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THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

VOL. 2, NO. 26

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., DECEMBER 23, 1911.

WHOLE NO. 35

SOCIALIST VICTORY!

Referendum D. Heavily Defeated

By CLOUDESLEY JOHNS.

Strange things are happening in the Socialist party in this period when it is trying to "find" itself. Job Harriman, John Spargo, P. H. McCarthy, Stitt Wilson, J. Pierpont Morgan and others (queer bed-fellows in the game of politics!) are exulting, according to their respective viewpoints. Some are jubilant over the prospect of gaining political power and emoluments through the weirdest coalition that the desire for such in connection with freak circumstances ever effected; others are gratified by the offered chance of saving their fat jobs as craft union officials by leading their "followers" into the sort of political action which is being entered upon under the magic name of Socialism; still others are pleased at THE SEEMING ASSURANCE GIVEN THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY ITSELF MAY BE DEPENDED UPON TO AVERT THE THREATENED DANGER OF SOCIALISM.

All of which recalls most vividly a remark once made by Franklyn Jordan:

"If a man gets out in public and declares that he is Napoleon Bonaparte he will be dragged before the insanity commission, but anybody can go around saying he is a Socialist and nobody interferes with him."

In the past three weeks, while politicians of all sorts who have concluded to make use of the Socialist party to gain their ends, were singing their little paeans of triumph over the apparent acceptance of the policy of "progressive opportunism" (i. e., fusion and compromise on any terms that will win the precious VOTES), the dues-paying members of the Socialist party in this country administered a crushing rebuke to the kind of thing that Job Harriman, J. Stitt Wilson, Morris Hillquit, John Spargo and others have been declaring that the Socialist party has been won over to. It was done by a vote, on National Referendum D, 1911, of 11,793 against 7426. Even in San Francisco, in spite of the fact that Cameron King, showing his usual regard of order and fairness, bawled out in the meeting "Vote YES!" a very large minority voted "No." It is rarely that any part of the Wilson-taught majority in San Francisco refuses to obey the Order of the King. In this instance it is significant.

Referendum D dealt with the aftermath of a political episode in St. Louis which differed technically, though not essentially, from those of the "Socialist" campaigns in Berkeley and Los Angeles. In St. Louis, G. A. Hoehn, less clever politically than either Harriman or Wilson, had run for political office on two party tickets and aided and abetted other "comrade" candidates to get on three, including in some instances that famous old political organization, the Republican party. Local St. Louis was promptly deprived of its charter by a non-"opportunistic" Missouri State Central Committee. Then arose the howl of the Hoehn and his fellows. The Missouri S. C. C. was "opposed to political action," it was charged, was "impossibilistic," etc., etc. The wail of woe was hearkened to with kindly attention by the "progressive" and "opportunistic" national executive committee, Berger, Spargo, Hunter, Hillquit and others, which proceeded to arrange for a Missouri referendum to be conducted by the national office, that might be conducted so as to give a seeming party indorsement to fusion with Republican and What-not parties when there might be a possibility of justifying their "political action" by getting "Socialists" into office. Promptly the National Central Committee of the Socialist party adopted a referendum forbidding the N. E. C. to proceed with their flim-flam arrangement for the benefit of Hoehn and his crowd and establish a precedent for the support of Harriman and all the rest.

National Referendum D was designed to set aside the action of the N. E. C. and permit the N. E. C. to proceed with their flim-flam.

And the Socialist party of America, in spite of the efforts of Hillquit, Spargo, Harriman, Berger and the smaller fry of fusionism, voted the motion down by a majority of 4637 out of 19,219 votes cast!

It was a deserved slap in the face for Hillquit, Spargo, Harriman and the rest.

Of course, there are California Socialists who voted "No" on Referendum D, and yet, on our State referendums, voted to sustain Meriam and his masters. These will maintain that there is

(Continued on page 3.)

"MAKING" HISTORY

Patriotism by Statute and Loyalty by Legislation

CALIFORNIA SOLON PADLOCKS TEACHER'S LIPS

By WILLIAM McDEVITT.

State Senator Boynton is determined to propagate "patriotism," even if he has to become the Daffy Dan of the Legislature. It appears that a Professor Adrian of Santa Barbara has been peaching about our sainted forefathers. He has betrayed the secrets of early American history. He has out with what he believes to be historical truth, and he has shown that the revered patriots of Paul Revere's day had as much human tendency to feather their nests and to butter their bread as the patriots of these degenerate decades.

Straightway rises Solon Boynton with a law to protect the children of the schools of this noble State from the contamination of the truth. The truth is too valuable to be wasted on the free schools. Hence patriotic Boynton proposes stringent legislation against any teacher that dares express his disbelief in the legends that hallow the beatified memory of the pious patriots of '76. The official State blacklist will be invoked against all pedagogues with a mind of their own on matters patriotic. Thus will patriotism be made to thrive—for the greater honor and glory and profit of the owners of the country.

Truth, like all other things, must pay its way; honesty is all right when it is the best policy; virtue will be permitted to stay as long as it comes up with the rent.

The Flag Fetish.

It has long been an axiom of practical politics that while 2 and 2 do not make 5 in political economy, they can be made to make 5 or any other number if the incantation of waving the flag and singing "Mny CCountry" be properly and appropriately performed over the operation. Hence politicians of ALL stripes realize that the flag hath magical properties over the voting kings. Religion and the flag are the heavy reserves in all political crises. Naturally, then, when the Alexander gang in Los Angeles began to get alarmed at the prospect that too many voters might become really convinced

(Reprinted by Request.)

WAS HE SENT OUT OR DID HE LEAVE?

The following are extracts from official minutes of City Clerk Seaborn, clerk of the Berkeley City Council, for the meeting of October 17, 1911.

"Sec. 17. The Mayor at this time, 11:10 a. m., called Vice-President Hoff to the chair and absented himself from the meeting.

Sec. 18, 19, 20 and 21 were then disposed of.

Sec. 22. Communication was read, from C. H. Blohm, asking permission to carry firearms, as follows:

Hotel Shattuck, Berkeley, October 6, 1911. To the Board of Councilmen, Berkeley, Cal.

I hereby make formal application for a permit to carry a pistol during the continuation of the Railroad Strike. My business takes me in immediate contact within and without the stockades erected by the railroad company and I am exposed to assault by the strikers' pickets at all times.

Very respectfully,
C. H. BLOHM.

After discussion, Councilman Turner moved that the request be granted. The motion was seconded by Councilman Norton and carried by the following vote: Ayes: Councilman Norton, Turner and Vice-President Hoff. Noes: Councilman JOHN A. WILSON (Socialist).

Sec. 23 and 24 disposed of.
Sec. 25. Mayor Wilson at this time returned to the council chamber, 11:30 a. m. and resumed his place at the meeting."

The letter had already been read at an executive session soon after its receipt, which was on October 7, and was known to have been received by every member.

When the matter came up in the public meeting of the council, October 17, Councilman Turner, who was elected through the efforts of Mayor Stitt Wilson and endorsed his platform, made the motion.

that Socialism was superior to goo-gooism as a political regenerator, they trotted out Big Tom, the heaviest piece of ordnance they had, the American flag. "Old Glory" (very OLD, indeed) was evoked to put down the menace of the "Old Red" (still older, by the way).

We presume the hoary scheme worked—a little. But that is of no importance just now. It is of interest, however, to note that all the accounts agree that when Comrade Wheeler, on the Socialist ticket, in a frenzy of political fervor and (as always) an attempt to show the old-line politicians that a clever Socialist politician can play the old game in the old way, waved the stars and stripes from the platform, the audience HISSED the exhibition energetically. It reads good to a radical,—but it may be noted here that Candidate Wheeler knew better than his audience what he was after—votes. And he got 'em. He led the ticket, and he got a bigger vote than Harriman.

Which reminds me, that our gubernatorial candidate last year made a very lavish display of the stars and stripes from his Red-White-and-Blue automobile—and HE led the ticket also.

When I took occasion at the last State convention, while we were discussing Oriental labor exclusion, to refer humorously to the Old Glory Chariot of Candidate Wilson at the door of the convention building, I was very strenuously scolded out loud by National Organizer Anna Agnes Maley for my lack of patriotism or my excess of internationalism (which, writ in practical "patriotic" language, meant my lack of political savvy).

I was undoubtedly a bad politician, as all the politicians (the Socialist polities as well as the rest of them) now agree that the stars and stripes will get you more votes than the communist manifesto. And at the next national convention we may emulate Solon Boynton by passing appropriate legislation to the effect that hereafter any candidate who fails to fling a flood of Old Glory over his "fellow citizens" when begging for the votes of the "people" shall be deemed "unpatriotic," and therefore unavailable as political timber, etc. Will all aspiring Presidential candidates please take notice!

BRISSENDEN TO SPEAK IN GERMANIA HALL.

The Industrial Socialist League of San Francisco will begin its series of Educational and Organizational lectures with Paul F. Brissenden of the University of California, Sunday night, January the 7th, at Germania Hall, 15th and Mission streets. His subject will be "Direct Action and Direct Organization."

In the current issue of REVOLT we print the major part of that lecture. We intend to print all of the lectures, either before or after they are delivered, so that readers of REVOLT that are unable to attend can be benefited.

Many there are who will not approve of Comrade Brissenden's position and we anticipate a big crowd and an interesting meeting in Germania Hall, January the 7th. Come yourselves and bring your friends.

REVOLT'S LINE OF EDUCATION APPROVED.

San Francisco, Dec. 18, 1911.

Revolt Publishing Co.

Dear Comrades:

Enclosed please find 50c for a six months' subscription to REVOLT. A friend has given me a few copies and I enjoy its snappy style and approve of its stand regarding political trading and compromising. I consider this line of education of vital importance to the working people.

Sincerely yours,

E. I. CHANNELL,
379 30th Avenue.

A NEW OFFENSE

Lese Majeste in the Socialist Party

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

In that organ of The Shearers' Mutual Admiration Society, Limited, styled the "California Social-Democrat," some one who signs himself A. E. Briggs says that for a person to use the terms "political socialist" and "parliamentarianism" "in derision is to confess that he is a traitor to our movement, which is political only." Here is a new offense, lese majeste in the Socialist Party. All who will not contribute to making political careers for middle-class failures are to be dubbed traitors, and, we presume, punished accordingly. We are not only to have the offal of the petite bourgeoisie dumped upon us for proletarian support, but unless we eat the muck quietly and even appreciatively we are to be plastered as traitors. I suppose such derision of "parliamentarianism" is to be punished by expulsion where a local contains sufficient people like A. E. Briggs. It would be of no use to try and show the aforesaid A. E. Briggs that the Socialist movement is not solely political; it would be worse than folly to try and explain that it is not necessarily a dumping ground for the failures in a non-Socialist community, and particularly for that special brand of failure frequently, but erroneously, styled the "intellectual proletariat."

There is "political socialism" of sorts as there is "parliamentarianism" of sorts, and such should be sneered at, kicked, beaten, spit upon and insulted out of sight and hearing wherever it may chance to show itself. If you want examples, I should say that making a campaign on the Los Angeles water steal, and paying for that campaign out of working class contributions, was exactly the sort of thing that cannot be too generously insulted. I am also of the impression that a campaign which received its impetus from the contributions of the poor and ended as a plea for the "city beautiful" might almost be derided by a Socialist with impunity.

But even such patent examples of "political socialism" are only on the edge of the vast body of legislation which our career hunting bourgeois intend to precipitate upon the working class in the near future. The amount of benevolent measures in the shape of old age pensions, endowment of maternity and the like is something staggering in its immensity. There are hundreds of needy intellectuals moreover who are prepared to suffer tribulations as Congressmen or members of Legislatures to put these measures through.

Backward as ever, our Socialists in the United States are claiming as the essential task of Socialism that which the liberals have taken up in Europe. Let our friend read the following paragraph from the London New Age of November 9, 1911. Let him soak it in. Let him remember that the Ramsey MacDonald there named is the leader of the Independent Labor Party, and that the "political Socialists" and "parliamentarians" held up the British I. L. P. as our model at the last State Convention:

"It would be amusing, if it were not all so blindly vicious, to watch the trend of legislation in the direction of slavery. Every student of economics sees clearly what is happening. Capitalism having involved the continued reduction of the cost of production—with labor as its main item—society is compelled to attempt to preserve the cheapness of labor to the employers by subsidizing it. Labor, it is quite clear, cannot maintain itself in efficiency on the wages paid to it. If it can barely subsist itself, it cannot at any rate provide the conditions of efficiency for the coming generation. Like land exhausted by a series of the same crops, or like a root unable to provide seed for its renewal, the present laboring classes have been reduced to exhaustion point, at which they positively threaten the efficient existence of the next generation. Sixty-three per cent. of their offspring are rickety, deaf, consumptive, myopic or something equally defective. The remedy, as we say, is plainly to raise wages, to give to the soil of labor what has been taken out of it in the means of life. But to raise wages effectively (that is, without

raising prices at the same time), the capitalist system must be considerably modified and circumscribed. Rent, interest and profits must be reduced if wages are to be raised. Here we are at the crux of the whole matter. Rather than lay a finger on profits or rent or interest, Mr. Lloyd George and the Cabinet, and the Unionists no less, are prepared to plunge into a course of State subsidies to low wages which will infallibly end in still further reducing wages. Employers are certainly not going to bother themselves about maintaining the efficiency of labor if the State will do it for them. When the State has relieved the workman of any expense for his children, for his wife, for his house, for his entertainment, save for a little pocket-money and food, the workman will actually need nothing. He will be the cheapest laborer in the world's market. And the employers (shareholders rather) will use both him and the State for their own personal profit. That is the logical outcome of the legislation now being hurried through the House of Employers by Mr. Lloyd George. Anybody with eyes can behold it looming already on the horizon. The only event, short of an awakening of the national will, that can avert it is the decision of the working-classes themselves that, come what may, they will not drift into it or be pushed into it by Salvation Army politicians with timbrels in their hands. Strike, strike, strike is the only course open to British workmen who will not be slaves. Unfortunately, however, their leaders in Parliament are themselves heading the procession into slavery. Mr. Ramsey MacDonald and his crew of Union officials have labored unceasingly to prevent the renewal of the railway strike they defeated a few months ago. Next to Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Ramsey MacDonald is the worst enemy either England or English workmen have in the world. Their impeachment by economists has become an urgent necessity."

Our eager persecutor may say that the same conditions do not obtain here. There he will be wrong. They do actually exist. Recent enquiries have fixed the minimum on which a family of five can decently live at seventy-five dollars a month, and only one-tenth of the working class in the country earns such a sum. The conditions are practically the same and if the political-career-hunting gentlemen have their own way the results will be the same. In fact, as far as we have gone already for crass banality and ignorant stupidity our "politicians" are supreme.

Our vehement persecutor will doubtless say that we are "anarchists" and not "parliamentarians." There again he will be mistaken. We are parliamentarians in the sense that we believe in fighting the fight of the proletariat in the representative assemblies. But we insist that it shall be the fight of the proletarians. We refuse to be dosed with water graft and the "city beautiful." We absolutely decline to maintain a respectful attitude to the small bourgeois even if he masquerade as a member of the Socialist Party. In fact we claim the right in the name of the working class to denounce and expose such people as often as the occasion shall arise, and to apply to them all the derisive epithets that can be discovered in a proletarian vocabulary.

REVIEW PRINTS WHAT ITS WAGE-SLAVE READERS WANT.

Chicago, November 29, 1911.

To REVOLT:

The cunning attack on the revolutionary policy of the International Socialist Review came out in the "Open Forum" (?) of the Chicago Daily Socialist almost the day after the Review came from the press, and could not answer and expose the real motives of its originators.

Now the International Socialist Review has been a thorn in the flesh of a great gang of reactionists, compromisers, professional selfish politicians and Judases.

The American Millerands, former chums of Goldbrick Wilshire, are howling about the management of the Review. They most certainly do not want proletarian, democratic, progressive control of the Review, Daily Socialist, etc. What they really mean by "democratic management" is "our management." Their scheme is to get control of the shares and dominate the editorial policy of the Review, and change its present revolutionary policy into a mouthpiece for their reform buncombe and to defend the material interests of the professional politicians, faddists, and aspiring reactionary candidates for national executive committees. With the International Socialist Review silenced, they imagine that they would have easy sailing.

Now the writer of this is neither a shareholder nor employe of the Review. He does not know personally either Kerr, Bohn, Haywood, or any one connected with the management of the Review. Comrades, we buy, read and distribute the Review because we, the readers, approve of its policy and we do not want censored reading matter dictated by Mr. Hunter, official jobites, or any one else. The reason the Review is financially supported by its readers is because it prints what its wage-slave readers think is right and want printed.

CHAS. HARTUNG,
54 E. Illinois Street, Chicago.

DIRECT ACTION AND DIRECT ORGANIZATION

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, NOVEMBER, 1911.

By P. F. BRISSENDEN.

The question of tactics—of fighting methods—is the rock on which the modern Socialist movement has split asunder. Assuming for the moment that the objective—the more or less distant goal—is substantially the same, emphasis must be placed upon some one method of procedure, to the subordination if not the utter repudiation of all other methods. Shall we work by methods direct or indirect? Shall we SEIZE directly or secure possession indirectly? Shall we make use of the respectable, time-honored, much be-praised methods of indirection, or shall these be abandoned in favor of the new, little tried and constantly condemned (by the dominant devotees of indirection) methods of direct action:—the general strike, sabotage, etc? Shall we repudiate the indirect method? The Syndicalists say "yes"; the voting Socialists say "no."

These two groups contemplate each other's social programs with mutual contempt and alarm. The parliamentarian looks upon direct-actionists as law-breakers and anarchists (in the narrow conception of the term) and upon their methods as criminal, immoral and unnecessary, because, forsooth, there is a more "refined" and "civilized weapon" ready to hand, viz., the ballot. On the other hand the syndicalist looks upon political action by itself as absolutely illusory and ineffectual, nay, more, even as an absolute hindrance to the progress of the proletariat.

Pushing the Cause of the Proletariat.

At first blush the position of the apostles of INDIRECTION seems the most tenable. One reason for this is that voting, and legislation, is a more advanced, more civilized method of social action. It is moreover the method by which the great majority of Socialists are now pushing (or think they are pushing) the cause of the proletariat. Hence it has developed a prestige which secures the adherence of many, apart from whatever rational justification it may have. In proportion as a social method is adapted to the advancing forms of any civilization, in just so far is that method to be preferred to more antiquated forms. The parliamentarian quite rightly points out that one measure of the advance of civilization is the progressive abandonment of direct methods and a corresponding increased use of indirect methods. Economic history shows us primitive man getting his dinner by direct action, e. g., by simply picking it off the tree, and modern man getting his by methods which are certainly indirect even if not always exactly parliamentary! The parliamentarian, then, swears by the law that rational social action varies directly with the tendency to attain ends by indirect and complex methods.

Then is the case for direct action thus easily disposed of by showing it up as antiquated, primitive, barbarous, destructive, immoral, anarchistic? No, the end is not yet.

Migratory, Unskilled Workers Have No Political Opportunity.

The direct actionist, with all his contempt for laws, has one or two up his sleeve, but they are social and not political laws. In the first place he puts this social truism, "Social energy follows the line of least resistance." Assuming that the value of parliamentary political action is infinite and that of direct action microscopic, it remains a fact that the efforts of the proletariat along parliamentary lines meets with resistance (represented as more or less powerful and crushing according as it is referred to by a direct actionist or by a parliamentarian) from the bourgeoisie. This resistance is of varying form and degree. Over one field it is all powerful and includes political action for that section of the proletariat on which its pressure is exerted. This field is that of unskilled migratory labor which has no vote and can, under the present organization of industry, in no way make its social will effectual through indirect channels. The same condition applies very largely to the negro, Chinaman, Japanese, and also to many others who cannot vote because debarred by want of requisite property and residence qualifications. To-day some of our leading economists are urging the adoption of still more stringent suffrage requirements, with step would of course still further enlarge the number of those who have no other alternative (barring moral suasion) for working out their economic salvation except direct action. It should be added here that the number of those who are FORCED to become direct-actionists, if they want to be actionists at all and quite regardless of whether direct-action is the best and most rational method in itself, is multiplied by two because of the almost world-wide suffrage requirement which makes it necessary to be a man! Women, then, if they do not become direct-actionists by intellectual processes, are placed in that category by compulsion. Granting Political "Rights" to People Has Not

Harmed the Capitalist Class.

But this resistance to indirect action on the part of the proletariat is brought to bear in less degree upon the whole extent of the proletarian ranks. The whole organization of political forms, of legislatures, courts and administrative bodies, is quite inevitably in the control of the dominant class. Hence, in the words of Pouget, "The granting of political rights to the people does the governments no harm, as these baubles do not imperil the principle of authority and do not undermine the proletarian base of society." The belief that the captains of industry and the kings of finance are "the men behind" is not confined to Socialists. It is nation-wide. It is the animus back of all the trust-busting tourna-

ments of all our well-meaning progressives and insurgents. The owners of the tools of industry control the machinery of our political life, directly and openly through bribery of voters and officials, indirectly by the subtle influence exerted through our social institutions, schools, churches, patriotic societies, etc., which, being beneficiaries of, are inevitably, even if quite sincerely, the apologists for our capitalistic regime.

Even in the case of Socialists who are elected to office and the consequent control of public affairs, the same drift is quite apparent. Everywhere and always, power and responsibility have forced man to compromise, to utter abandonment of more or less that is vital to SOCIAL READJUSTMENT as distinguished from SOCIAL RESOLUTION.

Pouring Legislative Oil on Troubled Waters.

Social readjustment or reform is simply a lubricating process, an artificial method of counteracting that friction which is the natural result of an unnatural relation of parts in the social organism. This is quite a different thing from social readjustment which implies the ABOLITION of that unnatural relation—the master and slave relation. The social reformer need pay no more than verbal tribute to the principle of the class war and the overthrow of the wage system. In fact, he might just as well stop even this "muttering in the Marxian law." And when the social reformer (be he Socialist, Insurgent Republican or Democrat) climbs into office, he is virtually forced to give up any real activity or service for the cause of revolution. And very soon, such is the power of environment over thought, he firmly believes that the best and only thing that can be done is to pour legislative oil on troubled waters. It could not be otherwise, for he is now a part of the capitalistic machine—the governmental annex of our industrial bureaucracy. The direct actionist feels that the reformer has left the proletariat and entered the public service of the bourgeoisie. "Experience has shown us," says Labriola, "that none are so reactionary as Socialists when once they have attained to power." The direct actionist is convinced that it is impossible to use this political machinery of the state to bring about proletarian emancipation. HE WILL ADMIT THAT POLITICAL ACTION HAS ITS USES IN THE WAY OF SAFEGUARDING THE WORKERS WHILE THEY ARE ON STRIKE. WHILE THEY ARE USING DIRECT ACTION, THEIR EFFORTS MAY BE MADE MORE EFFECTUAL IF THEY CAN HAVE FAIR TREATMENT AND PROTECTION FROM THE RULING OFFICIALS. BUT UNDER ANY CONDITION DIRECT OR ECONOMIC ACTION MUST PRECEDE INDIRECT ACTION, since political power is properly a reflex of economic action and is likely to be futile and obstructive when it precedes the corresponding economic step. And on the other hand when it follows the economic step it becomes simply a written confirmation of what is already an established fact. The Colorado eight-hour law for the mining industry stood a dead letter on the statute books until the miners had organized on the economic field,—in the mines, and had sufficient economic power to demand the eight-hour day. It was only AFTER that economic step that the law had any meaning. And here it must be said as a public O. K. and formal record of the decisions reached on the industrial field, the political enactment has its value.

Strikes Necessary as They Promote the Interests of Labor.

The self-consistency of the syndicalist position is greater than that of the parliamentarian. The labor union and its use of the strike are everywhere conceded to be legitimate and necessary as means to the promotion of the interests of labor. This concession is of course immediately withdrawn—or evaporates so far as it was granted by bourgeois interests—as soon as the labor union drops CRAFT and takes on CLASS form and as soon as their strike drops local (craft) form and assumes general (class) form. This is a significant recognition of the POWER of direct proletarian activity. It suggests that the bourgeoisie fear this move as one which they realize makes headway and does not merely mark time. The syndicalist perceives that the focus of exploiting agencies at the point of production makes necessary, for effective attack, organization at that point where it will be most DIRECT and action carried on by this organization at this same point of production where it will also be most direct.

The self-consistency of the syndicalist position in regard to the future state projected ahead from its present organization is no less striking. The articulation between a future industrial democracy—a government literally BY INDUSTRIES and the present industrial framework on which the syndicalists base themselves—is singularly direct. In this regard the syndicalist takes far less for granted than do the administrative Socialists, the majority of whom postulate, it is true, of a future state, but who nevertheless make no such provision for the present INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION of the proletariat.

Just as parliamentary economics must be bourgeois economics and can hardly be proletarian while parliamentary, so the moral code of those in political office or in any position dependent on or influenced by the capitalistic scheme of things; is unconsciously but none the less decidedly pitched in harmony with the interests of this ruling class.

Bourgeois Conceptions of Morality Affect the Proletariat.

A capitalist society develops in its hangers-on a capitalist type of ethics. By dint of the vigor-

ous teaching of this bourgeois code of morals, most people are brought to believe—or think they believe—that whatever is, is right. Capitalism is, ergo, Capitalism is right. It is apparent that in this manner these bourgeois conceptions of morality have seeped down by what Ross calls "social gravity," and by a process of imitation of superiors by inferiors (both so-called). A considerable portion of the proletariat has been infected with this bourgeois morality.

Enter here the Industrialists, a militant minority of the proletariat, to instill a PROLETARIAN morality into the great laboring class, to educate them to a conception of their class interests and finally to wrest by DIRECT ACTION, this being the most expedient because the most effectual method, WITH POLITICAL ACTION PLAYING THE ROLE OF FOLLOW-UP CONFIRMATION—TO WREST FROM BOURGEOIS CONTROL THE SOCIALLY USED TOOLS OF PRODUCTION.

The very history of the pure and simple trade unions, now quite legitimate and right, pointed to with pride by parliamentary Socialists and labor leaders and lauded by capitalists as "our greatest bulwark against Socialism," throws a deal of light on the question of morality and the need of direct action. The English trade unions did not get legislated into existence nor did they legislate themselves into existence. The workmen continued year after year, in the face of a law which dubbed their organizations "conspiracies" and as such unlawful, and finally by the use of direct organization and activity forced the government to about-face and declare that which was formerly unlawful and immoral to be lawful and moral.

Craft Spirit Incompatible With Class Spirit.

Now this modern Industrialist movement combines the old trade union movement with the class movement—the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Nor is the trade union factor after this merger any longer a trade or craft union, because the trade or craft spirit is incompatible with the CLASS spirit—the spirit which recognizes that social classes do exist and that war exists between those classes. So the trade union when syndicalized becomes a true LABOR union.

This union of the labor organizations with the revolutionary Socialist movement had its formative impulse in that same idea of direct action now so prominent in its propaganda. The PROLETARIAN ENTREPRENEURS who played a prominent part in the creation of this union,—such men as Georges Sorel and Prof. Lagardelle,—saw that the most DIRECT form of action depended for its success upon the DIRECT type of organization of proletarians. Direct organization is organization, right on the spot where the worker does his work,—and is exploited. Direct action is the logical economic function of a direct organization.

Direct Action a Social Urge.

The popular notion of direct action identifies it with individual or individualistic action. This is a mistake. Direct tactics, as usually carried out, are unquestionably social or group tactics. The urge to direct action is a social urge. These things are being done in accord with a common desire to make a better SOCIAL order and their execution is an expression of group activity. Even the most violent and destructive variants of direct actionism like sabotage are based on a moral code which considers capitalistic institutions and our modern social adjustment as unjust and therefore immoral. The advocates of sabotage defend the morality of their acts by pointing out that other channels of revolt are closed to the proletariat or offer such resistance that they cannot make head along those lines. Direct action is moral, let us say, because it is, if not the only expedient method, a co-operating factor absolutely necessary to any real achievement by the political program.

Whatever its value or moral status, it is hard to see how even the capitalists, least of all the Socialists, can rule direct action out of the game. A capitalistic society has permitted the formation of working class political parties functioning politically. It has permitted the formation of the more direct (because closer to production) kind of organization,—the labor unions,—and the VERY LIMITED functioning of these direct organizations. These industrial organizations, thanks largely to the syndicalists, are beginning to realize themselves as a class and to extend their direct functions to the scope of a class movement.

The Working Class Must Be Self-Emancipated.

It is this last step that is significant for us now. It is a clear-cut proletarian movement. The wage-earner is coming to realize that a vicarious emancipation of labor is impossible. The working class must be self-emancipated. As a matter of fact, direct action has come into the class struggle thus late in the day of capitalistic domination. The working class, seeing no other way to secure its freedom, is going about it directly, industrially and politically. So far as it is possible let all things be done in order, but injustice is not to endure forever for the sake of preserving order. Surely if the injustices—DISORDERS—of the social body cannot be done away with without a scuffle, for the sake of a society both orderly and just we ought to welcome the scuffle.

KEEP ON REVOLTING.

Coachella, Cal., Dec. 13, 1911.

Revolt Publishing Co.

Dear Comrades: Please send me REVOLT for six months. I enclose postal order to pay for same. Keep on "Revolting," for revolution is needed, not only outside but in the party as well.

Faternally yours,

CORA S. HANSEN.

OFFICE OF REVOLT NOW AT 1384 SUTTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

REVOLT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

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MERITS OUR SUPPORT.

THE VORWAERTS OF THE PACIFIC COAST, THE GERMAN SOCIALIST WEEKLY PAPER, PUBLISHED IN SAN FRANCISCO, WILL RECEIVE THE PROCEEDS OF A BALL THAT IS TO BE HELD CHRISTMAS, DEC. 25TH, AT THE NEW SAN FRANCISCO TURN HALL.

THE "VORWAERTS" IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF OUR GERMAN COMRADES AND IT MERITS THE UNITED SUPPORT OF EVERY READER OF REVOLT.

INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISTS OF SAN FRANCISCO ORGANIZE.

About 250 men and women interested in Industrial Socialism, comfortably filled Germania Hall, Sunday, December 17th, and organized themselves into an "Industrial Socialist League" for the purpose of maintaining a reading room where workers could assemble and read Socialist and labor periodicals. They further voiced their desires to establish a labor reference library, where works dealing with current and past history of the world's labor movement would be accessible to all. It was decided that beginning with the first Sunday in January lectures and discussions will be held in Germania Hall, 15th and Mission streets.

Comrade Thomas J. Mooney presided at the meeting. Suggestions and short talks were made by many comrades. A committee of five consisting of William McDevitt, Charles Hogue, Alfred Lentz, Cloudesley Johns and Selig Schulberg, were elected to draw up rules and by-laws for use by the Industrial Socialists.

Enthusiasm for the cause resulted in a collection of \$30.35, and many of the donors pledged themselves a stated sum to be given monthly.

Comrade Frederick Bebergall is serving as secretary-treasurer, and those who desire to reach him with donations of money or suitable books for the library should address their mail to 1876 Mission street, San Francisco. The next meeting will be held Sunday, December 24th, at 2:30 p. m., at 1876 Mission street.

CAPITALIST MACHINATIONS PUT SOCIALIST CANDIDATES ON OTHER TICKETS.

Cedarhurst, L. I., December 13, 1911.

Dear Comrades in Revolt:

The New York Call has taken up the questions raised by me in my letter of a few days ago. Certainly the Socialist press is the proper place for their discussion and not the capitalist press—even if there is only an external appearance of compromise.

Information secured by Comrade J. G. Phelps Stokes shows that in Allentown (Pa.) and Ash-tabula (O.) it was the machinations of capitalist politicians that put the Socialist candidates on other tickets and doubtless the same is true of the other towns mentioned.

Certainly the occurrences are in every way regrettable and to be avoided in the future if possible—and in any event to be widely discussed and explained in the Socialist press.

Fraternally,
WM. E. WALLING.

DEBS SENDS DOLLAR AND WISHES REVOLT SUCCESS.

Terre Haute, Ind., Dec. 12, '11.

The REVOLT,
San Francisco, Calif.

My Dear Comrades:

My subscription expires with the calendar year. Please renew me for 1912. You will findittance enclosed.

With greetings to the comrades and hoping that the coming year may bring prosperity and success to your work in the cause of the revolution I am

Yours loyally,

E. V. DEBS.

OFFICE OF REVOLT NOW AT 1384 SUTTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

SOCIAL CONTRASTS

TWO ENDS OF A MATCH

Producing End

"PHOSSY JAW" DEVELOPS ULCERS AND DISFIGURES.

A young widow, Rose —, who went to work in a match factory in Ohio, was affected by phosphorous poisoning. It made her teeth drop out and developed ulcers which opened into her mouth. With two small children to support, she could not give up till it was necessary for her to go to a hospital and have her jaw, or rather what was left of it, taken out. While helpless in her suffering she had to have money for hospital expenses, and the company gave her \$400 upon her signing a paper relieving them of all obligation.

When she came out of the hospital, she tried desperately hard to get other work to do to support her two children. She was only thirty-six years old, but the poison had so devitalized her that she looked sixty. She can never eat any solid food and she cannot speak. The roof of her mouth rests on her tongue.

The injurious effects of this poison are perhaps more horrible than that of any other known occupational disease. The disfigurement, odor, humiliation and permanent disability are even worse than the acute agony, which is usually a matter of a few years.

One Wisconsin woman, however, has been sick for the past nine years and the bones of her mouth are still breaking up with the dread necrosis. They pass away in the form of pus, which keeps her in a state of nausea and requires constant sanitary attention in order to keep it from dripping into her throat.

PAUL LAFARGUE.

With their joint departure from life, virtually in each other's embrace, nearly 70 years old, and determined to escape the annoyances to themselves and surroundings that infirm old age brings with it, Lafargue and his wife, Karl Marx's daughter Laura, sealed the poesy of a life, the poesy of which the scientific attainments of neither tended to deaden; on the contrary, the poesy of which the scientific attainments of both rather fed.

Paul Lafargue, a Cuban by birth, was of French-Jewish and Cuban Mulatto extraction. When asked at Lille, France, by the writer in 1904, to whom Lafargue imparted the information, whether he had any predilection for any of the races through whose loins he was strained, he promptly answered, "Yes," and added, "I am proudest of my Negro extraction." The statement gives a cue to the understanding of Lafargue's characteristics and career.

Paul Lafargue had a constitutional affinity with The Oppressed. His being was a harp the strings of which responded melodiously to the sighs of man. The poetic nature of Lafargue is the dominant key in his life-work. Off and on he wandered away from that sphere into the realm of statistics, only quickly to return to his own element. There he was at his best.

Lafargue's "Religion of Capital" is a satirical allegory, or allegorical satire of matchless beauty, kneeness and rhythm. His "Right to be Lazy" is a gauntlet, boldly thrown at the feet of the bourgeois apotheosis of "Work," and is accompanied with organ notes deep-searching and stirring. Even his monographs on questions, in which he drew deep at the fountains of philosophy and ethnology, are illumined with the poetry of his nature.

As he was internally, so did he look externally. In a crowd of thousands Lafargue, with his flowing hair, vivacious eyes, sprightly port, athletic lissomeness, would be easily picked out as a bold poetic type—a child of nature in whom what civilization has of artificial never extinguished the originality.

Already four years ago Lafargue bore his years with painfulness. A philosopher and a lover of man to the end, he cared not to live after his lamp lacked oil. Jointly with his companion in life, he bade us all adieu.—Weekly People.

SCHULBERG AT SOUTH SAN FRANCISCO

South San Francisco, December 12, '11.

Dear Comrades:—Local South San Francisco held a well attended meeting Sunday, December 10th, Comrade Selig Schulberg spoke on the "Basis of Socialism." In dealing with his subject Comrade Schulberg gave an excellent review of the McNamara case. The audience took a very keen interest in what he said, and he set a good many of W. P. Fuller's (the local paint works) wage-slaves to thinking. A number of would-be Socialists, who fearing the retribution of their bosses, stayed away from this meeting, think they will screw up enough courage to attend our next meeting.

Comrade Schulberg not only made a splendid speech, but he has also succeeded in putting new life into our would-be Socialists. We expect to do some real live propaganda work on the streets of our sleeping little town next week.

Enclosed find \$1.50 for one yearly and one half year subscriptions.

Yours for the Revolution,
CHARLES KUN, Secretary,
Local South San Francisco.

ENTERTAINMENT AND BALL.

Allgemeiner Arbeiter Bildungs Verein will give an Entertainment and Ball, January 1st, at 7:30 p. m., in Tiv Hall, 139 Albion avenue, near 16th and Valencia. Admission, 10 cents. Wm. McDevitt will speak.

Profit End

GAVE IT TO WIFE AND NOT TO A MISTRESS.

NEW YORK, December 17.—It was learned to-day that Santa Claus had dropped a "half million dollar" necklace of pearls in New York, and that the fortunate recipient is the attractive young wife of Frank Jay Gould. This beautiful rope of fascinating gems is said to be arranged in a trio of perfectly graduated strands and to have been recently imported from Paris at Mr. Gould's order.

Mr. Gould, who has long been known as a fancier of pearls, modestly declined to discuss the cost of the jewels when asked about the charming Christmas gift to-night. Urged to relate the interesting story of the purchase of these rare gems, he said:

"Mrs. Gould is now wearing a double strand rope of pearls which I have presented to her—yes, a Christmas gift if you wish—after negotiations for their purchase over a period of perhaps five months."—Examiner.

SOCIALIST EDITOR OBJECTS TO INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM.

A few weeks ago a short article was written for REVOLT on industrial Socialism, contrasting it with the mere political Socialism of government ownership of public utilities, with its numerous political plums of fat jobs. In it we said: "Turn the industries over to the workers, the mines to the miners, the railroads to the railroad workers, the school to the teachers, and so on; each branch of workers to elect their own heads and superintendent." This proposition the acting editor of the Oakland World calls a new brand of Socialism, and then, in the end of his article, practically agrees with that position.

In the first place, the editor denies that public ownership in a capitalist state is Socialism of any kind. Herein we agree with him, in spite of the sad fact that the political Socialist throughout the State and nation has advertised this phenom as "constructive Socialism."

"As long as business enterprise is the ruling factor in industry, a capitalist political state will continue to exist, and whatever public ownership there is will be simply a modified form of capitalism," says the editor.

Exactly so, my dear comrade, and business enterprise will continue to be the ruling factor in industry until the workers take possession of industry. Industry is the foundation of society, while politics is the weathercock that shows which way the wind blows. The politician is at the mercy of the industrial power after he gets into office, AND OF HIS OWN ILLUSION AND AMBITION BEFORE HE GETS THERE. The Socialist party is, therefore, not merely a political party but an educational party, or should be. The so-called constructive Socialist under capitalism is a fraud.

All that remains for us now is to find out the kind of politics that will lead us out of Egypt without the workers taking possession of their own industries and electing their own heads and representatives.

"As to turning over the industries to the various groups of workers," he says, "there are some of us who will enter a strenuous protest to any such procedure. To allow such groups of workers to determine, without consulting any of the rest of society, how long they should work, what proportion of the value of the product should be used for extending the industry, and how much they should retain and consume," and so on. We had always thought that all Socialists understood that before we can have Socialism, or will get it, all industries will be world-wide and interdependent.

They are, in fact, so now. One group of workers in one industry are entirely dependent on all other groups in their production. All human beings are creatures of the same necessities; different groups produce these necessities in a socialistic state or world and exchange them according to the amount of social labor power put into them, instead of profit for the masters as now. A group of workers are limited only by the world limit when the workers own the world. Only a capitalistic-minded individual can possibly conjure up such a question as, "Shall different groups be allowed to do so and so?" Because, as I have already said, they are interdependent. The miners cannot eat their coal, and railroad workers have nothing to carry except provisions and traveling workers. Industries to-day are rapidly coming to the stage where they are as interrelated as the organs in a human body. If one group suffers, that means that the whole body is sick and suffers. It is queer that such simple social truths have to be explained, but they will have to be explained a thousand times more to be grasped by the mind that, with no fault of its own, cannot understand it, because capitalistic misinformation holds sway.

CAROLINE NELSEN.

SUBS AND DONATIONS COMING STRONG.

The Journeymen Tailors' Union gave Revolt \$10.00. There are other progressive labor organizations that should aid in maintaining and strengthening REVOLT. From all sides we receive kind words and encouragement. Sometimes this encouragement consists of the merited disapproval of tiny and big labor skates.

In a recent issue of a "certain sheet" a contributor refers to "Revolt Higher Ups." The question is not who Cameron H. King, Jr., had in mind, but the point is, that as a lower down lawyer who at times advertises himself as "The Attorney of the Socialist Party" and when circus occasions require it, he evolves into "The President of the Office Employees' Union," naturally loses his equilibrium whenever he thinks of the paper that spoils the "game" of getting his snout into the swill barrel of fakeridden politics. Let the subs roll in!

DONATIONS.

Journeymen Tailors' Union of America	
Local No. 2	\$10.00
Chas. Nicholson, Canada	1.00
R. R. B.	15.00
Fred Hannah	.50
"1004 F."	1.00

SOCIALIST VICTORY.

(Continued from page 1.)

some essential (and saving!) difference between Hoehn and his fellows running on Socialist-Republican-Independent tickets and Harriman et al. running on a Socialist-Union Labor political club ticket with some of the nominees admitted to the party a few days before the nominating convention. There is no essential difference.

It would seem that Harriman and his political associates were in fear of the outcome of National Rereferendum D, for in the draft of the California State Constitution of the party which they are trying to slide through, THEY SEEK TO EFFECT THE PARTY RECOGNITION OF THEIR CONTENTION THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY DOES NOT CONSIST OF THE DUES-PAYING MEMBERS, BUT OF ANYBODY AND EVERYBODY THAT MAY CHOOSE TO REGISTER AS A SOCIALIST TO VOTE AT THE PRIMARIES, LEAVING THE MANAGEMENT OF THE PARTY TO THE STATE EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Incidentally they have a paragraph in that wondrous constitution draft under which they can undertake the expulsion of any party member daring to criticize their crooked career.

All right! Come on with the lightning of Jove—no, er, of JOB.

GRAND ANNUAL BALL

Given by the

Polish Socialists of San Francisco

Branch Socialist Party

AT BREWERY WORKERS' HALL

177 Capp St., Bet. 16th and 17th,

Mission and Howard

Saturday Evening, Dec. 30th, 1911

ADMISSION, 25 CENTS

Grand Christmas Ball

Given by the

VORWAERTS
Of the Pacific Coast

German Socialist Weekly

MONDAY, DECEMBER 25th, 1911, 7:00 P. M.

— at —

THE NEW SAN FRANCISCO TURN HALL

Sutter Street, near Devisadero

Presents for the Children
Raffle for Valuable Prizes

ADMISSION 25 CENTS UNION MUSIC

MASTERS' COMMITTEE OF SAFETY ACTING THEIR PART.

(By National Socialist Press.) WASHINGTON, D. C.—That the Democratic leaders in Congress intend to use organized labor as the means to land a Wilson or a Harmon in the White House is evident from the present maneuvers of these politicians.

Never were capitalist party "statesmen" as fortunate as the leaders of the Democratic House. With the Republicans controlling the Senate and the White House there is nothing in the legislative program of organized labor that the Democrats cannot approve of in the House.

They can and no doubt will pass a bill against the use of injunctions in labor disputes. But this bill would never see daylight in the Senate.

Should they pass Representative Henry's bill which exempts labor unions from the operations of the Sherman anti-trust law this measure would certainly be killed in the Republican Senate.

And should the Democratic House pass any other labor measures they would no doubt die either in the Senate or in the White House. In fact, Democrats have nothing to lose by passing labor measures. Their capitalist masters know that they are only bluffing. They know that the Democrats would never pass labor bills if they had an inkling that such bills would pass the Senate and receive the President's signature.

So the present session of Congress is going to break the record for political maneuvering. To use a popular expression: "Labor will be worked for all it is worth," so that unthinking workmen will waste their votes on Democrats in 1912.

Oscar Lawler's Record.

It should be noted that the Federal Government selected a notorious reactionary and labor hater to prosecute the so-called dynamiting cases. Oscar Lawler, of Los Angeles, who has been appointed by Attorney-General Wickersham as special prosecutor, is a man with a past.

Lawler is the man who dictated the notorious Ballinger whitewash letter which was afterward signed by Taft. As a result of that scandal Taft was forced to drop both Ballinger and Lawler. The latter hiring is also the man who persecuted the Mexican refugees in the days of the Diaz regime.

"THE MEDITATIONS OF AN ASS."

"The Prophet and the Ass."

By G. H. LOCKWOOD, Editor.

Kalamazoo, Mich.

Mr. Capitalist Santa Claus: Having hauled off and lambasted that ancient and hoary custom of filling one's hide with a surfeit of food on "Thanksgiving" (?) day, just because some one tells us we ought to be thankful—whether we are or not;—the Ass concluded that he has as good a right to land a few on this equally ancient, and foolish, custom of buying a lot of fool bric-a-brac for people who don't need it, and insulting people who do sorely need things by giving them something they don't want.

Having gone this far in my mind's eye I can see some old granny throw up her hands in holy horror and ejaculate: "I hope that critter ain't going to say anything against our blessed Christmas." Well! Not exactly about Christmas—but the way some fool people observe it makes even an Ass tired.

Even an Ass can appreciate good will and human kindness. If, after the balance is struck, there is one good deed in favor of the continued observance of Christmas day in the future, as in the past, world without end, then he will swallow his cud and say "Praise be! Let'er go Santa Claus! But—

Here is the way it sizes up to a man in a tree top. For every really unselfish, generous impulse and intelligent purposeful good deed, there lines up a mass of evidence that stamps the modern observance of this "custom" largely mammon worship, a bending of the neck to habit, an emptying of the purse to shrewd schemers bent on making the goose lay a golden egg for them, whether the goose wants to or not.

The Ass is convinced that there is more heart ache, disappointment, enmity, jealousy, hatred, covetousness, mental agony and sinner pure prevarication peddled around on and about Christmas than any other day on the calendar.

Some smooth faced little disciple of "Things as they Are" has hunted up little Johnny Poordevil and dragged his unwilling and poorly-clad feet to Sunday school. And Johnny has been taught a lot of new things about the great Empty Um rewarding the good and punishing the evil, and as a result Johnny decided to be very good, though ordinarily he is a pretty good little chap all the time, he has to be. Little Teddy Richbug in the same class is told the same thing. But Teddy is in the habit of having his own sweet way, bossing the servants and raising hob generally, and this Santa Claus dope don't offer a great inducement for him to strive for what he already has in abundance. So he keeps right on being as mean as his own inclination and lack of real filial attention (given to the poodle dog) will permit, even to the extent of raising a rough house right in Sunday school.

When the Christmas tree is shown up little Johnny Poordevil gets a bag of popcorn with some cheap-striped candy in it—and a picture of his Sunday-school teacher; while Teddy, the dear boy, gets an air ship and an automobile and a pony and a sled and a warm overcoat and—well the little cus gets so much that his parents actually become ashamed of themselves for letting their love of show and ostentation so overbalance good taste and common decency. But—it don't help much to soften the lump in the throat of little Johnny Poordevil, or to soothe the hurting in heart of

Mother Poordevil, and Father Poordevil, and some others of the Poordevil family that are present to witness this "Divine Dispensation of Providence" sifted down through human agencies. And the great army of Poordevils—that never get within gunshot of a Christmas tree,—it doesn't help much to fill the aching void of their empty lives, even though the Salvation Army has their number.

What happens Christmas day on the plane of childhood happens all along the line. People spend money they can ill afford to spend, buying presents that they do not really wish to buy, presents that are neither beautiful, useful or desirable, just because—well just because, a woman's reason is as good as any.

Occasionally a guilty conscience spurs some old "fat-wallet" out into the winter's night to do some work of charity (?)—to relieve some pressing necessity his own greed and avarice has occasioned. Occasionally the full basket of provisions reaches the right place and temporarily relieves the pangs of hunger. But for every balm of healing, every sigh of satisfaction, there rises up to some Great White Throne, some place, a mighty sound, a piteous wail, a great cry of anguish, of bitterness, of misery and despair.

With all our modern inventions; with Nature still prolific and willing to bring forth; with the aid of steam, electricity and the wonderful mechanisms of modern science; still the masses of the people are destitute of the things essential to a really cultured, civilized life, and many, millions, lack the barest essentials of a physical existence.

While the few feast and make merry the many suffer the pangs of hunger and the intellectual miseries of the damned. Don't tell me it has been worse! Don't offer silly excuses or explanations! The facts are that THINGS ARE WRONG, brutally wrong,—and no thin-soup "charity" on Christmas day, or any other day, will atone for this awful wrong, the Capitalist System that forces goods to SELL at a PROFIT, regardless of human needs, or justice, to those who create the wealth of the world.

Don't tell me that the meek and lowly Jesus is pleased on Christmas day. If there was and is a meek and lowly Jesus, a friend of the poor, a carpenter's son, then I fancy I can see his great heart breaking at the shams, and follies and wrongs and deceits and iniquities that pile up mountains high on this particular day, this day when the fettered souls of men and women do homage to things as they are told they "were" by observing customs cunningly planned to reft "Things as they Are."

As for me! Well, of course I'm only an Ass, but I'll be ding-blasted if I'm a patient, clod-hopping, custom-observing Ass, and it gets on my nerves to think about trying to be "joyful and happy when millions of child slaves toil for bread and Labor is an outcast in the world of plenty he has created. Out from the very depths of my soul there comes a cry for JUSTICE. Justice not charity. And as I listen to that cry I feel like raising my hind legs and kicking the everlasting stuffing out of every hoary-headed custom that is but a part of a past full of darkness.

I say, HAIL TO THE COMING OF THE NEW DAY WHEN OLD THINGS SHALL PASS AWAY! We don't want the crooked stick plow of our forefathers, we don't want the ox-cart, the hand loom, the bow and arrow. The "flat" world was the conception of a flat-headed people, untouched by the revelations of science. But it was those same people who lived in a cave and crossed the streams on a grapevine bridge who fashioned the beginning of MOST OF THE CUSTOMS now so foolishly observed by most of the people.

Now, good friends, listen to my bray: The cry for JUSTICE will NOT BE STILLED, it will grow and grow and grow, and behind the cry there will be strong arms and strong minds and strong hearts, and some day old things will be swept away and the new heaven and new earth will appear; and in that day no one will dare to insult his friends or foes by giving presents bought with MONEY, the symbol of the God of Mammon, a bending of the neck to habit, an emptying of the purse to shrewd schemers bent on making the goose lay a golden egg for them, whether the goose wants to or not.

THE ASS ASSUMES ALL RESPONSIBILITY.

34TH DISTRICT CLUB.

Open meetings every Tuesday night, St. Helen Hall, 2089 Fifteenth street.

Dec. 26—Daniel Milder; subject, Ethics of Socialism.

Mary Fenton, Mrs. F. Liess and M. P. Christensen are on the list. Their subjects will be announced. Questions and comments will make the meetings interesting. Come yourselves and bring your friends.

The Rose Door House of Prostitution

Estelle Baker. Had a million American women live from the sale of their bodies. This book is a living, gripping story of the actual lives of four of these women. It shows the way out. Randomly printed and illustrated, extra cloth, \$1.00 postpaid. For \$1.50 send The Rose Door and a year's subscription to the International Socialist Review, the biggest, best illustrated and most vital working class magazine in the world today. CHARLES E. KERR & CO., 118 W. KINTZ ST., CHICAGO

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THE CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA.

Like the visitor to Niagara, we can say of the Eleventh Edition of the Britannica, "It is a success!" But no more than at Niagara can we ignore the diversion of a threatening amount of the contents from their natural function, if it is to be an adequate success. Although the Ninth Edition of this greatest of English encyclopedias was in process over a score of years, its flow of information remained steady and timely. It is our purpose to inquire how far "special interests," familiar in the mart, the court, and the representative assembly, have (doubtless unwittingly) insinuated their enervating influence into these volumes of science. ***

Upon microscopic examination it is revealed that many of the places in the Iberian peninsula are correctly located on this map in the volume, Shu, to Sub. Unfortunately this map is typical. The publisher of a textbook on Geography, used in a German Volksschule, would not endure the maps of the Encyclopedia Britannica a moment. Whether it is impossible in an india paper edition to print good maps, or whether it is impossible in Great Britain, the maps are villainously drawn throughout this work. It is clear later, when we find the Imperialist tendency of the publication, why it would have been inconsistent in a Britannica to have maps labeled, "made in Germany."

The india paper, flexibly bound, inflexibly reactionary Eleventh Edition contains no article on "Politics" or "Political Science," although strangely enough it does have an article on "Sociology." It is possible that a diligent student to find out something about politics. Meanwhile the Encyclopedia contains an article of two pages on "Democracy" and another of one page on "Republican" (less than the Century Dictionary definition). The latter article does not describe existing republics at all, but is supplemented by a long article of seven pages on the "Republican Party" for the consumption of the few remaining literate partisans and the archeologists of the future who may care to read it. Stranger still, the article on "Democracy" is confined to the alleged democracies of Greece and their distinguished, if some time dead, advocates. Walt Whitman, Mazzini, Abraham Lincoln, Edward Carpenter, Lyof Tolstoi, Switzerland, New Zealand, Australia, Finland, Iceland, Oregon are unknown quantities to this anonymous classicist.

The subject of "Government" is handled in a trivial and unsigned article; and there is no caption, "Great Britain," or cross reference. Again, this omission may be supplemented by the Index, but it seems glaring in the place where one looks for a discussion of the subject. The Briton, if not the American, who is supposed to be sufficiently versed on Great Britain, is suspected by the Britannica editors of ignorance of the subject, "sombroder," which is defined, as one would expect to see it in a dictionary.

The bibliography on "Sociology" is meritorious in that it includes some of the references most flagrantly omitted from the article on "Economics." The article is, however, curiously, written by Benjamin Kidd. This is of itself remarkable enough; but this distinguished British civil servant and author could, conceivably, have written an article on "Sociology," as Professor James Tufts, the philosopher in this country, or Professor Patrick Geddes, the Scottish botanist, might have done. Mr. Kidd has written, however, under the heading "Sociology," a treatise on evolution, similar to his other approaches to sociology, which, also like them, is well in its way; but after he has exhausted the British evolutionists and the books of Mr. Kidd, which is long after he has exhausted the sociological student, we reach a discussion of militarism and culminate in the impression that sociology is a cross between "Tommy Atkins" and psychology. Mr. Kidd is not very familiar with the American sociologists, still less with the German, and not at all with the French. Some of the books in the bibliography give a pleasing impression of Mr. Kidd's private library, as for example, Frazer, "Golden Bough"; Taylor, "The Problem of Conduct"; James, "Pragmatism"; Morley, "Diderot and the Encyclopedists"; "Burke"; Sohm, "Institutes of Roman Law"; Sanders, "Institutes of Justinian"; Nietzsche, "Zarathustra"; Hobbes, "Leviathan"; Kidd, "Social Evolution"; Kidd, "Principles of Western Civilization"; and Kidd, "Individualism and After."

If the article on "Sociology" is a curious evidence of editorial insulation, that on "Economics" betrays freshened British, capitalistic insularity. The history of political economy, written by Professor Ingram, in the Ninth Edition is one of the classics of economic literature. While books have been written to bring it down to date, it still stands as the best history of economics extant. Why it should have been omitted from this edition

Abonniert auf den VORWARTS DER PACIFIC-KUSTE

German Socialist Weekly, of the Bay Cities

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is certainly not answered by the article of Mr. Hewins. Instead of a catholic, scientific survey of economic thought, we have a "fair trade" pamphlet, which actually includes reference to Mr. Chamberlain. How Mr. Chamberlain could break into a general article on political economy in an international encyclopedia, which omits not only the names of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, John A. Hobson, and William Smart (even in the bibliography), but Joseph Cannon and Thomas W. Lawson, is explained by the fact that Mr. Hewins was secretary of the tariff reform organization headed by Mr. Chamberlain. Why he failed to write fully of South African economics is not clear; but that Mr. W. A. S. Hewins should be called "w.a.s. economist, i.s. pamphleteer," is a painful certainty. It will not be forgotten that Professor Hewins was head of the London School of Economics (one of the most advanced in the world) when it was absorbed by London University. So much has the issue of tariff reform done to strengthen British insularity! Still, it does not explain how an encyclopedia, which circulates more widely in America than in Great Britain, should be so audaciously indifferent to its more illustrious predecessor and the real people and interests of the contemporary world.

The Eleventh Edition is not only insular; it betrays its class-consciousness in being woefully defective in that prophetic instinct which guided Robertson Smith in his choice of contributors to the Ninth Edition, and the contributors themselves in their treatment of rapidly changing subjects. In vol. XII, p. 295, one reads of Parliament; "The British system has worked without any serious collision between the Houses." In the subsequent volume under "Portugal," it could be recorded that the King fled to Great Britain in 1910, but the account of the British Parliament is not even abreast of 1810. We are accustomed to partisan newspapers' prognostications being so wild the day of election that one wonders how the human mind could go so far astray even after the heat of a campaign, but what shall we say of a scientific (?) writer missing the chief revolution in eighty years, the very year of its occurrence.—The Editor. Twentieth Century Magazine.

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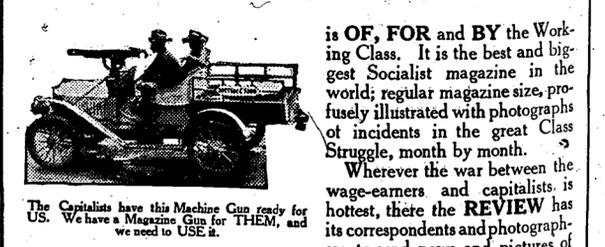
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