



REVOLT

THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

VOL. 1.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., MAY 20, 1911.

NO. 4.

NOT PESSIMISTS!

Our Enemies Think So. Will Think Worse!

By FRANK BOHN.

When Comrade Wm. D. Haywood spoke in St. Louis recently, all of the capitalist papers gave columns of space to the report of his speech. Most of them followed with editorial attacks upon his argument. The St. Louis Republic, of May 2nd, contains an editorial, half a column in length, entitled "Mr. Haywood's pessimism."

The Republic is especially bitter against Haywood's suggestion that a general strike of the working class would assist the McNamaras in obtaining justice in the courts of California. It claims to see nothing remarkable in the forceable and illegal extradition of the officers of the Structural Iron Workers, one from the State of Michigan and the other from the State of Indiana. But the main point of this defender of the brutalities of capitalism is its statement about the general view and tone of the Socialist agitator. It says of Haywood:

"He is a pessimist—dark purple, with slate gray trimmings. He believes this government has thus far been a failure. Liberty is dead and justice but a name. There is but one thing to do—to fling the book of rules at the umpire's head and rush the diamond from the bleachers."

Continuing, the editor describes the beauties and the virtues of the present system of society. There are schools, street cars, factories and other improvements. Business seems to be good or at least is picking up, etc., etc. To the Republic such little incidents as the murder of 350 men in a mine at one time, the slaughter of 560 iron and steel workers in the single city of Pittsburg within a year the overwork of millions of women in factories, the exile of millions of small children from the school and the home to the sweat-shop—all of these and worse are non-existent.

We shall not argue the point. Facts are facts. Accused criminals have not the habit of admitting their guilt. To boast of their virtues has been the custom of evil-doers always and everywhere. Nothing except larger profits from telling the truth will persuade capitalist newspapers to stop repeating falsehoods. But the peculiarly ridiculous assertion of the Republic which we quote above ought not to be repeated. It gains them nothing and will not be believed even by the most stupid readers.

We Socialists are, of all humanity, the happiest. We are in fact, the only people living today who are intelligently optimistic. Life is hard, to be sure, but it is going to be much easier and better. Slavery and starvation and disease and untimely death, are the everlasting portion of a robbed and broken working class. Look at an average crowd of workers on the street. Are they happy? Not at all. The small boy, with drawn face, hurries to deliver his package so that he may escape the curses of his employer. A bedraggled crowd of women, after ten hours of factory labor or floor scrubbing, plod home-ward to get supper and spend the evening mending stockings. Such a one is apt, with her whole being, to curse life. The average working man in a modern American city finds relaxation from toil and worry, if at all, in drink and gambling.

We advise those who think that we are pessimists to read a chapter or two of dear old John Ruskin. Find out what he wrote when he found what a gulf was fixed between the realities of life and its possibilities. Ruskin desired cleanliness of body, mind and spirit. He saw dirt and ignorance and despair on every hand. Worst of all Ruskin saw that the rich of England were such a crowd of blockheads and vulgarians as not to know the difference between barbarism and civilization.

Any clean, decent, intelligent person with a concept of life befitting a human being, who does not understand and believe in Socialism, is a pessimist. John Ruskin was a pessimist. He lived a pessimist and died one. He appealed to the rich and powerful and mighty of earth to do better for the masses and was promptly and universally laughed at. The editor of the St. Louis Republic is not a pessimist because he gets a few thousand dollars a year for prostituting his intellect, and thinks, because he has enough to eat and drink, all the world is just right. He is not the only one of this type. The average American capitalist, lawyer, clergyman, real estate shark, college professor or society sport is wholly unfit for civilized human living.

Haywood is not a pessimist. No Socialist is a pessimist because Socialist hearts and minds have scope for the future as well as for the present. But of course the enemies of Socialism understand and feel only the blows they receive from us. Such, to them, is the stuff of which Socialism is made. Let them continue to think so. They will have good cause soon to think worse of us.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

Lessons to be Learned in Oakland.

"NO COMPROMISE, NO POLITICAL TRADING!" MUST BE WATCHWORD OF SOCIALIST PARTY EVERYWHERE.

The Oakland election afforded the finest object lesson of the new political strategy springing out of the conditions of the new non-partisan city election laws.

The Basic Socialist Strength.

The results of the primary and the final election, show that the basic Socialist vote of Oakland is about 5500. It was about 4000 last fall in the Governorship campaign—under favorable conditions. The "big business," interests behind Mott had the machine and the mazuma. Clearly it was inevitable strategy for them to select their opponent. They had votes to spare in the primary—they could have lost 2000 votes, and still have qualified for the finals. The question, then, for the Mott campaign managers, was simply this: Shall we run Jackson or Booth? We can name our opponent. Shall it be the foggy reformer, Jackson, or the Socialist, Booth?

Why It Was Booth.

They selected the Socialist. The Mott machine simply "told off" about 500 of their voters—enough to defeat Jackson, and so to defeat him as to make his forges sore against the Socialist that barely nosed him out. But why Booth? The wily machine men of Mayor Mott reasoned well: "The Jackson fellows are faint-hearted reformers. They have no disciplined forces. They can't be delivered in bulk to Booth. But the Socialists are sincere; they are a phalanx, with a veteran corps of political chiefs, and they may swing into line for Jackson and reform—even if only to show that they have the balance of power."

Hence the Mott machine jockeyed the primary, and Booth was the man.

What Did the County Ring Do?

Now came the county ring—the anti-Mott cabal of county officers of Alameda county. Mott was in their way. They want a clear field for a county machine. Mott's city machine was a threatening foe. Therefore they must put their slate of Oakland commissioners in office, and

split the Mott forces. Hence the alliance of the county ring with the Socialist ticket. This alliance was not formal, not official, not "on the records." But nevertheless it was actual, real, substantial. At every polling place the "anti-administration" ticket was in evidence. It was a combine, with Booth's name for Mayor and with the anti-Mott and county ring candidates for commissioners.

The result? Mott won, but the county ring ran second, and the Socialists ran third. That is, Mott got the major victory, the ring got the minor victory, and the Socialists got—double crossed. They got nothing substantial, nothing immediate—nothing but the ignis fatuus of a falsely increased vote, and the ill-gained prominence of being the acknowledged opposing factor.

The Mott people calculated well. Jackson did not deliver his strength—he could not. Half of it, at least half, failed to go over to Booth. And the county ring got more than it gave; in other words, the Socialists scabbed on themselves, for, according to Jack London's definition of a scab, they gave more than they got. They undersold themselves.

A Political Lesson and a Moral.

The Oakland campaign was illuminating. It shows the futility of alliances between Socialists and foggy reformers or crafty rings. It points the lesson of old Liebknecht, "No compromise, no political trading." Five thousand stalwart Socialist votes are stronger than ten thousand hybrid "anti-administration" votes. What Charles Edward Russell wrote in last week's REVOLT remains all the more true. Solid, stalwart, Socialist votes, as they grow and accumulate, spell revolution, while fusion marks the way to dusty death for Socialist organization.

We are vastly stronger now,—after the Oakland election, not because of what we gained by our big vote, but because of what we learned and what we must learn.

Keep in the broad path of the Revolution. "NO COMPROMISE, NO POLITICAL TRADING."

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO NOMINATES

Local San Francisco, Socialist Party of California, met in special business meeting in Tiv Hall, 139 Albion avenue for the purpose of considering communications which could not be taken up at the preceding meeting and nominating officers and members of the Campaign Committee. Many nominations were made for the fifteen members of the committee, including nearly all of those who, now constituting the committee, futilely recommended that the party in San Francisco withdraw its radical candidate for mayor and modify the clauses in the platform which were offensive to political "labor leaders" in this city.

A motion was made to give the endorsement of the Local to REVOLT; amended to include the German paper, Vorwarts. The amendment, on an ayes and noes vote, was lost. The motion was lost by a vote of 109 to 118. The motion then was made to order the organizer to keep REVOLT on sale at headquarters and at party meetings, and carried overwhelmingly.

The meeting adjourned to re-convene next Monday night, May 22, in special business session, in Germania Hall, Mission and Fifteenth streets.

This practical resumption of the regular Monday night business meetings, by holding special business sessions, has served to awaken the Local from the brumal sleep into which it had been plunged after the adoption of the existing constitution under which the greater part of the party's affairs were turned over to the Campaign Committee which drafted the constitution. At one of the "Monday night propaganda meetings" which, under the constitution, were designed to replace the regular business meetings of the Local, there was less than a quorum (50 members) present, preventing even the admission of new members. Small attendance marked the others also. Last Monday night, in special session in which the party membership had retaken the power to act for itself, 227 members were present and voting.

At the special meeting, May 22, nomination of officers will be taken up again, and communications and recent actions of the Campaign Committee will be considered.

The election of officers and Campaign Committee for the ensuing term of six months will be held Monday night, June 5, probably in Germania Hall.

RUSSELL SAYS COMPROMISE RUINS PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT

Writes Article For Revolt.

Charles Edward Russell, recently returned from Australia and New Zealand where he has been studying conditions under "labor administrations" which were carried into power by political compromise, is preparing an extensive article for REVOLT dealing with the situation there and the danger presented in this country by similar political tendencies.

In discussing the article and the local situation with the editor of REVOLT, Comrade Russell said:

"Political entanglements ruin proletarian movements. We must keep clear of them if the socialist movement in this country is to amount to anything for the working class."

Comrade Russell expects to complete his first article for REVOLT in Chicago tomorrow, in which event it will be received in San Francisco in time for publication in our issue of May 27.

REVOLT is glad indeed to add Charles Edward Russell to its list of notable and valuable contributors, because of his wide knowledge of the world-wide proletarian struggle for emancipation from wage slavery which he has devoted himself to gaining in the past few years, the clear understanding of the movement which he manifests, and his rare ability as a writer. Few men are so well equipped in every way (except in the matter of time to spare) to prepare what REVOLT most wishes to present to its readers. His promise to take the time from other things and write for us is cause for congratulation.

LIKE AN EAGLE.

Not only in appearance does William Thurston Brown suggest an eagle, but in his manner of oratorical swooping upon the object of his attack. He gives his hearers the impression, as he delivers his ringing philippics against the monstrous cruelty of the existing system, that capitalism is being physically struck, and lies quivering before the eagle face of the speaker.

San Francisco Socialists, and all lovers of radical thought presented in forceful fashion by a speaker of great power, are to be congratulated upon the opportunity given them to listen to Comrade Brown.

NO SURRENDER!

Stand Firm For True Socialist Principles.

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

Here is a matter which is making considerable bother at the present time and concerning which there is much unnecessary display of temper, flourishing of incandescent oratory, and confusion in general. The matter is as to how far the trades unionists have a mortgage on the work, money and energy of the Socialists.

It has always appeared to the writer that a Socialist is first and exclusively a Socialist; that is, that he adopts a theory of society, and a theory of politics, consequently, incompatible with any other theory. He is hence compelled to make his propoganda on its own merits, to maintain his own political organization, to state his own political platform and otherwise to strive patiently and slowly forward, trusting in his theoretical correctness and the development of industry to prove his case.

All the talk in the world will not affect the substantial correctness of this position. Socialism is either something or nothing. It develops independent traits, it has its own methods of expression, it has its role to play in the social world, the world of industry and the world of politics or, it amounts to nothing at all.

You cannot make Socialists by calling people who are not Socialists, Socialists. You cannot call that a Socialist vote which is in favor of cheap gas and which is a spite vote cast at old officials. To call a platform which is not a Socialist platform Socialist is not to destroy the meaning of Socialism, which is too universally understood to be damaged in the eyes of its adherents or to be disarmed in the estimation of its enemies thereby. In fact, to do so subjects one to the sneering criticism of the informed, who declare that you dare not call Socialism by its right name, you dare not state the true Socialist position, but you are driven to commit a fraud on the electorate in order to obtain political standing.

Thus shame is brought upon the movement. Those who understand the Socialist movement are obliged to blush for the miserable falsehoods and the economic fallacies which are perpetrated in the name of the clearest and most concise view of economics which the ages have brought forth. History is wrenched from its place and, twisted and distorted, is made to serve the needs of the demagogues or trailed in the dust to pander to the emotions of the mob that the desecrator of knowledge may obtain some small place or emolument.

All this and worse follows from the abandonment of the Socialist position. There is no limit to the degree of degradation when once the movement downwards has begun and the name Socialism may easily be made a mocking and a by-word to the working class which consequently may seek its destined goal under some other banner. This would be unfortunate, considering the heroic role which Socialism has played in the later stages of the labor movement.

When we are called upon to sacrifice the Socialist movement on the altar of trade unionism we are compelled to ask how and since when have the trade unionists become Socialists? Then we are informed that the trade union movement is not a Socialist movement; in many cases we are shown that the labor unionists are bitter and vehement antagonists of Socialists, that really nowhere will the trade unionists accept the Socialist platform. Because they cannot, the fundamental doctrine of trades unionism, which regards the workers as peddlers of labor power, being entirely antagonistic to the Socialist conception.

But we are told that we must sacrifice the identity of the Socialist party because the trade unionists are threatened with persecution. To this we reply that we as Socialists everywhere are ready to stand up for a free press, for freedom of speech and for the constitutional guarantees upon which the bourgeois state was founded and which are necessary to the development of all progressive movements. This we are ready to do here as we have always been ready to do before. We showed it in the Moyer-Haywood case, we have shown it on a thousand occasions where these fundamental rights have been neglected and when our people have gone to jail with the sneers of union labor as their reward.

It will not do. We can stand for organized labor wherever the constitutional guarantees are threatened, as we have always done. But surrender our party and our propoganda, to trail our banner in the dust and to corrupt our economic faith because organized labor needs our votes, and because political preferment seems possible to certain ambitious Socialists? This simply will not do!

"AN EMPIRE IN 85 DAYS."

By A. K. GIFFORD.

"85 Days That Rebuilt an Empire" is the title of a serial which a short time since was the main attraction in the San Francisco Daily News. The article (written by Governor Johnson) is an attempt to justify the Insurgent Movement and the radical tendencies of the recent 85 days' session of the State Legislature of California. The claim is made that the Government of California has been wrested from the Southern Pacific Interests and restored to the people; that the passage of the Railroad Bill and the operation of the RECALL mean the last of corporate domination in California. Johnson would have us believe that the dear "people" have again come into possession of their own; that, in reality, it was but "85 days that rebuilt an Empire."

Let us analyze the situation: The claim is made that the Southern Pacific has been ousted from the politics of the State. This we very much doubt. State Secretary Jordan tells us that in April, following the adjournment of the Legislature, 384 corporations were chartered with a capitalization of \$42,000,000, while licenses to transact business within the State were issued to outside corporations capitalized at \$15,490,000. The history of all the larger corporations is that they are unable to reinvest their earnings in the particular business for which they were originally formed. It is also true that the individual stockholders in these larger concerns must have some place in which to invest their dividends. Now in view of these facts, is it not to be presumed that a large part of the earnings of the Southern Pacific is being used in the formation of these new corporations? And does it not logically follow that the Southern Pacific will still be in politics through these smaller and yet monopolistic concerns? We think so.

However, for the sake of argument, let us admit that the "dream of 30 years" has at last been realized and the Southern Pacific has received its knockout blow. What then? Will these smaller concerns have no political interests? Will the thousands of corporations, that for years have monopolized most of the business of the State, have no political interests or influences? They certainly have all kinds of interests at stake, and the recent Insurgent movement, and in fact all the radical tendencies within the old political parties, are but so many efforts of the smaller concerns to usurp the powers and privileges of the Southern Pacific and other large corporations. The recent session of the State Legislature may have "Rebuilt an Empire," but if so they simply tore down an Empire of LARGER capitalism and built one of SMALLER capitalism. Admitting this to have been done, where-in has it profited the rank and file of the working class? Has it settled any of our troubles? Are we any better off because many smaller corporations, instead of a few larger ones, control our legislative bodies and the judiciary? Can we not still hear the tramp, tramp of the great army of the unemployed as it goes from place to place begging for a chance to live? Is it not also a fact that that army is increasing in numbers every day? Are not the prices of the necessities of life still soaring skyward? Are not the same widowed Mothers bending their backs over the same old washtubs while their little ones tug at their skirts begging in vain for a Mother's care? Are not the ranks of the "women of the under world" being recruited in the same old way because of an economic condition that puts HOME beyond the reach of so many? Are not the same signs "BOYS WANTED" and "GIRLS WANTED" still displayed in store, and shop, and office windows, instead of on the playground, and in the school, and in the home? Yes, it may be true that we have a new Empire, but just the same, it is an Empire of Capitalism, and as such will continue to serve the interests of the privileged few as against that of the masses.

We will admit the radical tendencies of recent legislation, such as shorter hours, the recall, and the Initiative and Referendum. These measures will, however, profit us but little unless we use them to overthrow the present system of "production for profit." This will mean that capitalism, both large and small, must go. And this is exactly what the people who are giving us these radical measures do not want. Let us be plain: The radical legislation being dished up to-day is served, not with the idea of abolishing the capitalist system that is responsible for the ills of the day, but is only an effort to prolong the system and continue the skinning process whereby the toiler is robbed of a major portion of the product of his labor. It is this skinning process to which we object, whether it be done by the smaller or larger capitalism. If any difference, we would prefer the surgery of the larger capitalist, as his experience would at least assure us of a speedy and less painful operation.

But to be serious: The earlier development of the modern machinery of production made necessary the smaller combinations of capital. As the machinery increased in size and utility, and as competition developed between the smaller aggregations of wealth, there came to be a demand for larger combinations, and so to-day we have the great corporations. Now the contention of Socialism is that the larger combinations were necessary and therefore inevitable, and that their coming is an indication that the Capitalist System is perfecting itself. It is also contended that this perfecting of the present system is a necessary preparation for that other system, the Co-operative, which is to follow. If this line of reasoning be correct (and we think it is), then does it not necessarily follow that whatever of legislation may be enacted to successfully cripple the larger capitalism is a decidedly reactionary move and must in the very nature of things prolong the misery of the masses? Insurgency is having its day and is hoodwinking many members of the working class into fighting under its banner. And

all to what purpose? Be not deceived. This move is not for our good, but rather for the benefit of the great number of smaller capitalists who are being crowded to the wall by the larger concerns. Let them fight their own battles.

Radicalism as such is all right, but the only kind that is worth the while to the workers is that of their own making, and must be in their interests alone. This radicalism must have as its goal the complete overthrow of the present competitive system and the building of a co-operative system involving the collective ownership and democratic management of the means of production and distribution. This kind of an Empire (We prefer the name Democracy) will not be the creation of some "Messiah" nor some "Man on horseback" nor yet of a capitalistic legislature that might be begged, or bribed, or scared into doing something with "radical tendencies." It will, however, be done by a working class that is class conscious—conscious of its class interests and its power, and organized both industrially and politically. After this shall have been done and the workers have come into possession of their own, we will doubtless look back and realize that it was much more than "85 DAYS THAT REBUILT AN EMPIRE."

REASONS WHY THE WORKERS SHOULD FAVOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

By MARY FAIRBROTHER.

Editor REVOLT:—That is a good name for a good paper, for a good purpose, and here are the few reasons you asked for, from a suffragette's point of view, why the working class should favor the extension of the franchise to the women of California.

There is, of course, no use to talk to sensible men, who make their own living any old way they can, about the glories of the franchise. These men have had the ballot in America for a long time, and have realized that the ballot alone is of very little use to them. Mighty few working men have ever received much direct benefit from the right of suffrage—but "mighty few" of them would care to give that right into the hands of women alone. Very few men would be crazy to have women do their voting for them, working men or any other men. Women feel the same way.

John Stuart Mill says, "There is no argument against woman's suffrage, but there is the strongest feeling." If working men, and other men, will examine their "feelings" against this movement, if they will examine the prejudice with candor, perhaps they will admit that it is founded solely on "instinct"; that is to say, a deeply rooted desire to retain power over people whom they have held in subjection for several hours and days and years and centuries and cycles. Perhaps it is founded in a dislike to let go that power. That is it, isn't it? Love of power? Forget it.

Every reason as to incompetency that men advance in relation to the ballot in the hands of women applies equally to men and to women. If only those men were permitted to vote who really know their own minds, who really express their own private judgment on election day, to men who really care and know their own best interests, a majority of working men would be disfranchised. They always vote for something they do not want. Women could scarcely do worse.

The best reason of all why the working class should favor the extension of the ballot to women is that it will double the vote of that class. Eighteen-twentieths is a better working force than nine-tenths. The rule of proportion works fine with potatoes and cabbages, but with humans, the larger number the better. There is power in large numbers. Men and women may be set to doing different things in a controversy. Numbers is a great factor for victory in all human endeavor, whether of ballots or bullets. This is not imaginary, it is a proven fact. It is a good reason why the workers as a class should favor woman suffrage.

You asked for the suffragette's reasons why Socialists should favor equal suffrage, the Socialists being the people who stand for the advancement or freedom of the working class.

The first reason why Socialists should favor this movement is because they do. Socialist platforms, manifestos, theories and programs: Socialist written and spoken utterances have always been for working humanity as a whole.

There is, however, an unwritten protest against extending the franchise to women who are dependents on slaves, and do not understand the real Socialism and cannot understand it. Many Socialist leaders fear this psychological condition in the Socialist movement and believe the ultimate victory will be postponed by reason of women having the ballot. Perhaps, let us see.

Socialism is not yet an accomplished fact. Woman suffrage is. In California women do not vote, but they do vote in five States in this country, and in a great many other countries. It is far better that women should gain insight, make mistakes, grow and learn; it is far better that class consciousness should develop under capitalism than under Socialism. The women cannot possibly injure capitalism very seriously. It is hard to materially hurt an over ripe egg, even if you smash it.

The disfranchised and mentally dependent woman, with her present psychological habits, might be a very serious menace to Socialism if Socialism were an accomplished fact. There is no class of people in California who should be more anxious to thrust the responsibility of citizenship upon women, right now, than the Socialists. Is it not true?

Now is the opportunity to free them just so far. The limitation of that freedom is well known to the suffragette, but it is a small chance to help the woman develop, so give it to her, the quicker the better.

These are the best reasons the suffragette has in shop at the present moment. If you deem them worthy of the paper, all right, if not them for the waste basket.

THE COST OF CAPITALISM SPELLS ITS DOOM

By WILLIAM M'DEVIET.

A double death awaits the present system. As Marx has proved, capitalism digs its own grave; it produces within itself its own seeds of dissolution; it rears a brood that will disinherit sire and dam; it recruits an army of industrial slaves, lives upon the services of that army, and then in turn is dethroned by its own victims.

So capitalism, dies from the core; it also dies from the surface. Two forces, internal and external, centripetal and centrifugal, annihilate it.

The history of the world is simply the tale and toll of industrial systems. Every system survives while it pays, or can be made to appear to pay. It lives so long as its cost remains within the margin of what the current ruling society regards as "fit" or "worth while" or "reasonable"; and all reigning law and religion and social institutions are forced to conform to the "right," the "fitness," the "fairness" of that social sanction founded and grounded on

"The Cost of it All"

What does the system cost? Does it meet its cost? What is its social efficiency? These questions are imperative and inevitable. Consciously or unconsciously they emerge as the basic issue, the determining question.

Social efficiency today, in the light of the instincts and "ideas" of the ruling class, is spelled "profit"; in the later feudal age it was spelled "spoils," the rewards of war; before that it was spelled "dominion" or "power" in terms of kingship or lordship; in primitive feudal times it was "valor," that is, value in terms of personal physical prowess; in Roman days before the Caesars, they spelled it "virtue," which to the Roman meant manhood (from vir, the armed man or the man entitled to bear arms, in other words, the citizen). The earlier armed man evolved into the man in armor, the knight-at-arms, chief of whom was baron, lord, king. In days earlier than primitive feudal times, social efficiency was realized in terms of food-hunting and game-getting, in terms of personal conflict and combat with nature and the elements—the finding of food, the bringing of bread, the mastery of "meat."

Through all these sequences of social systems of making a living for a living society, no system long outlasted the season when the system seemed to cost more than the reigning institutions deemed to be "right," "fitting," "proper," "reasonable," "fair." And always as the old order gave place to the new, always as the outworn system that had had its day evolved into the newer mold, the standard of cost, the margin of efficiency in terms of social wear and tear, evolved and developed.

The Enduring Social Gage.

The social efficiency of today has been reached through a long era of industrial competition on the field of capital and, in the later stages, on the basis of the vast machine. Measured in terms of life, liberty, and the attainment of happiness—the enduring social gage of a conscious social people—the cost of capital outrages the standard and the sanction set and proclaimed by the ruling ideas and ideals of today. In other words, the cost of capitalism today violates the ruling canons of capitalism itself; the cost of the system in lives, in slavery, in war, in congested squalor, in planless production and ridiculously unproportioned rewards, is avowedly repugnant to the ideals of the men that have the mastery of the system. Capitalism, therefore, stultifies its own prophets (as well as its own profits); it violates its own code of conduct; it corrupts its own morality at the fountainhead; and, so doing, it proclaims its own dissolution.

The Supreme Court Forecasts the End

Here we have this very day the Supreme Court of the country of dominant capital and therefore dominant monopoly, judicially deciding that there are two kinds of restraint of trade—one reasonable, and the other unreasonable. And the dominant impersonation of capital, the supreme figure of Standard Oil, the pioneer and pattern of trusts, is declared by the court which Standard Oil itself dominates, to be "unreasonable," therefore "unfit," "unfair," "unsound," "unenduring."

Standard Oil has permitted the Supreme Court to decree not merely the readjustment of the Standard Oil trust, so as to act in "reasonable" restraint of trade (what a rollicking absurdity—what an unreasonable reasonableness that is!), but also to decree the readjustment of all monopoly under capitalism.

Capital, then, decrees, by the mouth of the Supreme Court, its own demise—not that means cannot be readily found to run all around and over this decision; but because the supreme voice of capitalist law has declared the very thing which is the one end and aim of capital to be UNREASONABLE. Capitalism means monopoly; monopoly means EFFECTIVE restraint of trade; and effective restraint of trade as practiced by the supreme exemplar of it, is unreasonable, says the Court. Capital commits hari-kari—socialism assumes the burden of production, and it will spell social efficiency not in terms of PROFIT, but in terms of SOCIAL SERVICE; not in terms of Mammon but in terms of Manhood; not in terms of WAGE-SLAVERY, but in terms of FRATERNAL COOPERATION. And so long as fraternal cooperation seems the soundest social adjustment, just so long will socialism endure the test of its own sanction.

Systems that cannot stand the test of their own morality, are doomed to death. Hence the death of capitalism. The COST OF IT ALL staggers humanity, and humanity in the long run is the real Supreme Court.

SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIALIST EDITOR WRITES ON AMERICAN MOVEMENT.

(For Revolt.)

Comrade A. Crawford of the Socialist party in South Africa, editor of The Voice of Labor, Johannesburg, now studying conditions in the United States, has prepared an intensely interesting article for REVOLT, presenting his views

of the American movement. Some of these views will make all readers wince, and make some of them angry, perhaps, but no one can fail to realize that their presentation in the columns of REVOLT may aid very materially in the process of clarifying the movement in this country.

Oftimes a visitor is enabled to gain a clearer general view of a situation than those who have lived in the midst of its development, and consequently have given their attention closely to details. This, assuredly, has been achieved by Comrade Crawford, and though few of us will agree with all he has to say about us, no one should miss reading the article. The manuscript came too late for publication in this issue, but will appear in No. 5 of REVOLT, on sale after May 27.

A JURISDICTIONAL SQUABBLE.

The craft form of labor unionism breeds funny and interesting situations. Even though part of the craft union movement decides on political action and gets results, the effect is the same. Many a time the political power of craft unions is an aid to one or more unions in solving a jurisdictional dispute. We must realize that jurisdictional disputes are the result of the A. F. of L.-ized form of organization. To show in what manner one man can be aided by political power of the labor leaders and the other turned down, let us take the quarrel between the Plumbers and Steam Pipe Fitters, at this time raging in the city of San Francisco, as an example.

The Plumbers' Union as such aided in every manner to achieve the political success of the office holders who went into power disguised as Union Labor, while the Steam Pipe Fitters had officers who were and are of a different breed, supporting the capitalist politicians who style themselves Democrats.

Since the installation of the new style of heating apartment houses and office buildings, the Steam Pipe Fitters have had the opportunity to be the ones that got the jobs. But, as trade is slow and work scarce, the Plumbers, desired this work, and even though it is conceded that they could not do the work as well as Steam Pipe Fitters, they went after it. How? Well, thereby hangs a tale.

The right of the Gas Company to tear up the streets to install the steam pipes was in question and a competing company could not afford to cross the wishes of the administration. So, against the law, this competing company, started the work. The Plumbers put in a claim for the job. The Steam Pipe Fitters also put in a claim. Lo and behold the Plumbers get the work. The Steam Fitters take their troubles to the San Francisco Labor Council.

After the situation is explained to the Council a committee is appointed to go to the officers of the corporation and demand that Steam Pipe Fitters be put on the job. The committee reports that the corporation is working against the laws, and those who have the work in charge would gladly comply with the demand of the Labor Council if the administration were satisfied. The Mayor of the city of San Francisco, a member of the Labor Council, is approached by the committee and told the wishes of the Labor Council. The Mayor explains that, "in the dispute of the Plumbers and Steam Pipe Fitters he is not acting as Mayor, but as President of the Building Trades Council."

Is the corporation given permission to violate the law by the Mayor of the city or by the President of the Building Trades Council?

The Plumbers are affiliated with the Building Trades Council as well as the San Francisco Labor Council, while the Steam Pipe Fitters are affiliated with the Labor Council only. Both unions are chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

After listening to the report of the committee, the Labor Council instructed the secretary to write to the "Mayor of all the people" ("On the Square") to use his power to get the Steam Pipe Fitters the work that in the opinion of the Council they are entitled to. The Mayor replied briefly through one Leffingwell, who is secretary to the Mayor, that he was "considering the matter."

In the meantime the corporation continues to violate the law with the consent of the administration ready, as they say, to put the men whom the administration wants on the job; keeping the Plumbers at work, while the Steam Pipe Fitters continue to walk the streets hunting for masters so that they may get wages to enable them to feed, clothe and shelter themselves and families.

The point is not so much which craft union is really entitled to the work. The point is: How foolish is the method of organization that keeps us eternally quarreling about our jurisdiction! The further point is that "Union Labor" political administrations, when they represent the craft form of unionism, are clubs in the hands of the successful craft unions to crush other unions that come in conflict with them in the industrial field.

"RED."

WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN TO SPEAK IN SAN FRANCISCO.

The coming of William Thurston Brown, B. A. (Yale), to deliver three addresses in this city is an event of great moment in the local Socialist movement.

To many the plucky fight of the Principal of the Modern School in Salt Lake, to establish the institution of radical thought in the Mormon city, is well known, as also is Brown's impressive power as a speaker. Again and again it has been said, by those who have heard both him and Eugene V. Debs most frequently, that it is hard to choose between them for the qualities of thought and manner of delivery which both possess in such rare degree.

The meetings will be held in Jefferson Square Hall, 925 Golden Gate avenue. The dates and subjects are as follows:

Friday, May 26, "Reform or Revolution—Which?"

Tuesday, May 30, "Does America Need the Modern School?"

Friday, June 2, "How Capitalism Has Hypnotized Society."

REVOLT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

CLOUDESLEY JOHNS - - - - - Editor
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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One Year - - - - - \$1.00
 Six Months - - - - - .50
 Single Copies - - - - - .05

Advertising Rates on Application

Address all communications to REVOLT PUBLISHING CO., 305 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.
 Phones: Kearny 2557 and C 4478

COURTS IN CONTEMPT

The United States Circuit Court of the District which includes the State of Florida is guilty of contempt as well as contemptibility. Having brought upon itself the contempt of all class conscious workingmen, and even of the business interests which used it as they use detectives and other vile creatures in their warfare upon labor, by its glaringly unjust opinion condemning three strike directors of Tampa to serve a year in prison, it has reversed itself in the face of a show of force. The cowardly brutes with bullying dispositions, on the circuit bench, have declared themselves contemptible when faced by the splendid revolt of an outraged labor group which struck in protest against the monstrous decision of the court.

Let the good work go on! Let the courts everywhere be forced to take their proper place in the eyes of mankind, with detectives, stool pigeons, and others who for dirty money serve the master class in its effort to crush organized labor and check the growth of the socialist movement.

THE PRICE OF PEACE.

Again it is reported that Francisco I. Madero and the Federal peace envoys have arranged for a general armistice in which to discuss peace terms. Despatches also state that "the price of peace paid by the Federal government is three cabinet positions and fourteen governorships."

Quite a big price, it would seem, since there are but twenty-seven States in the Republic of Mexico. Governmental power in fourteen of them is to be transferred to Madero and his crew of political adventurers if the peace pact goes through, the title to millions of acres of slave-worked land now held by the Madero family will be confirmed and other millions of acres be added to the holdings; new bargains must be made by foreign interests with the reconstructed government, and the maws of hosts of hungry parasites gathered about Madero must be filled. So much less spoil for the moloch-minded old man in Chapultepec! That is to be the "cost of peace" to the vampire brood now fastened upon the body of the Mexican people as the constituted government. And to the men and women of the working class in Mexico peace on such terms would mean but the fastening of a younger and hungrier brood of human vampires upon their lives. Madero and his host of darkness is satisfied with fourteen States and three cabinet positions; in the lodgings of the officers there is an eager whispering of spoils of war (and peace) which sounds like the eerie rustling of black, webbed wings, and thin, shrill laughter like the whetting of white needle teeth against the stones.

Are the people of Mexico, the workingmen and workingwomen of the nation, ready for peace on such terms? Let the American trust-subsidized newspapers in this country declare it so, since they must; let the repulsive swine-wolf creatures who own the "American Interests" in Mexico gloat over the dread prospect of such peace, but let the workingmen and workingwomen of this country pause and consider.

And listen! The sounds from across the border already indicate that Madero's peace order is not being obeyed! Hurrah for the revolution that shall be a revolution!

UNION ENDORSEMENT OF "P. H."

In the frantic struggle of McCarthy and his henchmen to secure the "endorsement" of local unions they are losing votes steadily. An instance is that of the Stabblers' Union, where the endorsement was secured by a bit of jobbery (after failing at a meeting made up of members in good standing) such as would disgrace almost anything but the "Union Labor" administration in this city. It is becoming more and more apparent to all union men that nothing worse than P. H. McCarthy ever happened to Union Labor in San Francisco, and it is scarcely conceivable that anything worse could happen.

GOMPERS, THE COURT AND LABOR.

The Supreme Court of this great, free country has decided that labor unions may be fined and forced to pay damages if their officers make any public statement that some labor-skimming employes are unfair to union labor. Incidentally, the court declared that Samuel Gompers, hale fellow well met with almost every type of capitalistic exploiter existing in this blighted land, and his worthy companion, John Mitchell, must not be sent to jail.

Is the freedom of Gompers to go on dining with the masters sufficient compensation to union labor for the bars newly reared against its use of the boycott as a weapon in its struggle for existence against the attacks of the master class?

"REVOLUTION AS A LAWFUL MEANS."

President Taft, discoursing orally upon the demands that government employees be given the legal privilege of organizing for the protection of their interests, comments as follows:

"In other words, that it is entirely proper for postal employees and others to combine in an association to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, and then to hold in reserve as an instrument for enforcing their claims, the boycott and the strike, which are instruments recognized by the American Federation of Labor, and supported and justified by it when used by the trades unions affiliated in such federation.

"This presents a very serious question, and one which if decided in favor of the right of government employees to strike and use the boycott, will be full of danger to the government and the republic.

"The government employees of France resorted to it and took the government by the throat. The executive was entirely dependent upon these employees for its continuance.

"When those in executive authority refused to acquiesce to the demands, the government employees struck, and then with the helplessness of the government and the destruction of all authority, and the choking of government activities, it was seen that to allow the government employees to use such an instrument was to recognize revolution as a lawful means of securing an increase in compensation for one class, and that a privileged class at the expense of all the public."

In this differentiating between the working class and "the public," the President speaks quite correctly from the viewpoint of his own prosperous but anxious class. What he and his own kind fear is that the working class will insist upon constituting itself as "the public," and decree that no member of a useless and mischievous class in human society shall be fattened to three hundred pounds "at the expense" of the new public.

Cheer up, Mr. Taft! The worst is yet to come. At least, REVOLT is pleased to felicitate you upon this manifestation of a glimmering intelligence which enables you to see, at last, that the men to whom you once offered sympathy from yourself and pity from God actually may decide to "take the government by the throat."

MUNICIPAL LAW.

By DONALD D. HORNE.

Blackstone defines municipal law as "a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a state, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." Modern codifiers accept the main part of this definition, and define law as "the solemn expression of the will of the supreme power of the state." The people, upon whose ignorance the law depends, could no longer be made to believe that the law commands what is right and prohibits what is wrong. Although the people have, by refusing to accept Blackstone's definition, taken a long step toward the abolition of the unjust and antiquated institution known as the law, yet they are mistaken, and Blackstone was correct. Municipal law does command what is right, and does prohibit what is wrong.

Right and wrong are relative terms, and their meaning has always been set by the supreme power in a state. For instance, it is wrong in Russia to kill the Czar, and the law prohibits it. But it is perfectly right for the Czar to kill 300,000 Japanese soldiers, and to sacrifice 300,000 Russian soldiers, his own countrymen, in order that he might hold certain timber interests. This was right, and the law commanded it.

If you desire an example closer home, it was right for Andrew Carnegie, in Europe, to commit murder, when he ordered Henry C. Frick, his tool, to command the militia to shoot a volley into the strikers at Homestead, merely as an example; but it was very wrong for Alexander Berkman, an anarchist, overwhelmed with horror at this cowardly act, to try to kill Frick, and so he served fourteen years in prison. If you are not yet satisfied as to what constitutes right and wrong, I cite a still further example. It was right, and was so decided by the United States Supreme Court, for Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, three labor organization officials, to be kidnaped from Colorado and taken to Idaho to be tried for the murder of Governor Steunenberg—although the charge was false, and the men acquitted. But it was very wrong for Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, to publicly offer a reward of \$1,000 for the kidnaping of ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky, who was under indictment in that State for murder, and who was taking refuge in Indiana, where the Governor, for political reasons, refused to grant extradition papers and return this probably actual criminal to justice. And I call attention to the fact that the Governor of this same State only a few weeks ago, granted extradition papers to a secret service agency empowering detectives to spirit a union labor official out of the State, without even giving him a chance to consult an attorney. To be sure, the law commands what is right, and prohibits what is wrong. But right and wrong are arbitrarily determined by the supreme power of the state. That is the joker in the statutory definition of law. Right is the will of the supreme power of the state. All else is wrong. The people do not as yet clearly see this.

There is another joker in both Blackstone's and the code definitions. Law is prescribed by the supreme power in a state. Presumably the legislature is meant. But the supreme power in a state has always been the ruling class, and the ruling class, has always been the exploiting class. The legislators are merely agents, the legislature a tool of the class which holds the economic

power. Upon that class depends their election and their re-election, in fact, their whole career, and there are not many men who will sacrifice their careers for the sake of the whole people. The mass of the people do not hold the economic power, because they are exploited of part of the products of their labor, and they are not united to prevent such exploitation. Nothing is more certain than that political power depends upon economic power. It is a truism. Does anyone doubt that the Republican party owes its victories to Wall street financiers? Does anyone doubt that that party is the avowed representative of those financiers? And does anyone doubt that the laws made in Washington, and in every State capitol—except in States where revolt has been successful—are dictated by those same Wall street financiers? Since economic power determines political power, it follows naturally that the class holding the economic power makes the laws.

So the laws are made by the supreme power of the state, the ruling class. It is the solemn expression of their will, and it is right. They have so determined. Everything else is wrong.

This joker was not cleverly concealed by Blackstone. Law, he said, is prescribed by the supreme power in a state, because legislation is the greatest act of superiority that can be exercised by one being over another. Thus he betrays that the legislators whom we have always supposed to be our servants, really exercise acts of superiority over us, and further, that is how the law comes into existence—by acts of superiority. Our servants become our masters, because they are the creatures of the real economic power.

And so the law is the creature of economic determinism. A clear conception of this truth must completely revolutionize one's conception of law. We must see that it is in the true sense immoral, because it makes for the unhappiness of the vast majority of mankind. We must see that it is the framework of conservatism. It can progress only as economic power changes hands. We must see that it is superficial. It is like a cork tossed on the waves in the sea of economic determinism. It is a system of rules to preserve present conditions. We can see that, because we can see that the masters are satisfied with the present organization of society. We can see clearly that it is the instrument of all oppression. Oppression has always been conducted in the name of the law. Witness the cruelty with which the early Christians were tormented in the name of the law; with which the early Protestants were burned at the stake in the name of the law; with which the inquisition was conducted, and with which slaves were driven in our own country, all in the name of the law.

We must observe that the law is founded entirely upon past and present conditions, and does not look to the future. It is obsolete before it comes into existence. It is a burden imposed by one generation upon another. This burden is assumed by suffrage, because of the ignorance and stupidity of the people, who worship the municipal law.

For it is a religion—a superstition more general and more completely false than any other in history. Unlike other religions, instead of looking to the future, it looks to the past. Statutes and precedents of former generations constitute the body of our law. These, being in writing, are the Bible, or the Koran of the legal religion. They constitute a better instrument to keep the people in ignorance than the Latin Bible. Sixteen thousand written laws, in a mass, comprise what the layman must know to keep out of trouble; yet ignorance of the law is no excuse. Here is one religion, at least, which is compulsory. Every layman must have his lawyer, who is a priest, to propitiate the great god of interpretation, strict or loose as is convenient. The lawyer, who is the priest, is respected and honored and well paid. He keeps his client on the other side of the room, has his little altar covered with big, thick, yellow books. He talks in a deep, heavy voice, as if he were very important. But he quakes with fear in the presence of the high priest, the judge, whom he worships. And each judge, in turn, quakes in the presence of a higher judge, until we reach the Supreme Court Justices, who look down upon everybody. Why shouldn't they? They make and unmake the law. Legislators and executive officers are merely ministerial officers, who do the bidding of the justices. They must be consulted before any law is passed, because they, with a word, can render it void and impossible. Yet they, secretly, look up to the mysterious beings who represent the economic power of the state, and they, at the top of the organization of the religion, clearly recognize the real and true god whom they worship, the god of economic power.

But the religion is tottering. The people are beginning to understand these things. They are beginning to find out that their labor creates all wealth, and that they hold the real economic power of the state in their own hands; that it consists in their unity and co-operation, and that when they bring these two conditions about, the present economic power, founded on deceit and disorganization, shall vanish. Then will the law also disappear, and in its place shall come co-operative organization of all the people for the benefit of all the people.

EMMA GOLDMAN'S DREAM.

By A. JOY.

(With Comment by the Editor of Revolt.)

The presence of Emma Goldman in town has set some thoughtful minds in motion. The fact that she has expressed opposition to Socialism should especially rouse Socialist thinkers, and the fact that her reasons for opposing us are radically different from those of our usual every-day opponents should prove an added stimulus.

When any earnest, capable thinker comes to conclusions eminently different from one's own it is imperative in the interests of truth that one examine well his own grounds of belief, try conclusions with the adversary, and see if from the contact of the two arguments he may not precipitate some grains of truth.

That Emma Goldman is in earnest no one can doubt who has heard her voice. That she is capa-

ble is evident from her progress from a little-known, misunderstood, persecuted outcast to a comparatively widely recognized student, lecturer, and author on social and economic subjects. And whatever may be the attitude of the Socialist towards her and her Anarchist philosophy, there can be no misunderstanding her repudiation of Socialism.

We Socialists have been wont to consider ourselves pioneers on the frontiers of social progress; yet here is a woman who condescends to look back at us and to fling at us the rebuke that we have turned upon kings and capitalists. We are accustomed to the pulling and tugging from behind; but this attack from in front is surprising if not disconcerting.

Let us consider:

Every believer in the truth of the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, and especially every follower of Jesus of Nazareth, must agree with Emma Goldman's fundamental principle, that "all forms of government are based on violence"—on the subjection by force of man to man—and hence are wrong and harmful." And unnecessary? The last two words she adds without the question mark. Can we? For amongst these tyrannies of violence she places the majority rule of our co-operative commonwealth.

Emma Goldman's ideal, too, is the ideal of us all—a "social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law"—the idea of Saint Paul's Christian Brotherhood who "through grace" are "delivered from the law,"—the idea of the little boy, who, when told to lock up the tool house at night said, "Mama, don't you wish everybody was good like us,—then we wouldn't have to lock up the tools." And here, I believe, we may get a finger on the difference in position between Emma Goldman and the Socialist. To explain:

To secure an existence free from man-made law, men must respect each other's rights (and here, lest I run foul of various notions among my readers concerning property rights, let me say that I refer to the personal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness). If men are not thoroughly determined to respect each other's personal rights, the strong will oppress and enslave the weak; and the weak will organize to resist the strong; and to avoid scabbing the organized will invent compulsions and penalties; and the whole fabric of man-made law will build itself up. Now how are men to become thoroughly determined to respect each other's personal rights? History shows us but one way. Through suffering men learn to be kind—through bearing oppression men learn to seek justice. To be sure, the lesson is complicated by frequent stubborn spells on the part of the pupil when his suffering makes him love torture and his oppression leads him to oppress. The French Reign of Terror was such an example; yet, in the end, through democracy, there was gain for justice. The present craft unions show the stubborn oppressive spirit; but the Industrial Workers of the World give hint that this lesson has at last been learned. In the Socialist movement there will be a long, hard struggle over the "rough-necks" learn to respect the rights of the "starved-collars" to their idealism, or the "starved-collars" to respect the rights of the "rough-necks" to their red flag. It seems at times that the struggle itself engenders more hate than germs of peace; but every glance at history gives us hope. From recognizing only the "divine right of kings" to recognizing the political rights of propertied citizens was a great step. From the recognition of the "divinely ordained clergy" to Emerson's and Whitman's recognition of the divine in every man was a great step. The co-operative commonwealth is but another step in the same lesson—that through respect for the rights of the other fellow alone can we win freedom from man's tyranny—another step—we hope the last. And then, God grant that Emma Goldman may see the consummation of her dream!

Editorial Note—Dreams are well enough, delectable always, comforting at times, but consummations are a different matter. Consummations require causes more tangible than dreams. The editor has no wish to criticize with undue harshness the thoughtful article here presented to readers of REVOLT, and recommends that all give careful attention to the grains of truth which it and the philosophy of Miss Goldman contain. However, it must not be forgotten that the acceptance of an ideal, a philosophy, even if by all mankind, cannot effect a change in the economic structure of society. In the probability of the mass of the workers of the world, in revolt against the prospect of ceaseless toil for a mere existence, enacting into social and economic law, backed up by all the force of a great majority, the principle that useful labor in social production alone shall determine the right of any one to the means of life, lies the hope of the new social order. The dread of "coercion" which inspires Miss Goldman with such a sense of horror, is, in the opinion of the editor, a psychological condition caused by the experiences of the noted woman anarchist under the existing system, rather than any logical estimate of possible conditions in the socialist system to be. For himself, the editor would be quite willing to agree to submit to three hours a day of any kind of labor under the coercion even of the harshest possible "majority" for the sake of the assurance that he would be left pretty much to his own devices the rest of the time. The editor has toiled many long months at a stretch, time and time again, from ten to twelve hours a day, sometimes under the menace of a ready pick-handle in the hands of two hundred pounds of Irish boss with a gun in its pocket, far from any other "law and order," and still is willing to submit to the coercion of a majority in the interest of relative prosperity and peace for all useful members of society. Society is an organism, and must function as an organism. The anarchists make the mistake of taking the individual human being (really but a part of the greater organism and itself dependent upon all other parts) as the point of departure for all their reasonings. In this way they avoid being handicapped by the formidable facts of organic, sociological and economic evolution, and can reason more sweetly and alluringly than we Socialists, albeit from false premises.

For the Socialists, however, it may be said that we are working for a revolution instead of pleading for an ideal.

CLOUDESLEY JOHNS.

SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM.

SAN FRANCISCO.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Program.

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

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

SOCIALIST PARTY TICKET.

Primary Municipal Election, September 26, 1911.

Mayor—William McDevitt. Police Judges—W. E. Dillon, David Henderson. District Attorney—Emil Liess. City Attorney—W. H. Sigourney. Assessor—H. F. Sahlender. Auditor—A. K. Gifford. Treasurer—Oliver Everett. Tax Collector—David Milder. Recorder—Henry Warnecke. Public Administrator—W. A. Pfeiffer. County Clerk—M. H. Morris. Sheriff—Thos. J. Mooney. Coroner—Dr. M. B. Ryer. Supervisors—Rollar Allen, Edward W. Bender, George Bostel, K. J. Doyle, Louis Fortin, C. W. Hogan, Robert Larkins, Chas. Lehmann, Joe Moore, Olaf Mork, Chas. Preston, Ernest L. Reguin, John M. Reynolds, William Schafer, S. Schulberg, George Styché, Lynus Vanalstine, Walter E. Walker.

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

First-Class Union Work Phone: Market 6570

W. V. Jusaitis CUSTOM TAILOR For Men and Women

3037 Sixteenth Street (Formerly Humboldt Bank Bldg.) Near Mission San Francisco

Wm. Schafer's Band and Orchestra 1876 Mission Street

Members Musicians' Union No. 6, A. F. M. Telephone: Mission 3599

CHATTER AND PROTESTS.

The capitalists are alleged to have wealth and power because of their superior intelligence. It would be just as reasonable to state that the snake eats the rabbit because it has "superior intelligence." No, it is not "superior intelligence" that the capitalist tigers and snakes have that enables them to get theirs.

The working class has nothing to lose by the changing of capitalism to Socialism.

The orphan and the widow are easy prey for the employing class and they never neglect to exploit them. The child gets little pay and the widow with a few orphans cannot afford to be a rebellious slave, as her fears and sorrows are nothing to her when compared to that of her helpless babes.

The revolutionary Socialist movement aims to loosen up the strangle hold the capitalists have upon the working class. Are you with us?

Can anyone give a single reason why a wage worker should vote for James Rolph, Jr.? He has all the vices of the master class and some of its virtues. He will make a brutal Mayor, and a workingman that votes for a notorious capitalist exploiter deserves what he gets.

Speaking of dynamiting and the deeds of those guilty of the use of explosives to gain their ends, let's remind ourselves that the Standard Oil Co. with the hypocritical John D. at its head used dynamite and fire as a weapon in defeating competitors. Where are the kidnapers?

Bow your heads low, so that it can be whispered into your ears. For years a brace of unfair contractors have been and are building in this city of San Francisco, and the labor leaders imagine that they can accomplish the defeat of the scabby contractors by hiding the facts from the rank and file. How do the unfair contractors get material to build with? Workers, learn to appreciate your power and your weakness! Do not trust your destiny to any man or man. Depend on yourself. Be self-reliant.

The real joy in life to-day is to be a revolutionist.

The capitalist wants us to be patriotic. The lawyers want us to violate and obey the laws. The doctors want us to be sick. The preachers want us to be prey while they pray. The undertakers want us to die. So the capitalist world pits all against all. This devil's dance of a system must be ended. How? The Socialist has the key; he wants you to organize industrially and politically and take for yourselves the wealth which you produce. Then and not till then will we be brothers.

The road to power is a hard road to travel. Despite the apparent difficulties, it must be traveled by the militant workers. Courage, comrades; stick to your work! To-morrow is ours!

Supporters of Capitalism are constantly yelling against those who would, as they put it, "array class against class." How funny these people are! Here is capitalist law that has us chained. Here is necessity that makes us wage slaves. Here is a working class robbed, beaten, starved and murdered. Here, look at the murderers! How slick they look! How well their women dress! And yet the Socialist is accused of "arraying class against class." No, all that we do is see it, and seeing it we want the rest to see it, and when a sufficient number "get wise," the class struggle will be ended.

The saloons, restaurants and public gathering places are gradually being changed into "rogues' galleries." The handsome and degrading pictures of aspiring tools of capitalism are being displayed to public gaze, so that we can look at the card board pictures, gaze into the cold eyes and grasp the requirements of suitable handmaids of capitalism.

The desire to obtain the best things of this world should be a passionate force.

Unemployment is an established part of capitalism. A certain number of the workers must be without masters. After they trick us out of a job, then they call us lazy bums, hoboes, tramps and other pleasing names. The reformers (?) would treat unemployment as a curable complaint and they use salve and ointments. Unemployment is curable. But it will be cured only when we abolish capitalism. Join your economic and political forces. SELIG SCHULBERG.

YOUNG SOCIALIST WRITES REVOLT.

The following letter is from Miss Frieda Helmreich, aged nine years, a constant attendant at the Sunday morning classes held in Comrade Rena Herman's studio at 973 Market street:

"Revolt—I was to Sunday school. They all took me for their treasure for three months. Sunday Mrs. Herman got six new members to join. The socialist meeting Sunday Mrs. Herman taught children to dance and sing. Our Sunday class is getting bigger now and we want it to get bigger all the time. We want all the children to come who we can get. We have our Sunday class every Sunday morning at half past ten. Yours truly for Socialism, (Signed) FREIDA HELMREICH.

IN THE REVOLT ARMY.

San Francisco, Cal., May 15, 1911.

Dear Comrade:—The Butcher's Union held a barbecue on the hills of Bay View yesterday, May 14th. Mayor McCarthy and a few lesser lights addressed the gathering, making before-election promises. I was too busy selling Revolt to pay much attention to the speeches, but I did pause long enough to hear P. H. McCarthy emphatically declare: "If I am re-elected, I will still continue to work as heretofore for the improvement of the outlying working class districts." It is now up to the residents of the working class districts to organize searching parties and endeavor to locate the improvements and blessings bestowed upon them by the incessant labor in their interest of the aforesaid P. H. McCarthy.

Count me a soldier in the Revolt army. May it live until there no longer is need of such a publication! Yours for the emancipation of the wage slave. (Signed) ROLLAR ALLEN.

FROM THE PITCHFORK, DALLAS, TEXAS:

The Revolt Publishing Co., San Francisco, Cal.

My Dear Comrades:—I was highly pleased with the initial number of your spicy publication, and this letter is to wish you a long and prosperous career. Be sure that we get it regularly.

Your sincere friend and comrade, WILFORD B. SMITH, Editor, CHIEF OF REVOLT ARMY.

In the list of contributors to the REVOLT sustaining fund this week appears the name of Thomas J. Mooney. The cash donation represents but a small part of the aid rendered by this devoted worker to the upbuilding of the Revolutionary Weekly. In the street sales of REVOLT, exceeding 1500 each week in San Francisco alone, Comrade Mooney has taken a leading part. Officially he is circulation manager of REVOLT.

Revolutionary Socialists who would like to aid financially in the spreading of REVOLT, but have not experienced "The Benefits of a Labor Administration" to an extent which would allow of their doing so, will be welcomed as recruits in the circulation army if they will report for service to Thomas J. Mooney, 305 Grant Avenue, Sunday mornings, or by letter stating when and where they will serve.

DONATIONS TO SUSTAINING FUND.

Table with 2 columns: Name, Amount. Includes G. A. Fudickar (10.00), Thomas J. Mooney (5.00), H. F. Sahlender (5.00), Total to date (\$76.00).

For a Good Time, Don't Fail to Attend the

FIFTH ANNUAL PICNIC

Given By the WORKMEN'S CIRCLE Branch No. 114 (Arbeiter Ring) Of San Francisco, Cal., at

Glen Park Sunday, June 18, 1911

TICKETS 25 CENTS UNION MUSIC

Games for Young and Old

Take Guerrero-Street Car Direct to Glen Park

DEBATE—SOCIALISM VERSUS ANARCHY—WILLIAM McDEVITT, Socialist Party candidate for Mayor of San Francisco, against EMMA GOLDMAN, the noted Anarchist speaker. WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 24, Jefferson Square Hall, 925 Golden Gate Avenue. Admission, 15 cents and 25 cents.

Advertisement for UNITED TAILORS, Inc. featuring Men's Suits (Big Values \$15, \$20, \$25) and Ladies' Suits (Satin Lined \$25, \$30, \$35). Includes text: "The Fabrics are From the Best Mills" and "Every Suit is well tailored, being cut, fitted and made by experts who are all members of this firm."

"REGENERACION" ON "REVOLT."

The following is from the English page of "Regeneracion," the Spanish paper published at 519 1/2 East Fourth street, Los Angeles, Cal., in the interest of the Mexican Revolution:

"Revolt" is the title of a new weekly in San Francisco, edited by Cloudlesley Johns, with Austin Lewis, William McDevitt and Nathan L. Griest, all well known Socialists, as contributing editors. It expresses profound distrust of Madero, whom it regards as "the active representative of the slowly dying feudalism in that unhappy country." We quarrel with those last two words, believing that Mexico in revolt against economic slavery is far happier than the United States in the stupor of indifference. The article considers that Diaz and Madero will join hands, and says: "The most interesting thing of all, to be revealed by the unfolding of events in the next few months, will be the answer to the question: 'Can Francisco Madero employ his army for any such purpose?'" Events are moving fast and we suggest that Juarez has settled that conundrum.

Among the notable communications published in this initial number is a letter from Jack London, who writes: "The time for fooling is past. No more of the parlor-socialism and the philandering with reform bourgeois notions. The revolution is a revolution. It is a fight to the finish, and those who are not with us are against us."

FROM INDIAN FALLS.

Dear Comrades:—Local Indian Falls has authorized me to secure subs for REVOLT, so inclosed please find check for \$2.00, for which please send REVOLT for six months to the following:

"Rough Necks," Greenville, Cal.; G. H. Goodhue, Indian Falls, Cal.; James Pesky, Quincy, Cal.; Fred A. Keesy, Indian Falls, Cal.

The local commends the plan of conduct as outlined in your circular, and will support the paper to the extent of its ability.

Yours fraternally, (Signed) G. H. GOODWIN, Cor. Sec.

A PIONEER CONTRIBUTION.

San Francisco, May 16, 1911. Revolt Publishing Co., Dear Comrade:—Inclosed you find five dollars (\$5.00) as a pioneer contribution to REVOLT. I have read the first three copies, and it is just the Right Stuff that keeps the Party Revolutionary. Hoping for a bright future, I remain, yours for the Revolution, (Signed) H. F. SAHLENDER.

Below is printed a facsimile of the REVOLT subscription card. Sign the blank and mail it with one dollar (one-cent stamps or money order) to F. F. Bebergall, Secretary-Treasurer, 305 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

REVOLT One Dollar a Year

THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

THIS CERTIFIES THAT THE UNDERSIGNED IS ENTITLED TO ONE SUBSCRIPTION TO REVOLT FOR ONE YEAR, FULLY PAID FOR, AND ON RECEIPT OF THIS CERTIFICATE, THE SUBSCRIBER'S NAME WILL BE ENTERED ON OUR BOOKS AS A SHAREHOLDER WITH VOICE AND VOTE.

F. F. BEBERGALL, Secretary-Treasurer 305 GRANT AVENUE, San Francisco

Subscription form fields: Name, Street No., Post Office, No. 10,003, State.

Advertisement for The James H. Barry Co. THE STAR PRESS PRINTERS and PUBLISHERS. 1122-1124 MISSION ST. SAN FRANCISCO.

Advertisement for William Thurston Brown, B. A. (YALE) PRINCIPAL OF THE MODERN SCHOOL SALT LAKE CITY. Declared by many to be the most impressive speaker on the Socialist platform to-day.

Advertisement for S. ROSENTHAL Expert LADIES' AND GENTS' Tailor. 904 1/2 McALLISTER STREET. Clearing, Dyeing and Repairing Neatly Done.

Advertisement for MRS. RENA HERMAN Music Teacher. 973 MARKET STREET. VIOLIN: PIANO. W. E. DILLON Attorney and Counselor at Law. 414 GRANT BUILDING. Telephone Market 5328.

Advertisement for YOUNG SOCIALISTS MEETINGS. For the present the propaganda meetings of the Young Socialists will be discontinued, the youthful revolutionists and their associates having concluded that the most important work to be done at the present time is the extending of the sales and the subscription list of REVOLT.

Advertisement for MISSING OR DELAYED PAPERS. Any subscriber to REVOLT failing to receive the paper in due course (it should be delivered in San Francisco and the bay cities on Monday following the date of issue), will confer a favor upon the board of directors by sending notice of the failure.

Advertisement for WHERE TO GO. Regular mass meeting of Local San Francisco at Fifteenth and Mission streets, the first Monday in each month, 8:15 p. m. Educational meetings on all other Monday nights.

Advertisement for Emma Goldman. The Noted Anarchist, will speak in Jefferson Square Hall 925 GOLDEN GATE AVE. SUNDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 21, at 3 o'clock—"The Eternal Spirit of the Revolution." SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 21, at 8 o'clock—"Victims of Morality."

Advertisement for YOUNG SOCIALISTS. Invite the children to join the play and singing school. Mrs. Rena Herman - Music Instructor Miss Cora Reed - Socialist Teacher School at 973 Market Street Sundays, 10:30 A. M.

Advertisement for Dreamland Rink TO LET FOR ALL OCCASIONS. CHAS. GOLDBERG - Manager. YOU WILL FIND HEADQUARTERS FOR RADICAL DOPE At 1004 Fillmore St., San Francisco WILLIAM McDEVITT, Manager

Advertisement for A FEW SPECIALTIES. Publisher's Price Our Price. Barbarous Mexico, Turner (The Book of the Hour)... \$1.50 \$1.00 Ancient Society, Morgan... 1.50 1.25 Woman and Socialism, Rebel (Great Jubilee Edition)... 1.50 .95 Materialist Conception of History... 1.00 .80 Love's Coming of Age, Carpenter... 1.00 .80 Socialism and Science, Ferri... 1.00 .80 Origin of the Family, Engels... .50 .40 The Social Revolution, Kautsky... .50 .40 Evolution, Social and Organic, Lewis... .50 .40 The World's Revolutions, Untermann... .50 .40 Anarchism and Socialism, Plechanoff... .50 .40 Evolution of Man, Boelsche... .50 .40 Human, All Too Human, Nietzsche... .50 .40

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