are called slaves, but the difference is imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm gives them annually as much as will buy the necessities of life, or gives them those necessities at first hand?"

Note that these words were spoken by one of our lawmakers, who was afterward honored by being made President of the United States; that he spoke these words in defense of the system which he unwittingly exposed, and that he spoke them just eleven years after Blackstone's work appeared, in which Justinian's three precepts, "eternal and immutable laws of good and evil," are quoted, that we should live honestly, should hurt nobody, and should render to everyone his due.

It would seem that the people were terribly ignorant, or stupid, for they saw these absurdities with blind eyes. The ruling class sages were telling them how free they were, and were at the same time making chains for them. And even when one aristocrat forgot himself and exposed the whole fraud in a foolish speech, the people let it pass unnoticed.

In order that we may properly conceive what is a man's due, consider Robinson Crusoe on his island. He received the full product of his labor, because there was no one with whom to divide it. Now place him in the society of men. Is there any reason why he should divide the results of his toil with others who do not work? Yet division of the products of labor came early in the history of society, and with it, exploitation. Exploitation has caused two classes of persons to be formed and to exist at all times in the past history of society, the exploited and the exploiters, the oppressed and the oppressors, the producers and the parasites. These two classes have always been engaged in a death struggle, the one for economic freedom, for its just due, and the other for existence. The exploiting class has always been the ruling class—that has been one of the necessary conditions to its existence—and the laws have been made for it at its command. It is easy, then, to see why Justinian's precepts have always been disregarded, even by those who made and quote them. It has been impossible for the laws to compel men to live honestly, hurt nobody, and render to everyone his due, because the law has in all ages been the instrument of oppression.

SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM.

SAN FRANCISCO.

We, the members of the Socialist Party of San Francisco, in convention assembled, proclaim ourselves an integral part of the International Socialist movement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Program.

Pledging ourselves to a real working class administration in this city, the Socialist Party presents to the workers the following program as measures to defend or advance the interests of labor.

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

SOCIALIST PARTY TICKET.

Primary Municipal Election, September 26, 1911.

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

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

To vote for Socialism, vote this ticket and Vote It Straight!
[Joe Moore, named as a candidate for Supervisor, has expressed his wish to withdraw on account of his disapproval of the anti-McCarthy stand taken in the platform.]

First-Work Union Phone: Market 6570

W. V. Jusaitis

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INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AROUSED.

Send Forth Fiery Communication.

The following manifesto has been sent out by the Industrial Workers of the World:

"The capitalists of America have gone mad! An infamous outrage has been added to the many crimes committed in the aggressive warfare against the toiling masses by the corporate interests and their allied hirelings.

"The manufacturers' associations of the West, defeated in their repeated efforts to strangle the voice and cripple the hands of labor, are insane with rage and blind with the determination to trample under foot all rights of the workers and crush the growing revolts of the rising proletariat.

"They were defeated in their plans to railroad Haywood and his associates of the Western Federation of Miners to the gallows, plans on which they had prepared to murder the advocates of working class solidarity. The heroic sacrifices of the men and women of toil halted their blood-stained hands when they thought that the right of free speech, a free press and of unrestricted assemblage—all achievements of the warriors of the American Revolution,—had been strangled and abridged.

"The acts of terror perpetrated by the agents of the manufacturers, their police-puppets, and their criminal thugs and detectives but characterizes the savage disregard of the oppressors to all except their own interests. Their millions in money and economic power vested in the government and the courts are to be used, to forever subjugate the working class under their infamous regime.

"The rights of workers, citizens of this country, are annulled and abrogated.

"Savage force alone dictates the methods and policies of those in power.

"And this brazen defiance of the most common rights of man by a band of capitalist conspirators no longer confines itself to the limited industrial arena of the West. Three workers, one an official of a labor union, are now charged with crimes, spirited away from their homes by the hired Hessians of the Western Manufacturers' Association, kidnaped, held in solitary confinement, and by tortures similar to those applied in the Middle Ages the perpetrators of these outrages seek to get confessions admitting the crimes, for the discovery of which these detectives are to get the ransom of blood money from these dynamiters of the rights of the working class.

"Even in Russia an offended worker could have shot and killed in self-protection a member of the Czars' secret agency, such as Detective W. Brinn, and he would be acquitted by a jury of his peers.

"But in brazen alliance with this criminal that other corporation stool pigeon, Governor Marshall of Indiana, adds the infamy of allowing these men to be extradited without permitting them to defend themselves against the charges made against them.

"The capitalists have thrown off the mask. The workers must take up the gauntlet or perish under the weight of the onslaughts that the oppressors are preparing.

"If such criminal procedures are allowed to go unchallenged these minions and hirelings of the capitalist oppressors, the McPartlands, the Pinkertons, the Burns, and others may assume the right to spread terror and havoc in the houses and homes of all who would object to further encroachments on their rights by tyrants and their paid understrappers.

"They may invade the home of every citizen and ransack, and carry away all that man holds dear; you will be powerless to protect yourselves against the revenge executed behind the brass badge of the immune detective of a cruel-master class.

"They may attack you by day or night, carry off all that is flesh of your flesh, to become the prey of lust to a criminal gang of capitalist marauders;—and it will be legalized by the servile upholders of capitalist law and order.

"It is time, high time, to wake up! When once a people allows its rights to be trampled upon in such an outrageous manner there will be no halt, no limit, until a violent rupture alone raises a barrier against the further abuses of power by the exploiters and oppressors.

"This tragic affair must meet with but one resolve on the part of the workers of America.

"Brutal as are the measures of repression, so must the method of resistance be stern and determined.

"If brutal force by capitalist interests dictates the course, the direct action of the aggrieved offers the only way for resistance and relief.

"Differences between workers must be buried in the storm of protest and the array of the masses for aggressive action to force a redress of the outrage that has been perpetrated.

"To-day it is McNamara and associates,—to-morrow it may be you. Guilt or innocence in alleged crimes will be determined solely by the corrupted, pliant and well remunerated tools of the capitalists.

"The whole country is interested in this case,—and all of the workers must be aroused.

"If legal kidnaping of workers is to be the method adopted by the masters, all other rights of the workers will be abridged and tyranny in its worst form become the rule of the land.

"The infamy of the employers, the suspension of all rights to workers must be answered with the suspension of all work by the toilers as the only measure to compel a fair trial for the accused, and the prosecution of all responsible for this last act of infamy.

"We appeal to all workers, organized as well as unorganized, to prepare

for a general strike of all on the day when the trial of the accused will begin, and thus enforce the mandate of the working class that the band of criminal detectives and capitalists, in whose pay they are, be held accountable for their high-handed conspiracy against the freedom and the rights of workingmen.

"The time to protest is now!

"Do not wait until the conspiracy is successful. Now is the time!

"Conferences must be called in all cities and towns of all organizations and associations composed of workingmen. Mass meetings must be arranged in all industrial centers. The latest outrageous acts of the capitalists must be made known to the millions of toilers unacquainted with the facts.

"Again! The time to protest is before the trial, not after. A general strike in all industries must be the answer of the workers to the challenge of the masters! Tie up all industries! Tie up all production.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

"THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD."

CAPITALIST PAPER CON- DEMNS

Conspiracy Against Organized Labor.

In different tone from the manifesto of the I. W. W. is an editorial in the Newark (N. J.) Evening News, which, however, takes a very similar view of the situation:

"THE OTHER SIDE.

"If it is the duty of the unions to clear themselves of any suspicion that violence might have their authorization or acquiescence, it is also the duty of the public to realize that the unions have been bitterly provoked by the little less than malevolent stand of certain enemies of unionism. It is at least as likely that there has been an employers' conspiracy against labor as a union conspiracy against employers.

"For a number of reasons, it is difficult for the public to see the truth of this. In the first place, odd as it may seem, a large and influential part of the public is psychologically unable to put itself in the place of the laboring man, to understand his point of view, to sympathize with his ideals, even to know the conditions that make up his life. In a democracy this ought not to be so, but it is. There is an almost unconquerable tendency

for those who do not work with their hands to regard those who do as less civilized, if not less virtuous, than themselves. They show a certain condescension that is based upon a sense of fancied superiority, though this attitude is largely unconscious.

Public Opinion.

"As a result, it is easy for this class, which so largely dominates what we call public opinion, to be very prejudiced, without at all knowing it, in their views upon labor in general and upon union labor in particular. Men and women of this class would find it past belief that a certain large body of otherwise reputable citizens, with possibly their next door neighbors among them, are dominated by a rancorous antagonism to trades unions. And if this were proved to them against their incredulity, they would conclude that this antagonism was probably justified.

"The fact is that the brain workers have neither a monopoly of the brains nor a monopoly of the virtues. One of the most significant results of recent research in sociology is that morality thrives best close to the soil; that there is more virtue, and not less, among the poor than among the rich; and that the main difference between the brain workers and the hand workers—to follow a useful, though inaccurate classification—lies, not in a different volume of virtue, but in the different emphasis that is placed upon the same virtues. The first principle of fair dealing between employer and employe is, therefore, that, however separated by status, the same red blood runs in the arteries of us all.

Unsafe Employers.

"Certain employers of labor in this country are not to be safely trusted with the power for evil which they are able and eager to exert. These are the men who have declared war upon the unions without quarter. They are as relentless and unprincipled fighters in the field of industry as the history of political wars or the half-legends of the buccaneers tell of. This has been proved by the exposures which in recent years have shown that barter may prove as cruel and conscienceless as any campaign of arms. But the difficulty is to make the public understand that the same low standards of morality as are disclosed in the clubbing down of competitors, in rebates and other discriminations, and in high finance, may and often do guide the actions of employers in their war upon the unions.

"This truth must be faced, not only in justice to the unions, but in justice to the whole of society. If we cannot tolerate the dynamiters, we cannot tolerate the 'frame-up'."

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Revolt: Inclosed find \$..... as a donation to the sustaining fund.

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