

THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

VOL. 1.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., JUNE 17, 1911.

"GOOD SOCIALISTS"

Encouragement Should Be Given Them

By REGINALD VON ASTORBILT.

Some day I am going to spring a big surprise on my friends down at the Capitalists' Club. I'm going to suggest that our class co-operate with some of these once bothersome Socialists who seem lately to be showing a disposition to behave themselves-to regard themselves, in fact, as practical exponents of reputable reform within the existing social fabric rather than as troublemakers bent on overthrowing our almost perfect commercial system and setting up a wild and visionary industrial democracy in its place. Many Socialist leaders are beginning to realize that they can not immediately pile up the big vote they desire unless they cease to stand for radical interference with the business structure which my associates and I have laboriously built up. These are healthy signs.

I see no reason why my class should not extend to these wise and sane leaders the glad hand of fellowship. In fact I see every reason why we should and must do so for our own good. I have no patience with my old-fashioned colleagues who still pin their faith to the Democratic party as a means of absorbing the floating discontent and thereby serving as a buffer between property interests and the demands of the common herd. Of course President Taft's too obvious and elephantine zeal in our behalf will very likely give the Democrats one more inning at Washington; and for four years more our interests are fairly safe in their hands. But after that can not see how either the Democrats or the insurgent Republicans can be depended upon to keep the lower classes in order. Colonel Roosevelt has hopelessly queered himself and his fellow insurgents are rapidly losing their power over the working people. The one thing for us to do is to effect some sort of intelligent compromise with the solid, respectable element of the Socialist party-an element which during the last couple of years has been gaining a tremendous influence in the Socialist ranks. It is, I think, high time that my class waked up to the fact that something labeled "Socialism" is our only hope in our final stand against those aggressive, rebellious Socialists who intend to deprive us of our rightful heritage as rulers and owners of the world. The word "Socialism," accepted in its hazy, general, humanitarian sense by ever growing bodies of the vaguely discontented public, has lost so much of its earlier menace that my friends and I may well encourage the use of that magic word by those stalwart idealists who, while accepting what they conceive to be its doctrines, are not silly enough to lose themselves in dreams of actual revolt against the established order. Look at that Los Angeles bunch, for instance. I really like those fellows. I do not, of course, refer to the rank and file-to the roughnecks and trouble-makers who have so shamelessly overcrowded the city jail in their reprehensible fight against Mayor Alexander's salutary and beneficent anti-picketing ordinance. I refer to the properly cautious gentlemen who, as the responsible leaders of the California movement, are exerting such noble efforts to keep that movement in the sedate paths of constructive reformism, and to debar from the California lecture platform such seditious firebrands as Debs, Haywood and Walling. True, they did not try to prevent Charles Edward Russell from speaking in the Golden State: but they doubtless would have done so had they guessed, some months ago, what a bad Socialist he really is. Obviously my class and I must keep on jailing and hanging obstreperous workingmen as long as we can get away with it: and we can, I think, continue to do so with reasonable ease as long as Socialist party leaders can be induced to confine their activities to such things as civic reform. municipal ownership and Asiatic exclusion. The latter I consider a particularly effective sop. In common with all my really thinking associates I realize that Japanese exclusion, while it can do my class not the slightest possible harm, furnishes an excellent means of diverting the energies of raceprejudiced workingmen from activities which might actually threaten our position as custodians and directors of the great international industry in which American and Asiatic capital are jointly and harmoniously interested. I don't know which pleased me more-the adoption of that anti-Jap plank by the California Socialists last fall, or the recent efforts of the Los Angeles reformists to keep those pestiferous I. W. W. rebels out of the Socialist party. On the other hand, I do not at all like what those Socialists did the other day in Vallejo, where they had a splendid opportunity to elect their candidates if only had had sense enough to stand on a conservative, non-subversive platform and to promise to take care of certain small

This Is the Time of Trial

STAY IN THE PARTY

WITHDRAWAL OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS IS DESIRED BY RING

Many comrades, filled with disgust at the lengths to which the State Office is going in its efforts to discourage or prevent all revolutionary Socialist propaganda, are considering withdrawal from the Socialist party. A number of individuals already have withdrawn, and one of the strongest county locals in the State (Santa Clara county) is voting upon a referendum proposing withdrawal from the Socialist Party of California and an appeal to the National organization.

All of which, you may be sure, is exactly what the plotters headed by Harriman, Cantrell and Meriam have counted upon and most desire. If they can drive out of the party a considerable portion of the comrades who stand for the revolutionary Socialist movement, they have just so much better chance of putting through their program of compromise and political trading. The result cannot but be disastrous (not only to the Socialist party, which would end in the oblivion which has swallowed the old People's party, but to the Socialist movement), and in several ways.

Already, among the large and rapidly increasing number of members of craft unions who are coming to feel that the industrial form of labor organization must be developed, a scornful mental attitude is being adopted toward political ac" tion. The failure of the so-called "Union Labor party" in San Francisco to do anything to advance the class interests of the workers has had something to do with this drift toward the fascinating but utopian doctrine of anarchism, but not so much as the recent spectacle of the Socialist party turning its chief activities toward supporting a greedy scramble of noted politicians for public office with pay attached, without regard to any question of whether such "victories" would aid in any way in the development of the Socialist movement. The present attitude of Socialist party officialdom in California is having the effect of increasing the adherents of anarchism enormously, and by the driving out of the Socialist party of many men who, while foolish and short-sighted in some respects, are of the finest types of the class conscious proletariat on the Coast.,

vigorous and revolutionary Socialist party working on for the organization and support of the working class in its struggle for emancipation from wage slavery.

The opportunity for trading was presented not alone by the existence of politically powerful craft union leaders who feel their control over the rank and file of the membership to be weakening, but in the encouragement given the exasperated middle class by the triumph of Johnsonism and Insurgency in State politics. In municipal campaigns where Insurgency is not prepared to contest the field with the existing political machines the opportunity for a trading and compromising "Socialist" party is presented. A much larger proportion of the working class than the "Socialist" leaders suppose understand these conditions. The greater part of these men, untortunately, only consider the Socialist party as it is and as it threatens to become. They are unaccustomed to mass activity, and the field in which they could acquire the practice-the Socialist party-is less and less appealing to their judgment of what stands for the working class. The result is that they feel impelled to take the very course which the plotters have counted on, and remain out of the party after coming nearer and nearer to it for years; or actually withdraw from it after being in: Should the tendency continue, the Socialist party would be left, indeed, a mere political machine for the getting of office for eloquent and self-sacrificing "friends of labor," who have "devoted years to the cause of Socialism" and want their reward. If, on the other hand, the unreasoned drift of the awakening workers toward a mere futile class idealism can be stemmed, and the tide turned into the Socialist party to which it logically ought to flow, that party soon will become what it long has been aiming toward but never yet has been -the actual political expression of the revolutionary spirit and movement of the working class.

NOT REVOLUTIONARY

NO. 8

Petit-Bourgeois Is Loyal To Capitalism

BY AUSTIN LEWIS.

Marxian Socialism predicates the formation of what is called the proletarian class. The process of the organization and development of that class is, in fact, the most striking phenomenon of the present industrial age, for on its organization and development depend the break up of the existing system, and the substitution for it, as a successor, of another industrial system, which for want of a better name is called socialism.

The term socialism at the present time has two distinct concepts, the one standing for the process by which the proletariat develops its political and industrial independence of the existing capitalistic regime, and the other a more or less hazy objective, which is sometimes called socialism and often the co-operative commonwealth.

We may ignore this latter as being a sort of apocalyptic vision.

How is the proletariat to obtain the supremacy?

According to Marx by the operation of two distinct processes—one, the growth of the proletariat itself, the rise and progress of class consciousness, with all the industrial and political manifestations flowing therefrom; the other, the automatic process of capitalism which necessitates ever more involved and complex industrial machinery, the coming into being, the develop-

In local meetings, whenever criticism of the State Office or its local representatives is indulged in, there arises an indignant cackle from the supporters of compromise:

"Why don't you get out of the party?"

That, clearly, is what is expected—and longed for by those who would rather have a dying Socialist party put them into office than see a

EUGENE V. DEBS CONTRIBUTES TO REVOLT FUND.

Few men in the world today have so much to think of (and think of so much!) as Eugene V. Debs. In the midst of the multitude of duties which he so courageously accepts he took time, a month ago, to prepare for REVOLT one of the most impressive articles which the Socialist movement has called forth. One line in it— "Death to compromise is life to the Revolution" —is destined not to be forgotten while the class struggle lasts.

This morning the editor received the following note inclosed with a dollar bill:

"Here's to REVOLT and the Revolution! "Your comrade in arms, "EUGENE V. DEBS."

business interests in case of election. Really, it makes me shudder. And that San Francisco bunch will bear watching, too, what with their radical platform, their firebrand candidate for mayor, and their refusal to endorse Mr. Calhoun's Union Labor administration. I fear these tactics. Of course, the San Francisco and Vallejo Socialists are crazy. They won't elect anybody for quite a while. But when they do, it will be a case of "danger ahead" for my class. It is not what some "friends of labor" are trying to do with the party that is of moment (unless it should actually succeed), but what labor itself can do with the party if it will.

Those of us who believe in the revolutionary movement, and that its expression on the political field is essential to success, and the further fact that the Socialist party machinery should be taken possession of and used in the struggle, will remain in the party. Those who withdraw, through bad judgment, in pique or through growing tired of the hard fight, ARE DESERTERS ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE.

WHY NOT?

Editor REVOLT:

Being duly impressed by certain recent actions of the State Executive Committee, I respectfully suggest the following amendment to the eligibility rules of the party constitution:

"No person who believes in abolishing the capitalist system shall be eligible for membership in the Socialist party."

ROSWELL R. BROWNSON.

A SOCIALIST AND A REVOLUTIONIST.

Editor of REVOLT:

Comrade—Although I just subscribed for RE-VOLT, I've read every copy since its start, but the gem of all that has been printed is in the last issue of June 10, under the heading: "Who Will Be Mayor? Industrial Peace or Industrial War." The plainest of all present conditions in our city are told therein, and my opinion is that the article would make one of the most powerful campaign circulars that could be put before the workingmen and workingwomen of our city.

Wishing you and REVOLT all the possible success, I remain,

Yours a Socialist and a Revolutionist, CHAS. J. DANIELSON. ment and the perpetuation of combinations.

This process of necessity implies the extinction of very large numbers of small competing capitalists, industrialists, and merchants, who formed the backbone of the present system in its earlier stages.

There can be no real doubt as to the correctness of the Marxian predictions with respect to capitalistic development, for we have now unquestionably the greater capitalism with all the legal and political problems which it involves. As a counterpart also we see the decline in importance of the smaller capitalism which in its turn has in all modern communities given rise to certain very distinct and easily differentiated political manifestations.

The question thereon occurs: Is the Marxian theory of the rise of a revolutionary proletariat correct?

Unless this can be shown the whole of the revolutionary theory topples, at least as far as the socialist propaganda is concerned.

So we are brought to an examination of the proletariat itself and to a somewhat close analysis of its component parts, that we may the better appreciate the substantial power which it actually possesses, with a view of determining its possible effectiveness in a revolutionary struggle.

It will be observed that the term "revolutionary" is used in the broadest possible sense and is not confined to those physical manifestations and ebullitions which are generally the concomitants and transitory expressions of politico-social movements but which are not to be confused with the movements themselves.

The Marxian classification broadly and very satisfactorily divides modern industrial communities into three broad sections—the greater and dominant capitalism, which is practically in control; the smaller capitalism which has lost control but which stubbornly and incessantly maintains the fight against the greater capitalism, and the proletariat which is practically, so far, a negligible quantity.

The Marxian theory predicates the destruction of the petit bourgeois and the forcible thrusting of that somewhat unpleasant individual into the pit of proletarianism whence he is to come forth as an avenging angel and to repay his sufferings at the hands of the greater capitalism by the destruction of the latter.

But here we encounter somewhat of a check for the beaten petit bourgeois does not to any extent take sides with the proletarian and does not furnish that leadership and brains` to the proletarian movement which it was confidently expected that he would. On the other hand the later decades have been marked by the growth of what is called "the new middle class" which is not revolutionary. Indeed, the whole Bernstein controversy which has occupied so much space and generated so much heat rests precisely on this undeniable fact.

If we look at the matter from a practical and concrete standpoint it is easily understood why this is so.

When a trust takes over the field of an industry it disposes of its opponents two ways. It buys them out and takes the best brains of the

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smaller industry into its own service, the rest it annihilates by sheer force of economic superiority. It is obviously true that the more vigorous portion of the petit-bourgeoise thus assimilated by the trust does not become revolutionary. On the contrary, its interests are henceforth identified with the interests of the trust of which it has become employee.

Economically, the smaller capitalist has been crushed out by this process, he has become a proletarian in receipt of a salary. Obviously he can not be generally described as a capitalist large or small, and, according to the Marxian idea, he ought to be ranged with the proletarian class, but, as a matter of fact, he is no proletarian. He becomes a good servant of his new master, he accepts the political views of his new master as a good servant should, and he is not to be reckoned as a force with the revolution but as a distinct acquisition to the power of his destroyer.

THE WAY OUT.

By JOHN M. WORK.

Allowing for all the advantages that have already been attained, any candid observer must admit that the condition of the working class at the present time is deplorable.

We are dependent upon the capitalist masters for jobs. They can give us jobs, or decline to give us jobs, as they like. When we have jobs, our wages are barely sufficient to buy the commonest necessaries of life. When we are out of employment, we have to suffer every manner of privation and degradation. Thousands of our brother workingmen are killed every year because they can not control the conditions under which they must work. Hundreds of thousands more are maimed for the same reason. We are unable to properly educate our children. Many of them have to go to work when they are almost infants. Our daughters throng the brothels because they are unable to earn a living in any other way. Suicide, insanity, intoxicating liquor, disease and death, ravage our class with wanton havoc.

All the evils of society seem to concentrate their baneful effects upon us.

And with good reason. For, the private ownership of the industries

places the whole working class in a condition of servitude. The capitalists own the industries. The workers are therefore dependent upon them for jobs. They hire us for just enough to keep us alive. They discharge us whenever they feel like it. They maim and kill us by lack of safeguards, in order to increase their own profits. They reduce our children to slavery and drive our daughters into lives of shame. They surround us with conditions which make us the prey of every scourge and send us to untimely graves.

In a land of unbounded plenty, why should this be so?

The working class does the necessary and useful work of the world. If we could free ourselves from dependence and secure the full value of our labor, all these evils would disappear. the working class, the small trader. Every opportunity should be taken to place that gentleman out of the ring, for he not only is an economic obstacle but he has a degrading; and vicious influence upon the proletarian as a mass. He brings his filthy little commercialism into the politics of the working class. His dirty little ideas of cheapness pervade the entire social structure.

Think of Supervisor Kelly not knowing that the working class does not pay taxes. Such ignorance on the part of the small middle class man is bad enough, but that a man who has actually sold his own labor power for wages should know no better is incomprehensible.

THE POISON AND THE ANTIDOTE.

Socialist Party Versus Union Labor Party.

By WILLIAM McDEVITT.

When the clever and bitter Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, penned his caustic epistle to "a Certain Lord," he gloriéd, as he said, that "as long as the British annals shall be read, our names (my Lord), like the **poison** and the **antidote**, will be coupled together."

Likewise, so long as the annals of working class politics in San Francisco shall be remembered, the Union Labor party and the Socialist party, like the poison and the antidote, will occur to the mind together. Laborism, allied with an old-party machine and Jerome Bassity's battalion of the Barbary Coast, is the POLITICAL POISON; Socialism, representing the solidarity of labor in its class struggle with capital, is the antidote.

The Union Labor party has weathered four administrations, being the party in power eight years, and the party in waiting during the remainder of the last ten years. Union Labor Mayor Schmitz, a political soldier of fortune, was the beneficiary of a political machine run by a superbly unscrupulous genius, now in temporary eclipse in the exclusive circles of San Quentin. Schmitz escaped the penitentiarysaved his liberty and lost everything else. He was never a labor mayor, except in the political sense as the term is used before election; however, in each crisis of his campaign, just before the voting began, Schmitz was wont to deliver the hottest class-struggle appeals to labor ever heard anywhere save on Socialist platforms. As mayor he did nothing to advance fundamentally or substantially the interests of the working class -nothing more than has been done by good Democrats or Republicans like Mayor Pingree, Tom Johnson, Brand Whitlock, or the late and unlamented Taylor. Essentially he was a capi-talist mayor with a Union Labor label. That's all. He really never pretended to be anything more than a mayor who realized that many of his

supporters were union men in a union town. In only one of his terms was Schmitz backed up by a solid "Union Labor" board of supervisors-the famous graft board who, as Ruef said (and said honestly) would eat the paint off of the house. This "Union Labor" board of supervisors neither understood, recognized, nor sup ported the interests of labor as a class. They were cheap politicians, for the most part, swept into office on a tidal wave set in motion by the crafty Ruef and not nullified by any of the powerful corporations who afterward bought legislation by the pound from these Union Labor hucksterers of laws and franchises. Is there any reason for any fundamental dif ference between the union labor administration that finished at San Quentin and Honduras (or is it British Columbia where Big Jim Gallagher, acting Mayor and head of the supervisors, went for his liberty?)-any fundamental difference between the Ruef party and the McCarthy party? That McCarthy has been strong enough to withstand the pressure toward personal corruption, seems evident enough; but that he has in no way fundamentally favored labor as a class, is equally evident. Throughout his entire administration capital has received every favor that an obsequious official could grant; the right of the boss to exploit and to have his uttermost farthing of profit and his last drop of labor's blood, has been safeguarded and maintained. What ever the unions have received during McCarthy's term they have gained by their industrial power, and by the economic trend of the times. Labor as a class is under absolutely no obligation to the McCarthy regime for any fundamental benefit of any kind; so far as the unions are concerned. any old-party "friend of labor" would have given them just as much. For proof, look to Mayor Mott, the good Republican mayor of Oakland, across the bay, re-elected by unionlabor votes. Mayor McCarthy has constantly and officially repudiated the rights of the working class by confounding them with the privileges of the exploiting class. He has uttered civic federation gush of the most sickening character at countless banquet boards of approving plutes; and right now he seems to be in high favor personally with such "lovers of labor" as the Gas and Electric Company (whose select man, Gus White, has just been named for Chief of Police by this "union" mayor), the Spring Valley Water Company, and the Calhoun corporation of convicted graft and labor-grinding. So much for the "poison." What about the "antidote"? The Socialist party proclaims itself the party of the workers and the enemy of the bosses. It affirms that labor and capital are foes to the finish; it pledges itself to the working class in this fight; it does not ask for office as an end, but as a means to the emancipation of labor. It scorns to seek the rotten alliance of the tenderloin gang of gamblers that killed the Socialist Gus Postler, with the official permission and even assistance of the police under the control of the labor mayor's police commission. The Socialist party spurns the help of the Royal Arch and kindred coteries of cormorants that live on the misery of the workers. It repudiates every partnership with profitable prostitution in the form of "white slavery" or black, labor slavery or sex slavery, man bondage or

woman bondage. The Socialists abhor both the "House of Bondage" and "the Paris of America." The labor party avows itself "not a class party." It certainly has lacked "class" in all its malodorous career in this community. It has been thoroughly subservient, pitiably paltry, indecently inefficient, a counterfeit in every character.

Would Rolph be any better? The best that Rolph, the man of and for big business, could do for labor would be no better and no worse than Schmitz and McCarthy have done. But any working man who could be so deplorably duped as to vote again for McCarthy, might even commit the equally unpardonable crime of voting for Rolph. No; Rolph is an enemy of the working class (but without the Union label); McCarthy is the foe of the interest of the working class, but he bears the union label. When the worker feels the rope around his neck choking him, perhaps it may be pleasant to realize that the rope bears the union label, at any event. If a worker insists on being choked to death, I hate to quarrel with him as to his right to have a proper label on the instrument. of his destruction.

If, however, a worker wants NO rope around his neck; if he wants to own his life and his labor; if he wishes to defy his exploiter and affirm his own manhood, the Socialist party affords his only refuge. The Socialist party is the antidote to the poison of the Union Labor party.

FROM THE RED REPUBLIC.

Tia Juana, Mexico. Dear Comrades:—All is lovely in the Red Republic, capitalist press and Appeal to Reason to the contrary notwithstanding. The Reds control the situation internally, and we will probably move on Ensenada in the near future.

The Dick Ferris affair was probably an effort on the part of a bunch of American capitalists to turn this into a filibustering expedition in their own interests, but the I. W. W.'s nipped the scheme in the bud. Believe me, the Mexican Liberal Party will continue to engineer this proposition and there will be no Baja California republic separate from the rest of Mexico. We propose to fight in co-operation with the anti-Madero rebels all over Mexico until the peons are free and the land has been restored to them. Practically every man in camp is a unit on this matter.

We are getting a fine bunch of men together here as can be found anywhere. Every man comes here freely and knows that he is going up against a hard proposition when he comes, and as he is at liberty to beat it any time he finds his feet growing cold a sort of weeding-out process is going on all the time.

However, we need more men, and are badly in need of "sinews" for the work ahead of us. We are particularly in need of artillery. This means that we are in need of money, for with money we can get what we need.

What is the matter with the so-called revo-

tenths of the real party work is now done by the autonomous State organizations, only a few States being unorganized. In dozens of State and even county and city offices no less ability is required and supplied than is the case nationally. This in spite of the fact that the national body yearly receives thousands of dollars that should go to the State organizations.

To compare business managers with national party officers is very illogical. In one case, the owners are either on the ground or in directouch with the managers and usually are no less shrewd and informed. They can easily keep tab on their managers and so are safe in employing them indefinitely.

In the other case perhaps ninety-nine per cent of the membership can know nothing of national affairs except beyond what they see in Socialist papers and bulletins which are often biased, or influenced or silenced. Perhaps seventy-five percent cannot or do not keep up fully with national affairs. Finally, a large percentage, constituting a balance of power, will vote again and again for a national officer merely because they have seep or heard his **name** oftenest, regardless of the merit of others. With such a condition it is imperative to limit the tenure of national officers.

The argument that undesirable officials may be recalled is easily answered. Take the present controversy for instance. Charges and countercharges are handed back and forth. The average member feels that somebody is guilty on one side or the other; but not being sure of his ground he does not feel competent to judge. He realizes that from a distance the blackest of men may be temporarily painted the whitest and the whitest the blackest. An officer would have to be rotten beyond a doubt before the recall could be invoked. Especially is this true of the national officers, that are not in direct touch with the mass of the membership.

The present row would not have occurred but for the fact that most of the officials have held office longer than two terms.

No amount of constitutional safeguards—recall, referendum or what not— will keep a party or a government from drifting into czarism when there is no limit to the official tenures of those at the head.

Though of German parentage myself I do not care a rap as to what is done in the old country. This is an American movement, scattered over an area of three and one-half million square miles, and it must deal with American conditions. The entire German empire, with an area of 210,000 square miles, is not as large as the State of Texas. Besides the German party organization is very much centralized as a result of a highly centralized form of government. In America we have a decentralized government of self-governing States and our party must decentralize to conform with the political structure of the nation.

It does look like a great joke that, A. D. 1911, with all the experience of history before us, that I must waste space and energy to convince **Socialists** that rotation in national party offices means democracy and common sense.

AN ECONOMIC FALLACY.

It comes with a certain and sickening shock when first the realization of the general ignorance of necessary and fundamental economic principles is experienced. The shock is all the greater when those who have taken on themselves the leadership and direction of the working class show a profound and complacent disregard of fundamentals without which no safe progress can be made. We read for example that Supervisor Kelly blandly and without a thought of the depths of ignorance and economic depravity which he innocently revealed thereby declared that workingmen paid all the taxes. This was in defense of some tax levy of which he had approved in the Board of Supervisors.

It is just this fundamental economic fallacy which is the reason why so many so-called Socialists are able to justify their miserable subterfuges and piddling reforms. When Stitt Wilson goes before an audience and shamelessly informs that audience that they should support his policy of lowering taxes he does it on the fundamental hypothesis that the workingman pays the taxes, If it were not for this underlying fallacy he would have no grounds upon which to base his flatulent proposals. The poor deluded proletarian thinks also that he pays the taxes and hence fancies when he supports the small tax notion that he is doing something for himself. He was deluded in the same way in England during the great free trade agitation when protection was destroyed in the name of the working man who paid the taxes. The poor deluded things used to parade the streets with a small loaf and a large one on the end of pitchforks thereby illustrating. the improvement which the abolition of the tariff would make in their condition. A grim story which illustrates the fallacy of his reasoning comes from that land. A boy died in the gallery of a music hall one day, and the manager testifying to the coroner's jury said that boys often fainted for lack of food in the gallery of the music halk! They had tickets given them to the show and went in to be warm and forget their misery. Protection could hardly have done worse for them than that.

The fact is that the working man pays no taxes. He has no property and can not therefore pay taxes which are levied on property. On the other hand he is a commodity himself and has a price on the market which can not be lowered beyond a certain very definite point, that point being the amount necessary for his support and that of his family according to a given standard in a community.

The apology for raising taxes upon the ground that the working man pays them is utterly fallacious and stupid. In fact the justification for raising taxes rests upon the ground that the working man does not pay them. Any properly informed representative of the working class who is placed in an official position and has the care of the tax levy should make taxes just as heavy as possible and let them bear with the greatest possible weight upon the small middle class. Thereby he manages to obtain public improvements at the expense of the greatest enemy of Autionists? I noticed as I came down that the political Socialists are knocking this proposition. They were not slow to make political capital out of the misery of the Mexican peons, but now that we are on the firing line and using the only means possible to free those peons, they seem to be throwing us down. If they are too cowardly to fight and too stingy to contribute, why do they prevent others from doing so?

I hope REVOLT will publish a part of this letter, or something similar. You need not be afraid to encourage any one to come down who can stand fire. No self-seekers, politicians or cuspidore philosophers wanted, but men who can fight better than they can talk.

The best part of it is that we are eating Hearst's beef, riding H. G. Otis' horses and making bombs out of Spreckels' dynamite. With best wishes and regards to all,

SAM MURRAY.

A REMARKABLE MOTION.

By E. R. MEITZEN.

The Boston and New York motions that seek to kill the Hallettsville amendment are remarkable to say the least.

It is hard to believe that the membership will abolish without trial a provision they have just adopted, especially at a time when the need for it is greater than ever. It provides the only way of quietly and impartially settling a national row that now threatens the very life of the party.

However there is a tendency to view our amendment from a personal standpoint. Forgetting that principles are greater than men. Friends of the present national officers act as if it were intended as a slap at the latter, whereas we stated at the outset that its purpose was solely to wipe out party rows and machines; that it would have been offered whether a controversy was raging or not; that we were interested, not in rows, but only in finding a way to put a stop to them.

Regardless of how efficient or inefficient a national officer may prove to be, the fact remains that under the new provision the danger of rows has been greatly reduced, and that peace is worth more than a dozen Debs, Bergers or Warrens. If an officer is bad he can no longer lay pipes to perpetuate himself in office; if he is good he cannot make himself and others believe that he is indispensable—a most mischievous belief by the way.

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As to the pretended fear of not getting "efficient men" to accept and this talk of the great "training" required: Hundreds of able and forceful comrades are getting practically all the training necessary—State, county and city organizations are the training schools. One who would not serve as national secretary or committeeman merely because there is no chance to hold office indefinitely is not the right person for the place anyway.

After all even the best national officers are no longer so important a factor. At least nine-

TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

Steadily increasing interest is being shown in the movement launched by Local Portland for nation-wide eight-hour day in 1912. The resolutions are as follows:

"Whereas, The master class has declared war on organized labor on the Pacific Coast;

"Whereas, The capitalist organization known as the Citizens' Alliance, the Employers' Association, the Manufacturers' Association, and other organizations of the employing class, have declared for the open shop and 'freedom of contract' pertaining to length of workday and amount of wages between the individual workers on the one hand and organized employers on the other;

"Whereas, The employing class have the undivided support of all the powers of government in their relentless war against labor;

"Whereas, The improved method of machine production is ever multiplying the vast number of the unemployed;

"Whereas, The problem of the unemployed is the greatest question confronting the nations of the world to-day; and

"Whereas, A shortening of the work day is the most powerful factor in materially solving the unemployed problem as well as providing more time for recreation, education and organization of the toiling masses;

"Be it therefore resolved, by the members of Branch 1 of Local Portland of the Socialist Party, in business meeting assembled, that we will lend all our effort, political and economic, in declaring for a nation-wide eight-hour day, said eight-hour work day commencing on May 2, 1912; said eight-hour work day to continue in force until the industrially organized workers of this nation see fit to authorize a change.

"Be it further resolved that the individual members of this branch be instructed to take this matter up in their respective unions and with their trades journals with the purpose in view of securing the aid of all branches of organized labor for a universal eight-hour day.

"Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the International Socialist Review, the Appeal to Reason, the Chicago Daily Socialist, and all the other Socialist papers in this country, with the request that it be published and given the widest possible publicity.

"Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the National Bulletin for publication, and that the National Executive Committee be requested to give it their immediate attention, and to instruct all national and State organizers and lecturers under their control to use their efforts in the furtherance of this proposition, namely, an eight-hour day in 1912."

REVOLT PUBLISHED WEEKLY Entered at San Francisco Postoffice as second-class matter. CLOUDESLEY JOHNS _ _ _ Editor AUSTIN LEWIS - - -- Contributing Editors WILLIAM McDEVITT SUBSCRIPTION RATES One Year _ _ - \$1.00 Six Months . 410 -Single Copies and the Advertising Rates on Application Address all communications to REVOLT PUB-LISHING CO., 305 Grant avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

Phones: Kearny 2557 and C 4478

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A LESSON LEARNED. (Chicago Daíly May Live.)

At the eleventh hour, after announcing suspension, the Chicago Daily declared its intention of taking a revolutionary stand, and its call for aid in its extremity was not in vain. Among the men who will help make the Daily what it should always have been, an advocate of revolutionary Socialism and revolutionary unionism, is Frank Bohn of the International Socialist Review staff and regular contributor to REVOLT.

The Daily has much lost ground to regain, for its new declaration of principles cannot be looked upon without suspicion by thousands of workingmen and workingwomen in Chicago who feel that it failed them in a crisis for the sake of gaining the good will of trade union officials representing anything but working class interests. It has at least a splendid chance of winning its way, however, in spite of the handicap with which it starts on its new course. REVOLT wishes it the fullest success so long as it adheres to the new-found conviction that revolution, and not reform, is the growing demand of the times, and the one thing which will gain the interest and approval of workingmen and workingwomen everywhere.

Hurrah for the rehabilitated Daily Socialist! Hurrah for the Revolution.



When the rulers of Mexico found desirable uses for the rich lands which the Yaqui Indians had held for centuries (such uses as ceding them to American degenerates possessed of newspapers and much money), these rulers showed themselves ignorant of the history of the peoples as affected by physical environment, or else could not see the lesson. Assuredly they neglected to note and reflect upon the fighting qualities the Scotch Highlanders developed after being forced out of the rich lowlands by the insatiate Saxons. Any how, the rulers of Mexico, having given the Yaqui lands to wolfish and swinish types of American citizenship, gave the dispossessed people in exchange an area of rocky and semi-barren hills. Fine place to develop fighting qualities, that! 'Latterly the rulers of Mexico (Morgan, Diaz and other creatures of their kind) have sought to correct the original error in dealing with the Yaquis, the method taken being to round them up in bunches and ship them to the slave-worked plantations of Yucatan. They did not get them all, however. Press dispatches now tell us that 2000 Yaquis, 1700 of them armed with rifles, are in the field against any government that persists in depriving them of their lands. They don't care much whether the despoiler be a grim and cruel old man of the gorilla type or a courtly young haciendado somewhat squeamish about bloodletting. It's all the same to them. In this country all human beings with a decent sense of humanity will rejoice at the uprising of the Yaquis and wish them well, even though some noted Americans, such as H. G. Otis, will grind their worn fangs in rage.

REVOLT

it) an irreverant newspaper reporter said to him: "Well, Mayor, I see you haven't forgotten how to work!" Taking it wholly as a compliment, the Mayor grinned his pleasure and said impressively:

"No, and I never will! I've always got my trade, and as long as I have that I'm independent no matter what they do to me."

"P. H." working at his trade! Wow!

NEW CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

The new line-up promises at least an excellent chance for the Local to renew permanently its activity as a legislative body in the Socialist party, through the referring of important matters to the meetings by minority report even if the majority should attempt to follow the practices of the former Campaign Committee.

Among the membership there is manifest a growing feeling for the restoration of the regular Monday night business meetings to receive reports of the Campaign Committee and pass upon all its actions each week instead of after a lapse of a month, when, the proceedings of four or five Campaign Committee meetings coming up at once, it has been found impossible to give due consideration even to such matters as have not been carried through by the committee without the consent of the membership.

Local San Francisco needs a new and workable constitution.

STILL HOUNDING MAGON AND HIS COMRADES.

Again the members of the Mexican Liberal Party Junta have been seized and imprisoned at the behest of Otis, Hearst and other owners of stolen lands across the border. At the same time a couple of respectable capitalistic personages have been placed under arrest on similar charges of violating the neutrality laws, to make it appear that the members of the revolutionary junta have not been singled out for persecution.

Nobody but the most foolish and thick-headed believers in the worn out and exploded traditions of "liberty," "justice," and such things in this country, under the Stars and Stripes, will be deceived by any such flim flam as that.

There is no intention of punishing Ferris, and if public opinion should so strenuously insist on "even-handed justice" as to make it advisable to put him in jail for a while, it may be depended upon that he will be well taken care of, in every way, before and after his final release, because of his usefulness in serving as a stalking horse by which the old gray wolf and the rest of the pack have come again at the throats of the devoted workers for liberty in Mexico. Ferris never has represented any menace to the Otis-Hearst et al. ownership of vast tracts of land in Mexico, worked or to be worked by peons and chattel slaves. Magon, Figueroa and their companions do represent a very distinct menace to such ownership. Magon, Villerreal and Rivera spent more than three years in county jail and Federal prison in the past five years at the behest of "American interests" in Mexico, held on one trumped-up charge after another. At last, scared by the rising indignation of the American working class, the masters released them and, undeterred by their bitter experiences, they took up again the work of liberation of the peons of their unhappy country. Now, with Madero, representative of the land-owning aristocracy of Mexico and favorable to "American interests," in temporary control of the situation in that country, and with organized labor in this country bending their efforts to save McNamara from the judicial murder with which he is threatened, Otis and his gang of commercial pirates consider it a good time to renew the attack on the members of the junta. Protests should be sent to Washington and meetings held all over the country to arouse widespread indignation against the outrage.

cessful world's fair would require. The lordly plutes of the various commercial capitals had to be catered to, and a banker as mayor would fill the bill more surely than a leader of labor. So Big Business decided to ditch 'McCarthy and flock to Rolph.

Meanwhile, Seymour gets his office from Mc-Carthy, thanks to "Big Business" and the Examiner; and he also gets his "office" from the dominant captains of capital to run the police department in such a way as NOT to help Mc-Carthy. This means, of course, to pry on the lid, fetter the traffic in the tenderloin, create soreness against the administration. Seymour did it, and possibly in his zeal to serve his masters he overdid it. As a result, the powers that prey in the night life, rent the air with direful roars, and McCarthy was forced to go to the front for his friends in "honest and legitimate" business, etc.

Seymour refused to follow the mayor's bidding, and McCarthy finds out that he has lost control of the police department and that his whole left wing, politically, is menaced with disruption.

The only remedy is—fire the Chief. But here's where the mayor discovers that the real thing is not the executive office, but the COURTS. The courts stand stalwart for Seymour, and so do the daily papers. With the judges and the press on the side of Seymour, McCarthy finds himself trapped. He is now fighting a desperate fight. He fires a willing Police Commissioner—persuades another one—his friend—who is too sick to make up a quorum, to resign, and the mayor selects as the new commissioner a labor "leader" who admits that "Whatever McCarthy says, GOES."

In the interim Big Business is at the bat, and it is swinging a mighty husky and confident club. It holds the power of the courts, the power of the press, and the power of public opinion.

The labor mayor is up against it. His political support was too heterogeneous, too corrupt, too infirm, too cowardly, to protect or save him. Like Schmitz, his predecessor, McCarthy won a futile and false triumph at the head of a combination of jarring elements, and at a price in principle and political honesty that he could never pay. His "party" never really existed; it had no stamina or vitality; it was a mere aggregation of greedy gangsters on the one side and simple-Simon opportunists on the other; it had no consciousness of class; no rectitude of purpose, no keenness of intellect, no discipline-no pedigree of pride and no posterity of achievement. It was a thoroughgoing third-class outfit, through and through-and Big Business got the "labor party's" goat just when and where it wanted.

The Last Labor Party.

One thing seems certain. This is the last labor party that will cut any figure in California. The next thing, politically, is the Socialist party either a false aggregation, like the Union Labor outfit, or the real thing—the conscious party of the class-conscious workers, stalwart, disciplined, patient, self-reliant. When the Socialist party comes, if it comes as a revolutionary and not a reform organization, Big Business at the bat, like Casey of Mudville fame, will surely strike out. But with McCarthy in the box it looks like a home run for Big Business, unless labor upholds the international banner of Revolutionary Socialism.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS' MAGAZINE.

Bornely and the star meters

The June issue of "The Young Socialists' Magazine," address 15 Spruce street, New York City, (until recently known as "The Little Socialist Magazine") is mainly devoted to the antimilitary agitation among the younger generation. It shows the horrors of war, and the folly and danger of the Boy Scout movement. Jack London, Dr. Antoinette Konikow, Frances M. Gill, Herman Schlueter, Roda Roda, Ralph Korngold, and many others contributed articles to this well illustrated June number. Subscription price 50 cents a year.

San Francisco, Cal., June 13, 1911. Comrade Editor:

Permit me to compliment you on the able and clear-cut paper you are turning out. I have long wished for such a publication, and its advent presages a rift in the cloud which has menaced us of the coast. As my work keeps me from taking an active part in the affairs of the Local, I take this opportunity to inform the comrades, and especially those of the S. E. C., that I object most strenuously to the methods they are using in regards to excluding lecturers of international repute from the platforms of this State. I am, always was, and always will be, unalterably opposed to servile and compromising tactics. I am for militant and revolutionary Socialism first, last and all the time! Your comrade, A. F. B.

IT HAS HAPPENED IN ENGLAND!

From Jack Wood, in Los Angeles, the editor has received the following note enclosed with a clipping from "Justice," London, England:

Editor REVOLT: It is due to the movement that the enclosed be made known to the labor world.

In the light of Charles Edward Russell's valuable contribution to REVOLT, which is spreading consternation in the "inner circle" of the political traders, there's no wonder that. Tom Mann has taken this action.

Disappointed With Parliamentary Action.

The following letter has been sent to H. W. Lee, Secretary Social-Democratic Party:

Dear Sir and Comrade—I hereby tender my resignation as a member of the S. D. P.

I do so, partly because of the endorsement by the recent Conference of the official attitude of the party on the subject of war, but more so because, since rejoining the party a year ago, on my return to this country, I find myself not in agreement with the party on the important

McCARTHY IN THE ROLE OF WORKING-MAN.

P. H. McCarthy is an Irishman without the Irish sense of humor. Undoubtedly this lack helped make him Mayor. The Mayor then employed humor—Leffingwell. Some of "Leff's" best jokes, assuredly, are kept to himself.

"P. H." again has oppeared in the role of a workingman, dumping a shovelful of dirt into a post hole, officially starting the building of the municipal trolley line which he opposed so strenuously at the instance of some well-known political friends of his. The newspapers show him grinning the complacent grin of the school dullard that has grown proud over seeing himself pointed out so often and kept in the public eye.

When "P. H." started the digging of the foundation pit of the temporary city hall (square yourself with the Newsomes if you want a job on

BIG BUSINESS AT THE BAT.

Labor in San Francisco is being taught a very significant lesson. The teacher is Big Business.

The labor mayor (we follow the fashion now and spell both labor and mayor with small letters—it's a part of the lesson) the labor mayor a few months ago began to realize the fact that four years of executive power and patronage during the period of preparation for the Fair, would be great pickings politically. Also it could be made the firm foundation of a mighty career in State, if not in national, affairs.

McCarthy therefore looked even more closely to his fences. He figured the "labor vote" as an unfailing asset; he felt that the Royal Arch on one hand and the Paris of America on the other were truly "his'n"; and the one good thing to strengthen the whole structure, would be some solid support from the substantial business interests.

To gain that support, or, at least, to modify antagonism from the coterie of commerce, the mayor yielded to the pressure that was demanding Seymour (formerly of Wells Fargo and Southern Pacific service) for the job of Chief of Police.

Big Business, however, was not so easily bought and caught. McCarthy was satisfactory, but, all things considered, a labor mayor, even though the term "labor" in this particular case must of course be understood in the Pickwickian sense, could not be regarded as a very helpful feature for such low-wage conditions as a suc-

NEW PUBLICATIONS REVIEWED BY THE EDITOR.

"The Rose Door." A difficult feat has been effectively performed by Estelle Baker in "The Rose Door," in weaving a number of striking episodes into a story in novel form. The episodes deal with the manner in which girls drift, are driven or lured to "The Rose Door," and the hopelessness of life for them after it once has closed upon them. The ramifications of disease and degradation resulting from the "social evil" in its modern development under capitalism are pictured in a manner well calculated to arouse a widespread and more intelligent interest in the problem.

The different episodes are convincing in every line, and though the crossing of the life-threads of different characters fails somewhat in this respect, no reader will quarrel with the method which enabled the author to present in interesting fashion such momentous matter.

Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie street, Chicago. Bound in cloth, price \$1.00.

"The Social Evil and the Remedy," by J. H. Greer, M. D., is a pamphlet of sixty-four pages (Kerr & Co., price 10 cents) dealing scientifically and exhaustively with the problem from the Socialist viewpoint. Several passages from this work are quoted in "The Rose Door." Dr. Greer presents the history of the evil, and shows the increasing horror and tragedy with which it has become associated under the capitalist system.

"How Capitalism Has Hypnotized Society," a pamphlet by William Thurston Brown (Kerr & Co., 10 cents), contains many happy phrases in ridicule of working class acceptance of the moral code urged upon it by the teachers and preachers in the pay of the master class.

"Proletarian and Petit-Bourgeois" is an important work by Austin Lewis (published by the Industrial Workers of the World, 260 North Fifth avenue, New York; 10 cents). The manner in which dispossessed members of the middle class are prevented from turning to the revolutionary movement is shown, and the weakness of the craft unions as a revolutionary possibility. The greater/part of the work is given to reviewing the development of the true American proletariat and its organization in industrial unionism. In this connection the writer states:

"The Industrial Workers of the World, though perhaps a practical failure itself, may yet be regarded as the first definite step in the organization of the real American prolefariat." "Prolefarian and Petit-Bourgeois" will be issued in a few days. Meanwhile a part of the forthcoming pamphlet appears as an article in matter of parliamentary actior.

My experiences have driven me more and more into the non-parliamentary position; and this I find is most unwelcome to most members of the party. After the most careful reflection I am driven to the belief that the real reason why the trade unionist movement of this country is in such a deplorable state of inefficiency is to be found in the fictitious importance which the workers have been encouraged to attach to parliamentary action.

I find nearly all the serious-minded young men in the Labor and Socialist movement have their minds centered upon obtaining some position in public life, such as local, municipal, or county councillorship, or filling some governmental office, or aspiring to become a Member of Parliament.

I am driven to the belief that this is entirely wrong, and that economic liberty will never be realized by such means. So I declare in favor of Direct Industrial Organization, not as a means but as the means whereby the workers can ultimately overthrow the capitalist system and become the actual controllers of their own industrial and social destiny.

I am of opinion that the workers' fight must be carried out on the industrial plane, free from entanglements with the plutocratic enemy. I do not forget that it was in the ranks of the Social-Democratic Federation I first learned the principles of revolutionary Socialism, and I believe I am entirely loyal to those principles in resigning my membership for the reasons given. Yours fraternally,

TQM MANN.

(Editorial comment: Comrade Russell's article, referred to, told of the destruction of the Socialist movement in Australia and New Zealand through compromise and political trading for the sake of getting Socialist party and Union Labor candidates in office. The same disaster threatened in England, and Tom Mann's action indicates that it now is practically complete. So long as there was hope of the Social-Democratic party becoming the political reflex of the industrial struggles of the working class in England, there was no danger of Tom Mann's being moved to leave it.

The result, in England, of the tendency of parliamentarism to make the political Socialist movement a mere race for office cannot. but retard the entire Socialist movement and end in the extinction of the parties which have failed to measure up to the standard of revolutionary Socialism. Thereafter, by slow and painful stages, a new political movement will have to be born out of the industrial movement before the triumph of the workers can be complete.

In this country the Socialist party has not reached the stage where it would become utterly unfit to exist as the political expression of the working class movement, but it is drifting (most rapidly in California) in that direction. This current must be stemmed, and the party saved to become the political reflex of the great industrial movement of the workers which is rapidly taking definite and effective form.—The Editor.)

this issue of REVOLT.

SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM.

SÁN FRANCISCO.

tegral part of the International Soclass, including the candidates of the so-called Union Labor Party.

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

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

The capitalist class grows ever mental power.

and reproduce its kind.

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

interest of the workers, as its historic themselves at the sacrifice of the mission is to further the emancipa- ideals of Socialism. tion 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.

its daily warfare with capitalism, and in shame. we pledge ourselves to every remedial measure that will aid the workers ining measures:

1. A universal maximum work day

for union hours.

 Previously reported
 \$85.50

 Eugene V. Debs
 1.00

 Mrs. Pena Hermann
 6.00

 Mrs. A. Sorensen (second donation)
 1.00
 Every person joining the American

We, the members of the Socialist tion to the effect, "that they will not Party of San Francisco, in convention discriminate against a man because of assembled, proclaim ourselves an in-tegral part of the International So- A. F. of L. teems with race prejudice cialist movement. We stand in abso-lute antagonism to the Capitalist Chinese, Hindu, and at times, the lute antagonism to the Capitalist Chinese, Hindu, and at times, the Class and to every candidate of that Negro workers. The interests of wage workers are the same, and all wage workers should be, and will be, organized despite the hypocrisy of men who pretend to serve the work-

SIMMERS AND SIZZLERS.

Now that the harvest season is here, the traveling worker called "The Hobo" is risking his very life riding the brake beams, decking a freight or passenger, riding on the rods underneath the cars, stealing in among the cattle that go to slaughter houses—yea verily risking his life to more dominant by taking possession reach the harvest fields, so that he of the product of the working class can work a sixteen-hour shift, sleep and entrenching itself behind govern- in a barn with the mules and horses, and get about \$2.00 a day, and some-The working class has been reduced times \$1.00 a day. How long will The working class has been reduced times \$1.00 a day. How long will to a condition where it is allowed a wage only sufficient to keep it alive and reproduce its kind. saries of life.

In these days the Socialist movement calls for men of action, men of courage, men who can understand what the deefats of to-day mean; men The Socialist Party is alone capable who will not have their heads turned of administering government in the by allurements of political success for

> The dogs and cats of the bourgeois receive more and better attention than the children of the working class; they get grub without rustling for it.

Even in old China, the grand philosophy and science of Socialism has crowded its way in, and is disturbing the peace of mind of the nobles, who have ground down and exploited the millions of suffering serfs. A fine Socialist paper is issued each week, and in one issue recently, the powerful "Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engles is translated. Capitalism Pledging ourselves to a real work- is making rapid strides in China. The ing class administration in this city, the Socialist Party presents to the workers the following program as measures to defend or advance the in-terests of labor. We realize, however, the socialist movement of china! The American "Labor Leaders," who have been preaching that all such measures are only a part the identity of interest between capi-of the legislation needed by labor in tal and labor, should hide their heads

A Congressman from California dustrially or politically, or in any way advance the cause of man against that would prevent all but members mammon, human life against graft of the Aryan race from becoming and greed, of freedom of thought and citizens of the United States. This speech and deed against every device would debar any negro born in Engof the despoiler and the despot. We land or any other part of the world; pledge our candidates to the follow- it would debar the Armenian, and many other peoples. It was Thomas Paine who heralded the statement, A universal maximum work day if ame who herated the statement, of not more than than eight hours.
Immediate relief for the unemployed by giving them employment on useful public work at union wages former" a la Basenerica and Basenerica on useful public work at union wages former". a la Roosevelt and Roose



talists have this Machine Gun ready for have a Magazine Gun for THEM, and we need to USE it.

ADMISSION, 25 Cents

ers, to send news and pictures of the fight. The REVIEW exposes the class character of the Courts, the Government, the Army and Navy. It contains monthly stories of the great changes taking place in the factories, the mines and the mills, with pictures illustrating these changes.

The REVIEW is YOUR FIGHTING MAGAZINE. It is in the thick of every industrial and political fight to help the wage-workers. If you want to keep in touch with the progress of the **REVOLUTION** all over the world, you want the **REVIEW**. Ten cents a copy, \$1.00 a year. We have made a special arrangement by which we offer you THIS PAPER and the **REVIEW** one year BOTH FOR \$1.50. ADDRESS THIS OFFICE.





Total to date

DONATIONS TO SUSTAINING FUND.

3. The most improved sanitary atheist," and has lauded Hayes. shop and housing conditions. 4. The strict enforcement of ade-

quate child labor legislation.

public employment agencies and the ism is not a labor, but a capitalist abolition of private employment agen- party. cies and kindred forms of grafting on the workers.

6. Adequate provisions for the edu-

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 is in the Baldwin Locomotive Works, program to transfer the ownership of the means of production to the working class.

SOCIALIST PARTY TICKET.

Primary Municipal Election, September 26, 1911.

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

County Clerk-M. H. Morris. Sheriff-Thos. J. Mooney. Coroner-Dr. M. B. Ryer.

Supervisors-Rollar Allen, Edward W. Bender, George Bostel, K. J. Doyle, Louis Fortin, C. W. Hogue, Robert Larkins, Chas. Lehman, Joe Moore, 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!

NOTED SPEAKER HERE.

James P. Thompson will deliver two addresses in Jefferson Square Hall under the auspices of the I. W. W., Friday night, June 23, and Sunday night, June 25.

Tickets, 25 Cents

A "Labor Party" that does not aim at the abolition of capitalism, Director, Prof. Dr. Karl Belling 5. Adequate provisions for free and for the establishment of Social-

Many of the proletariat are de-prived of their political privileges al-

cation of all children. This to include free text books and free mid-day other means. Those that still posother means. Those that still pos-sess political advantage should use it for the best interests of their class.

> Once again a gigantic struggle is raging between the wage workers and their employers in the city of Philadelphia. This time the struggle recently acquired by the Morgan gang of industrial pirates. The fight was precipitated by the wholesale discharge of numerous active union workers. If one is an "agitator," one is supposed to be sentenced to starvation. Of course the employers want the "Open Shop" which means "Closed Shop" to any worker that can be classed as a "disturber." It's the nameless "disturber." "agitator" and "organizer" that does the real work of organization. No one chants praise in his honor. He asks for nothing, and expects no reward. All honor is due him, and when the revolution comes, his work will be appreciated. The strikers in Philadelphia are up

against a hard proposition, but they can not lose; as every struggle is a milestone in the road to our emanci-SELIG SCHULBERG. pation.

Ten Cent Books on Socialism

How Capitalism Has Hypnotized Society, by William Thurston Brown (just ready). Socialism Made Easy, Connolly. Crime and Criminals, Darrow. The Open Shop, Darrow. Unionism and Socialism, Debs. The State and Socialism, Deville. Socialism, Revolution, Internationalism, Deville.

Socialism, Revolution, Internationalism, Deville. The Detective Business, Dunbar: The Question Box. Eastwood. Suppressed Information, Warren. Socialism, What It Is, Liebknecht. The Right to Be Lazy, Lafargue. Class Struggles in America, Simons. Our Mental Enslavement, Caldwell. The Socialist Movement, Vail. One Big Union. Trautmann. The Wolves, Wason. The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels.

The Communist Mannest, Marx. Engels. The Social Evil, Greer. Value, Price and Profit, Marx. One each of these twenty books or twenty copies of any one of them will be mailed to any address for \$1.00. In smaller lots. 10c a copy, postpaid. Address: Charles H. Kerr & Company 118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago

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Take San Mateo or Cemeteries Car to Colma For a Good Time, Don't Fail to Attend FIFTH ANNUAL Given By the WORKMEN'S CIRCLE Branch No. 114 (Arbeiter Ring) Of San Francisco, Cal., at Glen Park Sunday, June 18, 1911 **TICKETS 25 CENTS** UNIO Games for Young and Old , Take Guerrero-Street Car Direct to Glen Park TAILORS For Men and Wom

A co-operative concern, the possible way to make cloth order at a low price, and sav customer 15 to 20 per cent

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|---------------------------------|---|--|
| , <i>1911</i> | DEBATE. | MRS. RENA HERMAN |
| | "Resolved: That the workingmen | n Music Torohan |
| | of San Francisco should support the Union Labor party in the coming | 973 MARKET STREET |
| Schaefer's Orchestra | elections," is the subject of a debat to be held in Valencia Theatre Sun | e |
| • | dày evening, June 25, under th | e minimum |
| BEER, 5 Cents | auspices of the Open Forum. Dr Herman F. Titus will affirm and Wil | W. E. DILLON |
| DEDIC, V OCIU | liam McDevitt deny. | Attorney and Counselor at Law |
| to Colma | During the World's Fair, let u | s |
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| king) | | School at 925 Golden Gate Avenue Sundays, 10:30 A. M. |
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