



THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

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WHOLE NO. 32.

POLITICAL DOCTRINE

The Only Cure for Socialism Is Socialism

By CAROLINE NELSON.

When Tolstoy said, "The ruling class will do everything except get off the worker's back," he uttered one of the profoundest truths that any man ever uttered. Down in Los Angeles the good government people are asking how to beat the Socialist just now. And to get that question answered Lincoln Steffens, the eminent "Muckraker," was called in by the eminent clubmen.

"I don't see why you should want to beat the Socialist," began Steffens. Later he goes on, "Meanwhile you suffer from having licked labor. Now, if you will go to labor, I think they will ask you to provide in some way for the future development of this city and the great increase of wealth here so as to add to their wages. No plan for the future of any city will be complete without that."

Then he went on to tell how in Liverpool, England, the people had taken over every public utility except gas, but that Liverpool was the hottest place of the strike.

"The way to beat the Socialists in Los Angeles, not in this campaign, but in any campaign," says he, "is to generate a plan for the future of Los Angeles. Put on the list things you are going to do, then send abroad a committee to find out the things that have already been done in other cities. Then put your plan among the people. Go to the Socialists, go to the workers, go to all classes of your people here. Get them to help you to contribute items to your plan."

He elaborates upon the idea that Socialists succeed simply because they are idealists that forget themselves to work for what is to them almost a religious cause. Socialism to Lincoln Steffens is not the result of class consciousness, but idealism. Let the capitalist find out what that idealism is then formulate it in immediate demands, and you have turned aside Socialism. In other words, imitate Socialism as it is represented by the Socialist politicians and you can beat them.

No, Mr. Steffens, doubtless you would be right, if back of our politicians stood nothing but a crowd of excited workers and middle class, who waited to beat the other fellow out of the game to hoist in their little gods to lead them out of Egypt. And in case the gods failed, which you know they must, until wage-slavery is wiped out, they would turn to new gods with new promises. Thus keep the thing going between hope and despair. No, but back of the Socialist politician stands a trained host of men and women who will not trade or compromise; whose hopes and ideals cannot be imitated by your capitalists and people of all classes; whose only ideal is the overthrow of wage-slavery and to institute a society where there are no capitalists, nor many kinds of economic classes. This society cannot be instituted by promises of any man or set of men. It must be fought for every inch by the workers themselves in the industries first. These victories will reflect themselves in politics. Such victories the middle class will howl down as rank anarchism and the upper class will denounce it as civil treason. In these battles there will be no coming together of all classes of people by idealism and promises.

The worker's only economic interest immediately is how to get more wages and shorter hours to save his life for a better and nobler existence. What the capitalists do with the surplus value they steal from him, may interest him as a study in human depravity, but it cannot matter to him whether they gamble it, or pay it out in graft or buy dukes for their daughters with it. Let the worker attend to his own duty. Let him get down to business to fight for his life, where his life is potent in production, where he is robbed. And this danger of the capitalists imitating him in his idealism to nullify him will be laughable.

But, do not forget, if the Socialists are going in for mere political doctrines with immediate demands for municipal ownership of public utilities with the social revolution away off in the background, why the capitalists can even outdo it. If this is to be our most radical measure the radical capitalist politician can out radicalize us. They are in fact doing so now. Governor Johnson has more than once outraged our "opportunistic politicians." The very fact that Lincoln Steffens calmly tells our enemies that we win because we are idealists, and advises them to go and learn from us, then formulate a plan and present it to the people, which is the way to beat us. It shows that somehow we have put an awful lot of water in our milk somewhere, and that the worker will in good time demand a strict account of our transaction.

(Continued on Page 3.)

LABOR WANTS HIGHER WAGES

Socialist Parliamentarism Everywhere on Trial

IDEALISM IS ITSELF DEPLORABLE DECEIT

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

Mr. Snowden, the famous leader of the Independent Labor party, states that strikes are "a confession of lost faith in democracy." Thus speaks the parliamentarian whose political schemes are in danger at the hands of an impatient multitude. He assisted in organizing a political party, and in lulling the workers into an attitude of false confidence, by the lies inseparable from a parliamentary campaign, in which as a rule antagonistic interests must be apparently reconciled in order to secure the desired majority. Now the whole machine is suddenly threatened by the action of a "rabble," which ignoring the ambitions of parliamentary leaders goes personally in search of more bread.

It is a strange and, perhaps to the politician, an unfortunate fact that the ordinary working man desires higher wages and better actual conditions. It is remarkable that he prefers higher wages and decent conditions of living to political schemes and the ambitions of political leaders. But it is a fact nevertheless. The workingman will go hungry for weeks, and, worse still, will allow his family to go hungry, to obtain a pitiful betterment of his miserable condition. He fights for the concrete thing, with a stubbornness and indeed a recklessness, almost poetic in its irrationality, the saving grace of a degenerate age. There is no doubt about this. It is the one thing that stands clearly out; the resolute effort of a large part of the working class to risk much for a little concrete gain.

Democracy, as so far presented, is by no means a lovely thing, but Mr. Snowden means something even less lovely than democracy, viz.: ordinary parliamentarism. If faith is indeed lost, why has it been lost? Only by the actions of men of the stripe of the representatives of the Independent Labor party. Attention is called to this for we have, as our dominant element, those who find in the Independent Labor party their inspiration. This element moreover being without either the ability or the integrity of their models, endeavors naturally to reproduce their mistakes.

Labor wants higher wages, it does not want State assistance. As the "New Age" says (Sept. 28th): "The response of the parliamentarians to the demand of labor for higher wages and better conditions is to offer labor something entirely different which labor is invited to accept as a substitute. Free education, assisted feeding, assisted medical service, assisted insurance, assisted this and assisted that, when all the while labor is asking not for help but for help to help itself. If wages were doubled to-morrow does anybody doubt that workmen would repudiate state assistance the day after?"

To have no solution to the question here presented, to go to the working class with schemes of public ownership in place of the means of enforcement of their insistent and elementary demands is the act, not of responsible public men, as has been said, but of "charlatans."

The fact is that Socialist parliamentarism is everywhere now on trial. The results already accomplished are finding their echo. For example, Collier's (November 25th) says in the

THE APPEAL STAFF INDICTED.

On the 15th of November the federal grand jury at Fort Scott, Kan., indicted J. A. Wayland, Fred D. Warren and C. L. Phifer for sending obscene matter through the mails.

The story of this indictment leads up to what will certainly be one of the historic battles in the struggle of the working class to establish a free press and fight its way to freedom.

For some time there had been rumors of a horrible condition existing in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth. Last March the evidence upon which these statements were made was brought to the Appeal to Reason. It was shown that the conditions had been presented to the government, and that the guard who had made the exposure had been discharged for so doing.

Here, then was the situation. A mass of hideous abuses, practiced against the prisoners by the officials in charge; the evidence concerning these when presented to the government had not only been disregarded by the person who had dared to present it had been punished. There was only one possible way in which

course of an article entitled "The Trend": "The Socialists are seen as a progressive party, working for the welfare of the taxpayer, in contrast to the old-fashioned machines which prey upon the taxpayer." This may be a very satisfactory conclusion to the political gentlemen now in control of the destinies of the Socialist movement and who pose as the exemplars of American parliamentarism. But what about the poor devil who needs those higher wages and who makes the sacrifices of strike and lock-out to get them?

The betrayal is even more than ordinary treason for the solemn-faced humbugs whose actions have produced the above echo owe their very existence to the worker, before whom they have posed as masters of the art of raising wages. Intoxicated by professional oratory, the workingman has paid out of his slender resources money to build up an organization; he has pinched himself to provide campaign funds; he has many times allowed his family to suffer inconvenience in order that his contribution to the Socialist party might be paid, and at election times he has been earnestly adjured to still further supplement his former contributions.

Twenty years of incessant toil, of sacrifice, of alienation from the ordinary type of his class, have at last brought the Socialist workman to this, that the Socialist party is regarded as the safeguard of the middle-class taxpayer. Could anything more hatefully ridiculous have been predicted by the most pessimistic opponent of the Socialist movement? All other epithets become insignificant and ineffective compared with this praise, for the statement is made as a compliment. A movement that starts with a new flag, with a new anthem, with a new proclamation of human destiny, in a few short years finds itself hailed by its enemies, even, as the champion of the most utterly worthless, reactionary and detestable class in the modern world, the small taxpayer.

It has been said many times of late that Socialist parliamentarism is on trial. The statement is indisputable in view of the facts, for if the present route is pursued the Socialist party will sink among the execrations of the working class.

The idealism of the leaders of the Socialist political movement finds no echo in the breast of the workingman. For that we should be eternally thankful; for, if the idealism is in itself, a deplorable deceit, sham idealism is still more to be denounced. And the political idealism of the prominent Socialist leaders is a sham idealism; it reeks with hypocritical cant.

There are still hopes of a rational parliamentarism, based upon the concrete demands of the working class, which may be summed up in the one expression—higher wages. Can the Socialist parliamentarian make that demand effective, actually or potentially? I believe he can, but will he? On his answer to that depends his existence as a representative of the working class. The wrong answer dooms him to be forever the political exponent of the small taxpayer.

conditions could be changed. That was to publish the facts and bring the power of wide publicity to bear. The Appeal did this, then the government acted because of the evidence so published.

The officers accused were removed. Thereby the government placed the seal of its approval upon the action of the Appeal. This action of the government testified that the facts published were true, that they were published with good motives, for the accomplishment of desirable ends, and that they accomplished these ends.

But this exposure came very close to the people high in power in the federal government, and these are determined that if good must come it must not come through Socialists. Consequently, according to the statement of District Attorney Bone, the authorities at Washington ordered that the staff of the Appeal be prosecuted for having furnished evidence of the corruption of government officials.—Coming Nation.

Every battle that has ever been fought in the economic world under the organized A. F. of L. was won, if it was won, not because of the aid furnished by the leading spirits, but because of the fighting spirit ever dormant in the rank and file.

HOWLS WITH RAGE

Famous Fusionist Honors "Revolt" with Disapproval

By CLOUDESLEY JOHNS.

G. A. Hohen of Missouri does not like REVOLT. One thing more to our long and lengthening list of credits, positive and negative.

It is hard to treat former Comrade Hohen seriously. The national convention of 1908 refused to do so. The Socialists of St. Louis found it necessary. Hohen is as energetic and as eager for notoriety as he is muddled in his mental processes and personally "opportunistic" in his political ideals, and he makes himself more or less apparent wherever he is admitted to party conferences. Indeed, when not admitted he is likely to "butt in." It took us two days to suppress him at the convention when he was trying to get us to make a laughing stock of the party by adopting a lurid communication in which he condemned Roosevelt for "not doing his duty" by the working class and "insulting the Socialists."

More recently he ran for office on two political party tickets in St. Louis (being unable to get on three, as some of the "comrades" did), with the result that Local St. Louis lost its charter.

Now he bursts forth in the columns of the St. Louis Labor with a spluttering howl of rage against REVOLT.

He tells us it is because we are not gurgling with delight over the glorifying prospect of the Socialist party in Los Angeles gaining office (assuming responsibility without power, making promises which cannot be fulfilled in the circumstances, seeking to grasp the fat jobs by riding high on a political wave of unenlightened and largely narrowly sordid discontent). It is worth noting, however, that REVOLT has been neglectful of the Harriman campaign in Los Angeles, for these many weeks, and Hohen's wowl of wrath arises on the startled air but now—that is to say, in St. Louis Labor of November 18, just seven days after REVOLT, November 11, had run the complete story of the fusion deal engineered by Hohen in the Missouri city to the utter confounding of the whole fusion gang. Reading the story of his own disgraceful conduct and its merited disgrace, Hohen is moved to note the horrifying fact that REVOLT has not been indulging in spasms of joy over the possibility of Harriman's election. Shocked, but not speechless, Hohen fulminates as follows, closing a screed more than reminiscent of the famous "Roosevelt letter":

"In the name of the Socialist party movement of St. Louis we protest against the criminal neglect of duty (or worse) shown by REVOLT and hope the Socialists of San Francisco will act, and act promptly, to end such a disgraceful spectacle under the cloak of Socialism and the Socialist party."

As was recorded in REVOLT two weeks ago, the party members whom Hohen would delight to call "the Socialists of San Francisco" did "act promptly," though not to end any "disgraceful spectacle under the cloak of Socialism." In fact, the action was taken against REVOLT because this publication had torn the cloak of Socialism from some disgraceful spectacles.

So much for Hohen. We are not in a national convention now.

A word about the kindly silence preserved by REVOLT in the matter of the Harriman campaign. REVOLT is not unmindful of the cheering effect to weary comrades all over the world of seeing even the NAME of Socialism exalted in so large a city as Los Angeles. Whether the price paid for that end, still much in doubt—the tacit debt assumed in accepting organizations on a race basis, encouraging support on a pro-vice basis and fusing directly on a false labor union basis—is not far too great may be open to question even in the minds of many true revolutionary Socialists. If the writer were in Los Angeles he would vote the straight Socialist ticket, in loyalty to the party which seems to be going astray but which must take the true course in the end; but the writer is glad he is not under the responsibility which being an elector in Los Angeles would place upon him.

And so, comrades, REVOLT has preserved si-

lence as the most fitting, as well as the most generous thing to do. If the howl of the Hohen has forced us to lift the curtain for a moment, we now will let it fall again.

CRAFT LEADERS CONFESS.

James B. and John J. McNamara, who prove to be craft union terrorists after all (trying to fight the devil with fire, which is a poor way), yesterday confessed and saved their lives. What this probably will mean will be set forth in next week's REVOLT.

CLEAR CUT.

1309 Alabama St.,
San Francisco, Calif.

Revolt Publishing Co.,
305 Grant Ave.,
San Francisco, Calif.

Comrades: Your notice to me of the expiration of my sub. at hand. Inclosed you will find fifty cents in stamps for renewal. I take five papers and the I. S. R. besides REVOLT, but I enjoy its clear-cut, incisive articles best of all. How I wish I was in a position to render assistance, financial and otherwise.

Your comrade for Socialism,
A. F. B.

P. S.—Please do not publish my name, for that would endanger the economic foundations of my existence.

CLEAR THE WAY.

Men of thought! be up and stirring
Night and day:
Sow the seed, withdraw the curtain,
Clear the way!

Men of action, aid and cheer them,
As ye may!
There's a fount about to stream;
There's a light about to beam,
There's a warmth about to glow,
There's a flower about to blow;
There's a midnight blackness changing
Into gray!
Men of thought and men of action,
Clear the way!

Once the welcome light has broken,
Who shall say
What the unimagined glories
Of the day?
What the evil that shall perish
In its ray?
Aid the dawning, tongue and pen;
Aid it, hopes of honest men;
Aid it, paper, aid it type;
Aid it, for the hour is ripe;
And our earnest must not slacken
Into play.
Men of thought and men of action,
Clear the way!

Lo! a cloud's about to vanish
From the day;
And a brazen wrong to crumble
Into clay.
Lo! the Right's about to conquer—
Clear the way!

With the Right shall many more
Enter smiling at the door;
With the giant Wrong shall fall
Many others great and small,
That for ages long have held us
For their prey.
Men of thought and men of action,
Clear the way!

CHARLES MACKAY.

HALLELUJAH, I'M A BUM.

A great deal of objection has been heard from a very intellectual source, against an expression that has been born from conditions that the ponderous intellects do not understand. That expression is, "Hallelujah, I'm a bum," sung in derision and with contempt by nomads. At the time of the birth of this song it is, without doubt, there was not the dialectic nor even the metaphysical method of reasoning employed. It was an afterthought, a happy afterthought by a mind reeking with thoughts, thoughts of a happier day. The phrase has a meaning. It is a cry, a voice, a spirit of the times. "Hallelujah, I'm a bum, Hallelujah, bum again." Why am I a bum? Or am I a bum at all? We'll let you decide that question, but as for us, we are not afraid of any stigma of contempt applied to us by a capitalist-minded society. We say we are bums because you say we are bums, and the reason you say we are bums is because you won't give us a job. We will get a job some day and we'll get that job to keep it, because we will take control of all the jobs and of the product as well as the job will be ours. Temporarily we rejoice in singing "Hallelujah, I'm a bum."
SELIG SCHULBERG.

The railroad capitalists, etc., are our very hardworking enterprising bees who are storing up the honey which we shall carry off in the day of our triumph. They are making communal property which we shall enjoy as self-respecting communal men in the course of time.

THE HOBO WORKER.

Just so soon and no sooner than the workers acquire a hatred and a contempt for the so-called existing social ethic that is based upon bourgeois rights and wrongs, will the worker acquire his own. And what is his own? Everything. The home-guard wage slave married to a job has been lulled into the belief that the "tourist" or the "hobo" is a peculiar type of animal, not even a man. A tramp is a tramp, and what's a tramp? Especially is this true in the East. They do not realize that in America, in the last fifteen years or more, has developed a proletariat that travels, and when he travels he need not be wrapped up in cotton, reclining in a Pullman. He travels on the rods, he travels on a box car, he travels in a gondola, he travels on top of a fast rattler or on the guts of that rattler, but travel he does. Now what's the traveling about? Why the travel is for to get a job or hope for to get a job. Now this job is not everything, because the tourist never marries a job. He is prepared to quit his boss any time of the day. He generally has no respect for the boss' interest because he instinctively realizes that there is never a harmony of interest between the employer and the employee. This fighting tourist, this adventurous hobo, this part of the working class, is going to play a very earnest part in the oncoming social revolution, despite the prophesies and predictions of respectable (?) Socialists and non-Socialists.

Taking note of a phase of the development in latter years, of this nomad proletariat, this hobo whom our friend, Furuseh, hath christened "migratory laborers," even the labor leaders of the pure and simple type, are thinking, and thinking very radically of organizing them.

SOCIALIST CLUB FORMED BY STANFORD STUDENTS.

Wednesday, Nov. 22nd, about twenty men of Stanford University met for the purpose of organizing a club to be known as the Socialist Club of Stanford. This organization will study the Socialistic point of view in politics. Its membership is not limited to men but may include women also.—From the Daily Californian (University of California morning daily newspaper), Friday, Nov. 24, 1911.

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW.

Supposing you get the abstraction of "equality before the law" actually realized. Will it do you workers any good? When you get into the police court on Monday morning charged with a drunk on Saturday night, are you going to find an equality before the law compared to the gentleman who drove his automobile over-speed? You will get a rapid trial and a short shrift. You will come into court on continuance after continuance and losing days' wages before the judge will condescend to take up your poor little case.

You are proletarians. You have no property. You have nothing to sell, no shares, no stocks, no bonds. You are not managers of public service corporations. You are working men, you have no part nor lot in these institutions. It does not matter a bit to you who competes for charters or who buys whom. That is the dirty mess of the competing capitalists themselves, and let them stew in their own juice.

GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK WITHDRAWS.

My Dear Comrades:

Please announce that I prefer not to be considered a candidate for election to the National Executive Committee. This announcement will be a favor to me and to those comrades who might be inclined to vote for me. I thoroughly appreciate the nomination, but comrades will consider this a positive withdrawal of my name from the list.

Fraternally yours,
GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK.

SUBS WANTED.

All of the money that we receive we use to spread the usefulness of REVOLT. Donations are certainly welcome, but what we WANT are SUBSCRIBERS. GET BUSY.

Donations for the week were:

Alfred Lenz\$1.00
D. Wilder 1.00
Cash 1.00
Jennie Arnott 2.50
Frank Conley50
Thos J. Mooney 2.00
Dorothy Johns 3.00
Cash30
A. Deleglise50

Well, as citizens we have an interest in the government at large. We have an interest in the government at large when the federal troops come into town to shoot strikers, when the United States flag floats over bull pens. We have an interest in the government at large when the federal judiciary has gone out of its way time and time again to put the lash upon our backs and prevent us obtaining a minimum of justice.

THE RELATION OF THE POLITICAL TO THE ECONOMIC.

By R. M. ROYCE.

For the purpose of this question I define the economic as the system of production and distribution and the political as the system of government as expressed in terms of law.

I think the latter is no artificial concept of any statesman or of the people but solely a function of the former.

The economic functions in terms of actual law though not always in terms of written law.

It would be interesting to draw a parallel and show how the economic functions in terms of religion and morals as is shown in such works as English Economic History by Prof. Ashley of Harvard; in showing the change of the attitude of the Catholic Church toward taking interest and in the U. S. in the division of the Northern and Southern Protestant Churches on the sanctity of marriage contracted between slaves.

The beliefs and morals of people always conform to their interests or supposed interests.

Theoretical beliefs or professed religion is a matter of sentiment and early teaching and is not based at all on reason. Nothing that is not reasoned into a man's head can be reasoned out. But professed religion has never caused any considerable number of people to act against their economic interest, nor should it, for in the last analysis whatever is sound economics is right and moral.

Though the Socialist movement is economic it is producing ministers and priests and evangelists, functioning, that is, in terms of religion—just as the abolitionist movement did. The abolitionists did not come into power because they were merely sentimentalists, but the economic power back of the movement, the Northern manufacturer, gained that power.

Just so the working class will control, for the proletariat needs the economic power and they will be hard-headed, practical men.

The Northern manufacturer hated the emotional abolitionist speaker, and the proletariat has no love for the sentimental evangelist now.

William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, the latter a consummate orator, do not loom large in terms of practical achievement, in terms, politics, or economics, or in any way except as emotional agitators. In my opinion such men are in no sense a cause, but only an emotional effect of economic maladjustment, and they can neither hurt nor hinder economic development; their function is to point out existing evils.

To show the economic functions in terms of politics we can take the rise of the machine industry in England.

At first free competition worked well, production was stimulated. The function of the government, said the politician, is only to be a big policeman, and this was true for that stage of economic development.

But though the economic object of free competition is cheap and plentiful production and this was so well recognized that the patent laws were not enforced (as witness the troubles of Eli Whitney and his cotton gin patent), the immediate moving force was private profit. The result in a few years was an exploiting of the wage workers until they did not have the wherewithal to purchase the goods they produced. A large class was created that lacked the necessities of life. While this was going on the new capitalistic class was forcing the creation of new boroughs and representation in Parliament, that is, function ending in practical politics.

If a single individual is deprived of the necessities of life he revolts and becomes a criminal—if any considerable number, they band together and the result is either a re-distribution or a change in the economic system. So the indisposed functioned in terms of politics.

There were two opposed classes in England, the landlord class and the industrial class, to remedy the social condition the industrial class backed by the proletarian industrialist repealed the import duty on corn, and a little later passed the factory acts that to some extent protected the workers. It is commonly said that the factory-owning class passed the corn laws, ruined the landlords and the latter, in revenge, passed the factory acts.

I for one do not think this true. The industrialists functioned politically in terms of the corn laws and the proletarian in terms of the factory acts. The landlords did not function in terms of politics but only ceased to function. As they ceased to derive income from the land they must either have become proletarians or derive income from industry in the form of dividends.

The effect of the corn laws was to cheapen the cost of production, and of the factory laws to increase the cost of production. The benefits of the first were divided between the capitalists and the proletarians.

But the politician and statesman came out with a new theory, viz: that the doctrine of free competition was not universally true and the government was more than a big policeman.

The fact of the matter was not that the former politicians were wrong but the economic condition had changed and the government had to assume new functions.

The next tendency of unlimited competition was to reduce profits until the immediate incentive to produce was threatened—of course the underlying cause of production is the desire or necessity to consume, but the immediate or personal incentive is profit. The capitalists began to combine into corporations and trusts and the workers into trade unions and federations of labor.

The trade unionists functioned in terms of politics by defying the law, for the unions were

acknowledged necessary by the Chief Justice of England in the '50's, but not recognized by statute until 1871. I wish to dwell upon the fact that every time they functioned in politics they functioned in low down practical politics with plenty of personal ambition, dickerings and combining. But we have a step in advance because a portion of the workers did more than riot; they organized and formulated proposed remedies.

The reason for this was purely economic. With the growth of the machine industry a new factor had begun to function in terms of politics, the minimum of intelligence and education necessary to produce had steadily increased. This functioning in politics resulted in State education, and also necessitated a longer training and consequently more leisure and a higher standard of living.

So the trade unionists did more than riot, which may be likened to an idiot crying or fighting because he is hungry or hurt. The class represented by trade unions formulated demands, and later again functioning in terms of politics they formed political parties.

The only classes in the United States so far that have risen to the point where they formulate demands in terms of politics (and there is a distinction between function and formulate): are the trade unionists and the small property owners, and they are functioning in terms of the Socialist party.

It is not a theory but a condition that confronts us.

In order to interest the proletarian in the Socialist party we will have to devise, or he will have to become articulate and state, concrete demands. Until then he will act as the proletarian has acted in all ages; cry when he is hungry and fight when he is hurt.

So far as I know or have read the average man has never learned more than was necessary to provide himself with the necessities of life.

Education is systematically forced on children—the average child does not enjoy school or go voluntarily, nor does the average man read or study after he has left school.

A Socialist is one thing, and an idealist and a political party is another.

The Socialist party as a political party should not check or oppose economic development. The elimination of graft is an elimination of waste and is a proper function for any political party. The following are necessary activities of a Socialist party:

1. To advocate by every means in its power any demands on the part of the proletarian.

2. To encourage wide discussion of economic conditions and evils.

3. To devise remedies. This last function is like that of an inventor who must first see clearly the result he desires to accomplish.

4. To devise and make the apparatus that will accomplish the result and lastly to persuade the public that the apparatus is efficient.

Thus there is plenty of work and useful work for the Socialist political party.

The social unrest is the only cause or excuse for the existence of the Socialist party.

If the proletarians are too ignorant to devise a remedy for present conditions their only course is to make things so uncomfortable for the capitalists, the middle and class, that they later will.

But if they revolt before the economic development permits a change in the system they will accomplish nothing. If they gain control of the government they will accomplish nothing; only the economic can function in terms of law.

The remedies for economic evils are workable like crude inventions that are slowly perfected.

The Socialist party cannot function in advance of economic development, nor can it or any other political party function except in terms of practical politics.

MIGHT IS RIGHT.

Might was Right when Christ was hanged beside the Jordan's foam;
Might was Right when Gracchus bled upon the stones of Rome;
And Might was Right when Danton fell, when Emmet passed away—
"Tis the logic of the Ancient World, and the Gospel of to-day."

Might was Right when Spartacus went down in seas of blood,
And when the commune perished in the self-same crimson flood;
And Might was Right at Cripple Creek, at Tampa, Homestead—yea!
"Tis the logic of the Ancient World, and the Gospel of to-day."

Might is right when children die by thousands in the mills;
When jeweled hands reach down and take the gold their blood distills;
And Might is Right when maidens give their love-dreams up for pay—
"Tis the logic of the Ancient World, and the Gospel of to-day."

Might was, it is, it e'er will be the One and Only Right;
And so, O Hosts of Toil, awake! O working men unite!
Unite! Unite! For Might is Right; 'tis freedom's only way—
"Tis the logic of the Ancient World, and the Gospel of to-day."

(An exchange published the above poem without crediting it to anybody. It sound like the work of the brilliant Stanislaus Cullen.—Ed. note.)

A CORRECTION.

The \$5.00 donation which was credited to the Polish Socialist Secretary, in last week's issue should have been credited to the Polish Socialist Society.

The proletariat is the man on whom rests the burden of the form of the new society. The future is his.

REVOLT

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A. F. OF L. SOCIALISM.

Is the "Men and Religion" Movement in alliance with the A. F. of L.?

A New Light on a Labor Evangelist.

By WILLIAM McDEVITT.

Do you recall a certain labor envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary from Chicago who was very active in California in the month of October just past? Do you remember Raymond Robins, the eminent "sociologist" sent out as an accredited lecturer for the A. F. of L.?

You may remember that he spoke at the Valencia for Woman Suffrage. He also spoke in Los Angeles for Socialist candidate Harriman. Then he returned to San Francisco and spoke cordially at a meeting of the late U. L. (You lose) party for anti-socialist candidate McCarthy. He was handled politically in such a way as to create the impression that he was a socialist (at that time and for local political purposes).

Now then, turning from that remembrance, take up a copy of the Washington Post, the one dated November 20, 1911. The fifth column of the front page bears this scarehead:

WAR ON SOCIALISM.

"Danger to the Country," Five Hundred Churchmen are Told.

MEANS "CLASS STRUGGLE."

"Destruction Faces Workers," Raymond Robins Says in Address.

The article opens as follows:

"Danger in the growth of Socialism in the United States was pointed out to 500 representatives of Washington churches and religious organizations yesterday at a meeting of the men and religion forward movement in the Continental Memorial Hall. Washington men were urged to combat the influence of this rising political party by Raymond Robins, social service expert, of Chicago. Yataka Minakuchi, missionary, and Evangelist Fred B. Smith, the advance guard of the men and religion forward movement that will come to Washington for an eight-day session in January, also spoke.

Mr. Robins declares Socialism was gaining such a great hold on the American people that it would be all-powerful in ten years unless the churchmen took a stand to combat its principles.

Strange Voices in Land.

"For many years there have been strange voices throughout the land taking the wrong side in religion and industry," said Mr. Robins. "The leaders of this movement are led on by great enthusiasm in their endeavor to help the people. But they are wrong in their prescription for the many evils that are sapping the strength of the nation. Unless some stop is put to their activity, hundreds of thousands of workers will follow these leaders to their destruction.

"The leaders are arousing their followers to the beginning of a class struggle, which has no place in America."

The above is proof positive of the new attitude of the A. F. of L. toward "Socialism," but if further proof were required, turn once more to the recent convention in Atlanta. The very week that Robins was leading the fight against "class conscious socialism" in the capital of the country, the A. F. of L. convention was endorsing Gompers for refusing to quit the service of the Civic Federation; it was also endorsing the candidacy of Harriman in Los Angeles; it was also repudiating the principles of industrial unionism as applied by the Shop Federations of the Rock Island system and the Harriman (E. H.) system. And note that the A. F. of L. socialist delegates from California, who are boosting for Harriman and knocking at the door of the party in this city, were backing up Gompers in his loyalty to the Civic Federation, the principle exponent of the Raymond Robins idea of repudiating the class-conscious workers.

Now all these facts carry conviction. They combine into a perfect demonstration of this salient fact for the workers: The A. F. of L. leaders are in favor of socialism when it is controlled by the A. F. of L. politicians and their ideals; but they are bitterly opposed to the principles of industrial unionism and no compromise. They are fusionists when fusion leads to confusion. They are leading the way to a hybrid party somewhat similar to the futile I. L. P. of England, from which the aggressive and militant workers are withdrawing in order to enter the new British Socialist Party (com-

posed of the seceding members of the I. L. P. and some of the former members of the Social Democratic Federation). Call this party socialist or laborite, it is plain that it will be anti-industrial.

There's the NUB. Gompers and his allies in the A. F. of L. and in the Socialist Party are no longer anti-socialist really. They have come to see the glittering political possibilities in the magical word, "socialist," and the still more magical (the meaningless) monica, Social Democrat. It is more than likely that they will take the next logical step, and style themselves for what they are by the all powerful because all-popular title of "Social Insurgent Democrat Labor Party." With that name they ought to be able to SIDLE into office.

The real political and economic issue, in short, is now the struggle between the industrial socialists and the anti-industrial socialists. It is of no use to dodge the question any longer. The pure and simple political socialists are dazzled by the seeming proximity of political victory; the industrial socialists realize that the one great issue, the one supreme problem, is the industrial organization of the class-conscious proletariat, and the industrial socialists are using the political weapon as a MEANS to foster and protect that organization in the days of its youth and its immaturity. When nature, the industrial organization, being in control of its own union and its own political expression, will take effective control of the solution of the social problem—the emancipation of the working class.

Meanwhile it is surely interesting to see how easy it is to be a socialist in Los Angeles or San Francisco and an anti-socialist in Washington (D. C.) and Atlanta.

FROM DEBS TO LEWIS.

Nov. 24th, 1911.

Mr. Austin Lewis,
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Comrade:

I must drop you this line to tell you that I read your article on the "Basis of Government" in the REVOLT of the 11th inst. with special interest and appreciation. It is the clearest and cleverest bit of writing on a subject about which there is so much confusion, even among Socialists, that I have yet seen. You have the faculty not only of thinking clearly and getting the atmosphere about you clarified, but of making the things you analyze and write about so clear and simple that others less gifted can also understand. And this is indeed an enviable possession. With greeting and good wishes to yourself and comrades, I am,

Yours always,
E. V. DEBS.

BEST WORK, HELP REVOLT.

Palo Alto, Cal., Nov. 23, 1911.

Comrade in REVOLT:

I should have written you the first of this week but have been very busy. I think that we cannot do better work than to help keep REVOLT alive. I am sending you \$2.00. I will bring the matter before the club here, and see if we cannot help you a little every week. I hope REVOLT will be able to continue in the fight. I will do what I can. I gave a comrade some of your cards last night, and he promised to sell them; any way you will hear from us again. I realize how hard you all are working.

In hope,
JENNIE ARNOTT.

THE GREATEST CRIME.

If you would ask what is the greatest crime Mr. McCarthy's campaign committed, we would not say it was the alliance with the dirty end of society. All politicians do that more or less. It is because he made an alliance with certain small business interests in the City of San Francisco. Because an alliance with small business interests means a stoppage of the wheels of progress, and in the estimation of the class-conscious international proletariat, that is the greatest of all crimes. It is a crime against the social revolution.

We want to see the small business man's livelihood destroyed, because we want to see him driven out of business. He is an impediment in the way of progress, because he stands as a buffer between us and the greater capitalists.

Your wages are based upon the price of living. And if your price of living is raised above the point, your wages must go up to that price of living, otherwise you will die and will not reproduce, and that is the very worst thing that could possibly happen to the capitalist class, and they will take good care that no such thing happens.

THE UNION LABOR PARTY.

The working classes of Europe radiate culture. Wherever the Socialist movement has penetrated, there you find culture and enlightenment among the workers. Only here in San Francisco have been taken and constituted a working class party of the dregs and degradation of a great city. With the cheers of the Union Labor party are mingled the whimper of the pimp and the howl of the prostitute, and you are expected to stand for that.

SOCIALISTS HEADQUARTERS, 1876 MISSION STREET.

Through the efforts of the Executive Board of the Revolt Publishing Co. the workingmen are able to enjoy a reading room where all Socialist and Labor papers will be on file.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND LAW.

By DONALD D. HORNE.

In early England the corporation and the labor union were synonymous. There were no business corporations or labor unions in the modern sense; but there were boroughs and guilds, comprised of practically the same members, and so nearly identical that the grant of gilda mercatoria to a borough was considered as a grant of incorporation.

The laborer was the proprietor of his own labor. Each laborer owned the tools he used, and consequently received the product of his labor, which, of course, could not compare with the product of even the unskilled laborer of today, who has the modern machine to help him; but nevertheless was sufficient for a comfortable living. There was no wages system, as it is to-day understood. The labor of that day was independent, and, in local government, had the supremacy. The laborer was proletarian and bourgeois at the same time, hence there was no struggle, then as now, between those classes. Their common struggle was against the feudal nobility.

Municipal government of that time was frankly industrial. "The guilds exercised a power similar to that exercised by the municipal corporations," says Prof. Williston,* "and, indeed, so late as the time of Henry VI, gildated and incorporated were synonymous terms. Instead of having for its field all inhabitants of a district and local legislation of every character, the guild was confined to such inhabitants of the district as carried on a certain trade, and to regulations suitable for that trade. So far as that trade was concerned, the right of government belonged to the guild." And note, that there was practically no other municipal government, because the guild and the borough were so nearly identical.

Perhaps, if the subsequent history of England had been tranquil, we should have continued to have an industrial government, and the laborer would to-day receive the whole—if meagre—product of his handiwork. But the course of history has not been tranquil. After the fifteenth century its course completely changed, and its progress became greatly accelerated, by certain remarkable events. The first of these was the discovery of the western hemisphere—an accident, but the result of a desperate economic necessity to find a new passage to India. The immediate result of this discovery was an epoch of exploration and discovery, and the opening of the larger part of the world, in a virgin condition, to industrial development. The opportunities were too great for individuals; the co-operation of capital was necessary; and three great trading companies were chartered by the English Sovereign—England took the lead in the exploration of the new world—the Royal African Company, Hudson's Bay Company and the East India Company. This was the beginning of the development of the modern corporation system.

These three companies flourished in the 17th and 18th centuries; the East India Company was chartered in 1600, and Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. The law of the time regarding corporations is to be gathered from the famous case of Sutton's Hospital, decided by Lord Coke in 1612. The advantages given the corporate form of organization by the law of this period may be explained to some extent by economic conditions; but corporations were then chiefly charitable institutions, and it is probable that the best explanation of the law regarding them is mediaeval mysticism. (See comment by Seymour D. Thompson in 10 Cyclopaedia of Law and Procedure, 145.) I quote from Lord Coke's decision:

"Corporations cannot treason, nor be outlawed, nor excommunicate, for they have no souls; neither can they appear in person, but by attorney. A corporation aggregate of many cannot do fealty, for, an invisible body can neither be in person, nor swear; it is not subject to imbecilities, death of the natural body, and divers other cases."

The three great English trading companies were among the earliest employers of labor to own, on a large scale, the tools which the laborers must use. In their case the tools were the ships, and the laborers the sailors. Large capital was required to equip an expedition for exploration and trading. The laborers who did the work did not have the money to build and equip the ships. Neither did the individual capitalists. So stock was issued, and capital accumulated by its sale. The corporations became employers—persons in themselves, distinct from the stockholders; for the corporation is a legal person. Thus began the wages system in England.

It is worthy of note that England preceded the continental States in the industrial revolution. The bourgeoisie rose immediately after the Wars of the Roses, which ended in 1485. So many noble families had been destroyed by these wars, so many estates forfeited to the crown, that the feudal nobility was broken thus early, and the rising bourgeoisie class gradually assumed the supremacy. In France the bourgeoisie did not attain the supremacy until the French Revolution in 1789; and even at that late date France was far in advance of the other European states—so far, that during the foreign war period of the French Revolution the ambition of the French to release all people from feudal despotism met with practically nothing but opposition in Germany and the other states, and France found herself at war, not with all the monarchs of Europe, but with all Europe. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels take England as the typical country for the economical development of the bourgeoisie, and France for its political development.

Labor unions came into existence as such, and separate from the guilds, as soon as the wages system was established. But they had little power or influence on the law, as is shown by the early cases. In 1721 occurred the first re-

*The History of the Law of Business Corporations before 1800," by Samuel Williston, in "Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History."

ported case on the subject of labor unions, "Rex vs. Cambridge Journeymen-Tailors" (8 Mod. 11). This decision was to the effect that laborers uniting in unions were, by that act, guilty of criminal conspiracy. This state of the law continued until 1824, when an Act of Parliament gave laborers the right to organize for the purpose of maintaining wages and for mutual protection—provided, according to an amendment made the following year, that all means employed for the accomplishment of their several aims should be peaceable. Labor unions were still combinations in restraint of trade, and therefore outlawed. But in 1871, this position was somewhat remedied by statute, and they were given the power to register, to sue and be sued, to hold real and personal property, although they were still prohibited from resorting to the courts for assistance in carrying out the purposes for which they existed.

Most of the above developments preceded the more violent throes of the industrial revolution following the invention of the steam engine and the power loom. That revolution is now nearly completed. It has brought about an epoch in the eternal class struggle which may be characterized as corporate monopoly versus the solidarity of labor. This epoch is probably the last before labor attains the supremacy. And here it is of great value to the student of the revolutionary epoch to observe the remarkable tendency of the later English law. It is, to cease to discriminate between corporations and other legal units, and even to consider labor unions as corporations. An illustration of this tendency is "The Taff Vale Railway Company vs. Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants" (1901), Appeal Cases, 426. The case is reviewed in 15 Harvard Law Review, 311.

In this case, during a strike, an injunction was issued by Judge Farwell against the union in its registered name as a corporation. The only question was the amenability of the union to an injunction in its registered name. The Court of Appeal reversed Judge Farwell, but the House of Lords, the court of last resort, sustained him. Thus, by a decision against a union in a particular case, labor unions as a class became recognized as corporate units by the law of England.

Thus along with the industrial revolution of the past century has been going on a secondary revolution in the law, especially the law of England. Legal history reveals a progress as pronounced as economic history itself—indeed, the one is the reflection of the other. It reveals such economic strength on the part of the revolutionists that their unit of organization is recognized as legal and on a par with the unit of organization of their opponents, the business corporation. And now that the general strike has been successfully inaugurated in England, we may expect soon to see the "legal" recognition of the political and industrial independence of the proletariat from the existing capitalistic regime.

POLITICAL DOCTRINE.
(Continued from page 1.)

We are simply repeating history. Very few workers know that the Christian religion is an outcome of a proletarian movement in the Roman Empire. This movement began with the outcasts and lowly, just like our Socialist movement did, and was howled down by the ruling class as a thing dripping with filth, blood and murder. Gradually the leaders compromised to make it more respectable. Some of the upper class joined and more compromise had to be indulged in. Bitter fights took place within the movement for and against this compromise business. The compromisers became the majority and made Christianity so that it was acceptable to all classes, until the Roman Emperor himself accepted it. The Christian name became the symbol of the highest idealism that instituted the darkest age the world has ever experienced. It was the forged weapon of the workers turned against themselves. Christianity beat Christianity. Mr. Lincoln Steffens' advice to the capitalist is—"go thou and do likewise!" Only Socialism can beat Socialism. And he is the wisest sage the capitalist has so far produced.

Fellow workers and Socialists, this is something we cannot afford to wave aside. Everywhere among the upper class and the yet untaught workers we are told, "Oh, yes, there are two kinds of Socialism, one is anarchistic, the other simply want justice and want the government to own the railroads and street-cars, and so on." Which brand do you and I stand by? That which has gained favor and respectability among the upper class, or that which is howled down as "anarchism"? Have we gone through years of toil to forge a weapon only to hand it over to our enemy to smite us?

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VOTE DOWN THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

A new state constitution for the Socialist Party of California is now before the membership for adoption or rejection on a referendum vote.

The proposed new constitution was drafted by F. B. Meriam, Job Harrison, N. A. Richardson, G. A. Garrett and Frank Wolfe, who were appointed by the Board of Control as a committee for the purpose.

A careful reading of the document reveals a well-laid plan to abandon the long-established principle of "No compromise, no political trading," and open the door to fusion.

The old constitution contained a provision which required the Socialist Party to nominate a full set of candidates for public office, at every election, if it was able to do so.

Article 7 of Section 2A of the proposed constitution reads as follows:

"A member may be expelled for supporting or aiding in the election of any candidate for any office, in either the primary or final election, in opposition to the regularly selected candidate of the Socialist Party."

A little recent party history, which is not generally known to the party membership, will help to throw light on this change of our constitution.

On the night between the 26th and 27th of September, of this year, immediately after the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau in Zurich the Italian government, which must not be confused with the Italian people, sent a brutal ultimatum to the Ottoman government, and forty-eight hours later declared war.

This act cannot be too severely denounced by all those who have the peace of the world at heart and any regard whatever for the rights of the people.

The proposed new constitution is too long to be reprinted in full, but the following are a few of the bad provisions it contains, and which should cause it to be voted down:

Art. 5, sec. 1, provides that the dues to the State office shall be 75 cents per quarter for each member, which must be paid by the locals and branches quarterly in advance on the first of each January, April, July and October.

Art. 5, sec. 3 provides that on June 1 of each even numbered year, each local or branch must pay to the State office an initial campaign assessment equal to fifty cents for each member.

Art. 15, sec. 2 provides that each local or branch must buy and pay for a share or shares of stock at five dollars each, in the California Social-Democrat Publishing Company.

posed new constitution places it within the power of the State office to rule such locals or branches out of the party and to deprive them of the right to vote on any referendum that may be before the membership, and of all other rights in the party.

Article 1, section 4, provides that it shall require eleven branches, each located in a separate county, to initiate a referendum to the membership. The old constitution provides that five locals or branches in three counties can initiate a referendum.

This proposed constitution has been drafted by the State secretary and a few members of his executive board and it is a brazen attempt to build a machine which the membership will find almost impossible to break.

It should be voted down by the membership. A State convention should be called, composed of delegates from every local and branch in the State and a new constitution should be prepared which will provide for the needs of the party and be in harmony with the desires of the membership.

PEACE MANIFESTO OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

To the Workers of the World: On the night between the 26th and 27th of September, of this year, immediately after the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau in Zurich the Italian government, which must not be confused with the Italian people, sent a brutal ultimatum to the Ottoman government, and forty-eight hours later declared war.

This act cannot be too severely denounced by all those who have the peace of the world at heart and any regard whatever for the rights of the people.

Against such an act the international workers cannot but unanimously protest. Our Italian comrades are in complete agreement with our Turkish comrades in protesting in the name of the general interest of the proletariat against an act that is as foolish as it is criminal, which is fully as injurious, perhaps even more injurious, to the victor than to the vanquished, which releases the scourge of a world war and threatens to open up an abyss between Europe and the new Mohammedan world, and which, in its last analysis, must necessarily afford further excuse to the great powers for the increase of military burdens.

In order to emphasize this protest based upon the Stuttgart and Copenhagen resolutions as well as upon the special action taken at Zurich on the 25th of September, the international Socialist Bureau urges that in all the great states of Europe meetings shall be held to protest against the coup d'etat in Tripoli and against war in general.

The expedition against Tripoli is, in fact, nothing more than one of the manifold expressions of the politics pursued by all the great powers.

Just as Italy proceeded against Tripoli, so England had seized Egypt; France and Germany are quarrelling over Morocco; Germany has led the expedition to Agadir, and Austria-Hungary seized Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Italian government would not have dared to act as it has had it not had an understanding with its allies and with the great powers.

Therefore, it is not simply Italian policy but the policies of all the great powers that International Socialists must denounce to the people as a policy of savagery.

In Europe it gives rise to murderous and expensive colonial wars; the Spaniards showed this in Rif; the Italians are beginning to suffer its effects in Tripoli. It opposes democratic tendencies and retards their development; it strengthens the reactionary forces and turns them from all social efforts.

At this very moment it threatens to bring about catastrophes whose horrors will exceed any horrors that the world has ever known.

Our Italian comrades have already done all that is possible, considering the unfavorable circumstances, against the expedition to Tripoli. They have fought, and will continue to fight foot by foot against the nation's bestiality. But their efforts must be supported by the whole International Socialist Movement.

Branch Central Berkeley is unqualifiedly in favor of the passage of the referendum, for the following reasons:

1. The compulsory support of a party owned paper will tend to destroy the efficiency of other Socialist papers; the existence of which Branch Central Berkeley considers more important than the existence of a State party owned paper.

2. The compulsory support of a party owned paper has the practical effect of giving to the clique in control the means to perpetuate their domination, and the funds to present their side of whatever question may arise.

3. The compulsory support of a party owned paper has the tendency to prevent that free discussion of all issues which is the life of the Socialist party, for the same reason above detailed.

4. By compelling all the membership to support the same paper, the clique in control the funds and means to control the thought, mentality of the party.

5. The compulsory support of a party owned paper is a real hardship upon those foreign comrades who cannot read English, and who desire to subscribe to papers in their own languages, in preference to a paper which they cannot read.

For these reasons, Branch Central Berkeley, through its undersigned committee, recommends the Alameda Referendum to the membership of the Socialist party of California, and earnestly advises its adoption.

(Signed), D. D. HORNE, W. J. GEBHIE, DORA DELUCE, C. S. STALY, JAS. McINDUE, Committee.

BRANCH CENTRAL BERKELEY.

The undersigned committee of five, elected at the last regular business meeting of Branch Central Berkeley, respectfully presents the following report on the Alameda Referendum providing that the payment of 35c per month dues shall entitle members of the Socialist party of California to a subscription to any Socialist paper they may choose in preference to the party owned paper.

FIRST ANNUAL Entertainment and Ball

in aid of WORKINGMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF Arbeiter Kranken and Sterbe Kasse GOLDEN GATE BRANCH No. 273, of San Francisco BREWERY WORKERS' HALL 177 Capp Street Bet. 16th and 17th Sts. Saturday Evening, December 16, 1911 Commencing at 8 P. M.

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Branch Central Berkeley is unqualifiedly in favor of the passage of the referendum, for the following reasons:

1. The compulsory support of a party owned paper will tend to destroy the efficiency of other Socialist papers; the existence of which Branch Central Berkeley considers more important than the existence of a State party owned paper.

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3. The compulsory support of a party owned paper has the tendency to prevent that free discussion of all issues which is the life of the Socialist party, for the same reason above detailed.

4. By compelling all the membership to support the same paper, the clique in control the funds and means to control the thought, mentality of the party.

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(Signed), D. D. HORNE, W. J. GEBHIE, DORA DELUCE, C. S. STALY, JAS. McINDUE, Committee.

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