

# THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

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**PROLETARIAN AFFIRMATIONS** 

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

WHOLE NO. 41.

# WALL STREET AND DIRECT ACTION

## By JOHN D.

Wall Street Financiers and Captains of Industry are watching very closely the new weapon, Direct Action, which the working class has just begun to use. The strike now on in Lawrence, Mass., in the mills of the American Woolen Co., (the Woolen Trust), which has a capital of \$80,000,000 and which has suffered very heavy losses by sabotage is one of the reasons for Wall Street's anxiety. This company has just gone through a business depression which at one time loomed up quite serious, and then the talk of a reduction in tariff rates, also caused it to lose heavily. It is extremely doubtful if the company is at present earning anything like its 7 per cent dividend rate on its \$50,000,000 preferred stock outstanding. Last year the company bought up \$10,000,000 of its \$30,000,000 common stock and had to 'take \$3,000,000 out of its treasury for that purpose. A few insiders who were able to dispose of the stock at \$30 a share were enriched by the deal, because when the company was organized in 1899 the greater part of the common was "hot air" and promoters and directors received reams of it as bonuses. This is one of the reasons why the company could not pay the increased wages which the employees demanded since the new law went into effect reducing weekly hours from 56 to 54 hours. The hundreds of bolts of cloth, which were cut in a very "queer way," while going through the various chutes in the mills and the other acts of "vandalism" that occurred in the mills controlled by the trust, has got Wall Street guessing as to what it all means. They know that if the same subtle weapons are used in any of the combinations from the peanut to Steel Trust, that these organizations can't stand the gaff, because with their water-logged capitalization they must have a slumbering and docile working-class to exploit. Financiers point to several other combinations which have had labor troubles during tht past year as examples. The American Locomotive Company, with its big shops at Schenectady, New York, where Comrade Dr. Lunn is Mayor, reports that 1911 was the poorest in its history. This company, too, had all kinds of trouble with the destroying of work by those who were either Direct-Actionists or stupid strike-breakers. The company does not care which-all it knows is that operating expenses went up by leaps and bounds during the period mentioned. Investors are now told that the shares of the American Locomotive Company represents not PROFITS, but only HOPES. Speculators find the latter very poor collateral at the corner grocery store. The Baldwin Locomotive Company, which also had shop troubles last year, reports to Wall Street that it will soon have to discharge between 2,000 and 4,000 men, business is so bad, and the future so uncertain. The General Electric Company, which also has its shops in the "Socialistic" city of Schenectady, shows that during 1911 its total business footed up \$68,700,000, quite a falling off from 1910, and during the year just closed, opcrating expenses were increased 5 per cent over 1910. Its competitor, the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, while not suffering from labor disturbances, also had a poor year. Officials of the company are up in arms in the matter of speeding up employees to a greater and higher productivity, which the workers do not seem to take kindly to. As far as investments are concerned, it does not matter which way operating expenses are increased. Net earnings decreased, whether by Direct Action or a refusal to "speed up." Both rooms" look alike to Wall Street.

A correspondent, who, like so many hundreds of other workingmen, has left the Socialist Party, disgusted with its latter day opportunism, writes to ask me with regard to a "positive platform." The expression occurred in a recent article which I published in REVOLT, and this is only one of several inquiries of a similar nature received.

By the way, it is almost pathetic to see the type of men who are being driven out of the Socialist Party. Young and vigorous workmen, full of ambition for the cause of the proletariat, enthusiastic and generous, refuse to be herded along a path which leads to disillusionment and makes only for the advantage of misleaders.

My correspondent belonged to a local which broke up after the endorsement of the present State administration; and ever since the proletarian ex-members of that local have been looking for a foothold which would give them a chance to maintain the fight. It would seem that they gained nothing by leaving the party. Their places are taken by smooth bourgeois, mealymouthed, anemic ethicists and political adventurers. It is a poor exchange and we are all the poorer thereby. The men should have stayed since they could do no better; they should have stayed and helped the rest of us. It is easily comprehensible that a vigorous workingman should desire to play a game more to his evident immediate interest than the political. For the political game at its very best can be no more than a reflection of the actual

to obtain the support of that mass which while not proletarian still will cluster round the militant nucleus if the aims of that militant body can be made to appeal to their sense of right and justice. These latter are abstract terms and, it must be remembered, that while such abstractions play no real part in the equation of social progress after cancellation is made, they are still most important elements in generation or developing individual and even mass enthusiasm. These abstractions the bourgeois element in the party, is using to its own advantage at the present and is emotionalizing with political career well in view.

Against this tendency and this emotional thimble rigging we protest in vain. Negotiations cannot head off positive effort, for men after all, express themselves not in negations but in affirmations. A critical correspondent in REVOLT said rather a good thing when he declared that words unmade men. Negations may unmake men and, even affirmations, as the story of opportunist socialism conclusively shows.

Now, what is meant by a positive platform? A platform which will make proletarian affirmations as against the bourgeois affirmations of the opportunist socialists. There is no space now to go more fully into this but I will set hereafter a list of matters which might be made the prominent features of a socialist campaign.

# LOCAL VALLEJO CONDEMNS TRICKERY

Local Vallejo, at its regular meeting held January 27, 1912, adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas. The proposed new State constitu-

# ALSO FREEZING THEM INTO SUBMISSION

THEY ARE SHOOTING, BAYONETING, ARRESTING AND STARVING MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES.

Industrial war prevails in Lawrence, Mass. The starved workers to the number of 20,000 have risen in revolt against what is abject slavery.

The following shows to what limit the authorities of the State of Massachusetts will go in aiding the mill owners in beating down every vestige of spirit and manhood among the employes.

The striking textile workers are being arrested, bayoneted and shot by militia hastily summoned by Mayor Scanlon of Lawrence at the behest of the mill owners.

Thirty thousand men, women and children, ordinarily employed in the mills, are idle. Half of them are on strike, and the other half are idle by force of circumstances.

Not content with having brought all the local militia into action, Gov. Foss was appealed to and he immediately ordered out five more companies of militia, making eight in all in Lawrence, whose sole duty is to shoot men, women and children at the order of the officers, who take their orders from the mill owners, under the guise of preserving law and order.

Feeling has been growing in bitterness against the conduct of the police and soldiers. The workers are striking, not merely against a reduction in pay following a reduction of the working hours in accordance with an Act of the Massachusetts Legislature, they are fighting for more life

# DRY YEAR DOES NOT ABATE HIS ARDOR.

EVOLT:

Tulare, Jan. 24, 1912.

Comrades:—I see that REVOLT needs help. Iclosed find money order for \$1. I would like to do more but we farmers down here are up sainst a dry year. It appears that we have ity had one and one-half inches of rain when the should have had six, so we can't do much. As a subscriber I am heartily in favor of the resent policy of REVOLT. Please so record the at meeting of February 4. Yours for Socialism,

WM. CARPENTER, Tulare, Cal., R. D. 1. fight carried on in the shop, the mill and the mine.

Adventurous spirits will naturally find in the real fight, the economic fight itself, greater zest, greater opportunity and more real satisfaction than in manipulation and that eloquent hypocrisy which is inseparable from popular speaking and the marshaling of political sentiment. All this can be readily granted. No one can blame a workingman, who, breaking loose from the bourgeois associations which membership in the Socialist Party necessitates, goes into the industrial struggle itself determined to put his whole force where it will immediately tell.

But the Socialist Party exists and will continue to exist. It has a role to play; it is on the stage of history. The character of the role is largely dependent upon the working class and those who think with the working class. It is quite likely that the maintenance of the present tendency in the Socialist Party will cause it to degenerate into a mere appendage of reform republicanism, and that its leaders by careful bargainings, may, as is the way with leaders, land successfully, leaving their deluded followers wallowing in the mire. They are not far from it now. The recent Socialist Party activities placed side by side with those of reform republicanism are hardly distinguishable except by the inferiority of their texture and the evident amateurism of their construction. We find the same "constructive" policy, the same burning anxiety to give the capitalists a chance to dispose of insecure plants for secure bonds, the same flatulent sentimentalism about a reformed society, even the same desire to truckle to the organized labor bodies. It would be hard to say where reform republicanism leaves off and Los Angeles socialism begins. Still the Socialist Party is going to live. In

spite of all its present vileness, its double dealing and double shuffling, its belly crawling and humiliating kotowing to labor organized on safe, sane and conservative lines, it is a political manifestation of first class importance. The economic acts of the proletarians must mirror themselves in political action and in this country they will, in all probability, find their reflex in the Socialist Party.

It is necessary then that the Socialist Party should as far as possible be made amenable to the proletarian so that the latter may find in it a ready response to such political desires as he may possess. For, even laying the least possible stress upon political action, it is necessary that the actual achievements of the proletarian should be converted into statute law enforceable by the power of society as a whole. If the Socialist Party is not to mirror merely the defeat of the small capitalist and to be phonographed in history as a futile whine, it must be made to mirror the advance of the proletarian. It can only do this by the presence of the proletarian in its ranks and the presence also of those who are able to interpret the psychology of the militant proletarian.

Besides this moreover the Socialist Party must engage in a campaign of education so as tion has been defeated by the vote of the party membership, and

Whereas, The committee which drafted said constitution, used as a pretext to resubmit it, for another referendum, the argument that we must have a new constitution in order to properly elect our delegates to the national convention, and

Whereas, The State secretary, F. B. Meriam, has already called for the nominations of delegates, and thereby obliterated the necessity for a constitution which the majority of the members rejected, be it

Resolved, That we condemn the tactics of our constitutional committee for trying to jam the new constitution down our throats, without change of objectionable articles in it, and urge all true Socialists to vote it down unanimously, and be it further

Resolved, That we send copies of these resolutions to the "California Social-Democrat," Oakland "World" and REVOLT and a copy to the State Secretary, F. B. Meriam.

#### (Signed) CORRESPONDING AND RE-CORDING SECRETARY,

Local Vallejo, Soc. Party.

P. S.—Omit my name on account of the Navy orders.

### NO CAUSE FOR FEAR!

#### Cause of Revolution Will Prevail.

There is much occasion for regret, for disgust, at the present tendency which a numerically powerful element in the Socialist party is showing, to make the party activity a manifestation of political ambitions rather than the political expression of an aroused working class, but there is no occasion for discouragement.

Those who, believing that the revolutionary movement of the working class must have political expression as well as industrial expression to be effective, are inclined to withdraw from the Socialist party on account of its seeming drift toward mere party politics for the election of ambitions Socialists to office, should consider many things before taking such a step, and above all, this:

There can be no permanence to any movement in the name of Socialism that does not make itself the political expression of the growing class consciousness of the workers. Whatever plans the mere "pollies" may have, honestly or guiltfully urging that Socialism may be accomplished merely by the election of officials; whatever following, in numbers, they may gain within and without the party, the logic of events dooms them inexorably to political extinction in the not far distant future.

This is reason enough for every true Socialist, believing in political action founded on class industrialism, remaining in the Socialist party. It will clarify itself. No fear!

CLOUDESLEY JOHNS.

for mere life.

The splendid manifestation of working-class revolt now raging in Lawrence is being fought under the banner of the Industrial Workers of the World.

# REJECTED THIS PROPOSITION.

Inasmuch as there exists a political organization with branches and sections in all parts of the world claiming to represent the political interests of labor, and as we realize that labor's political interests reflect their economic needs, we must encourage the workers to investigate the philosophy and science of the International Socialist Party.

We realize that the trade union arm of labor can best function on the economic field, but the trade union must be a school for the inculcating in the minds of the workers the spirit of solidarity, not only on the economic but on the political field as well.

Acting on the suggestion of our Los Angeles sister council, we present the following recommendations to further the intelligent and permanent unity of labor:

That a committee of seven be selected from the council; they shall proceed to arrange lecture courses and debates on all phases of the labor problem. These meetings shall be free to the union workers.

SELIG SCHULBERG, MARTIN EAGAN.

The above proposition was rejected by the committee of 25 that is acting on a political resolution sent to the San Francisco Labor Council by the Los Angeles Council.

### READ EAGERLY.

Dear Editor:—I wish to thank you for the REVOLT, which we receive every week for our library, hoping that some day we shall be able to pay you in the shape of subs. Your paper is read eagerly and kept on file for reference. You see, REVOLT is the only paper that gives us good party news from the coast. I also wish to say a few words regarding the "Hammering of good men" in the party, keep it up! Let the rank and file know now what will save trouble afterwards. Hoping you success, I am, yours truly, for the Revolution.

HARRY LOCKWICH, Librarian, Socialist Free Library, 2573 E. 39th St., Cleveland, Ohio.

### Thos. J. Mooney:

Dear Comrade:—REVOLT is the ablest paper in my opinion in the Socialist Party movement to-day. Depend on me to do all I can to rout the vote-vote element in our party. JOHN D.

GERMANIA HALL LECTURES. Fifteenth and Mission Streets. Under Auspices of Industrial Socialist League. EVERY SUNDAY NIGHT.

Revolters' Meeting, 1876 Mission St., Sunday, February 4th, at 2 P. M.--BE THERE



would be unkind to Mr. Carnegie,' replied Congressman Stanley, Democrat, of Kentucky.

1887.

pany.

One Year

Six Mouths

Hold "Phossy Jaw" Hearing. Bartholomy Q. Plaza, a matck-worker, who had to have his lower jaw removed as a result of phosphorous necrosis or "phossy jaw" was brought before the House Committee on Ways and Means, at a hearing on the Esch bill which provides for a prohibitive tax on poisonous matches.

Congressman Payne, the author of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Law, fell asleep several times throughout the hearing. Nearly all match manufac-turers damned the Esch Bill with faint praise, showing that if they could have their way no such measure would be passed.

Only one manufacturer did not play the role of the hypocrite. He was John T. Huner, of Evergreen, L. I. The committee had several hearty laughs while in a coarse and uncouth manner, he boasted of his "fine brick factory," and his good-looking "young farm girls." While the members of the committee were enjoying themselves at Huner's puns and slang expressions, Bartholomy Plaza, the "phossy jaw" victim, whispered to a spectator sitting next to him in a tone audible and tragic: "They laugh! Look at me! They laugh!

#### CONCERT AND DANCE.

The Jewish Progressive Club will give a concert and dance Sunday evening, February 25th, 8 p. m., at Jefferson Square Building. Friendly organizations are requested to remember the date.

#### THE ONLY USEFUL CLASS.

The working class alone does the world's work, has created its capital, produced its wealth, constructed its mills and factories, dug its canals, made its roadbeds, laid its rails and operated its trains, spanned the rivers with bridges and tunnelled the mountains, delved for precious stones that glitter upon the bosom of vulgar idleness and reared the majestic palaces that shelter insolent parasites. The working class alone-and by the working class I mean all useful workers, all who by the labor of their hands or the effort of their brains, or both in alliance, as they ought universally to be, increase the knowledge and add to the wealth of society the working class alone is essential to society and therefore the only class that can survive in the worldwide struggle for freedom. EUGENE V. DEBS.

By a recent referendum in Texas Ed. A. Green, Rockdale, was elect-State Secretary; T. A. Hickey, Hallettsville, was elected a member of the National Committee, and W. the same position.

ticket, inasmuch as it was decided, against considerable reluctance, to put a ticket in the field, thereby insuring the splitting of the vote. It had been objected all along that "we didn't have any material to put on the ticket," (and judging by the political discontent in Burlingame neither have any of the others), but suddenly it was discovered by the objectors that if they did not do so the Local would forfeit its. charter. So they got busy, and simultaneously sought to appease the "property owners."

One of the two trustees who sought to work the woman on to the ticket said it was absolutely necessary to "do politics, no matter what you might say, etc. So we will have a politician on the board, (if they win) so detestable a thing when someone else happens to be the politician." And as there wasn't a dissenting voice to this and similar proceedings I am offering mine now.

The basis of my unpopularity rests largely in my ardent (uncompromisingly revolutionary) Socialism, augmented by my impatience with capitalistic thought, ethics and ideals.

Anticipating the choice for the clerkship, I nominated someone else, to put the situation to a test. Then, because of the palpably bad choice, I (the undesirable) was feebly nominated for the position, and then as a further test (knowing the "personal" spirit governing), I submitted two reasons against my acceptance: First, I am not in the Socialist movement for office; and, second, inasmuch as a personal question had been made of it and the purpose was to "get votes" my presence on the ticket would defeat this purpose, and my self-respect must repudiate the "personal" attitude.

During the nominations there was considerable declining, but extreme urgency was shown to bring about acceptance. However, in my case it seemed to lift a load from them and I was hastily passed.

The one selected for clerk is a mechanic, and by occupation and otherwise not at all likely of performing the clerical duties of the office, should he be elected. But, this can be conveniently turned over to his sister, the lady herein mentioned. The nominee is five months in arrears, and has not attended party meetings, hence is in "bad standing" and under the Constitution stands suspended.

Another member, whom they are attempting to get on the ticket to take the place of one temporarily chosen, is likewise in arrears and has attended but one meeting and he stands likewise suspended. But they think he will catch votes.

There is something radically wrong when we pursue "votes" instead of "principles." The ones to please in the administration of party affairs are the members themselves and not those in the enemy's camp. Having witnessed the above initial proceed-

ings of "political" socialists, who cannot resist the temptation to "get votes," I now fully appreciate and sympathize with the critical atti-S. Noble, Ranger, was re-elected to tude of the "industrials." It is far hetter to be 'rabid" than to forsake your principles and

conditions and the dangerous tendencies it is necessary to be somewhat specific. Also, this matter is not submitted to our State office for the reason that the writer's personal and party experience has demonstrated that it would be indifferently received. They seem to be tainted with similar tendencies as herein indicated. There is danger in going over to the "other side" except to make Socialists of them and when that is done you won't have to ask them for their "votes."

Another danger in the party is contact with the bourgeois mind and environment, thereby breaking the necessary touch with actual socia conditions and working-class needs. The writer had sought by propaganda school

ing methods to develop the varied ability inher ent in the members to the extent of our respec tive capacities. It is no wonder that when we make so much of an individual and constitute him a leader, that he is in time tempted and led astray and falls into saying and doing things that the workers must in time reject But such is our capitalistic training.

How soon we forget the "Issue";-the horrible conditions of millions of the race, in the depths of the most unimaginable misery, and millions more on the verge of the precipice awaiting precipitation! And in the face of this we dare to bend the back (or the knee) instead of being braced and fired with the invigorating fire of the Revolution and striving incessantly and laboring indefatigably to infuse it into others. If you pursue this course you may not be "popular" but you will be Right.

Soon the struggle will be over! and thenwill we regret the part we have played? CHAS. SIMMONS, Burlingame, Cal.

#### POLITICAL UNITY FOR JOBS.

After feverish appeals by Job Harriman and Alexander Irvine and acting on the calm sug-gestions of O. A. Tveitmoe, a Rep. Dem. of Union Labor political persuasion, President of the Asiatic Exclusion League that even urges the disunity of labor on the economic field, the following recommendation for "Unity of the political forces of Labor"—sic—were adopted by the Fresno Convention of the State Building Trades Council:

"Your committee approves the suggestion of our Secretary-Treasurer and legislative agents relating to the State-wide political organization of the workers, and is further of the opinion that no time should be lost in bringing about a definite understanding among working people as represented by the State Building Trades Council and the California State Federation of Labor.

"We recommend that the Executive Officers of this Council be authorized and directed to arrange for a conference at the earliest possible moment with the California State Federation of Labor, the Union Labor Party and the SO-CIALIST PARTY for the purpose of providing a plan by which political unity may be obtained throughout the State."

To be given by the LASSALLE FRAUEN-VEREIN SATURDAY EVE., FEBRUARY 10TH, 1912 At Mission Turn Hall, 18th Street Between Valencia and Guerrero Beer, 5 Cents Admission, 25 Cents a Person  $\mathbf{0}$ ev Every socialist in the world should get FREE this thrilling story of the "Ball and Tyler Rebellion" -an uprising of the people against the nobles and church in mediaeval England. Not one in a million has ever seen this rare document which is merely one of thousands of wonderful "original documents" in the

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Milwaukee.

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Addre

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and other progressive people who do their own thinking. All socialist writers, editors and organizers use it and urge *every Comrade* to get it at once. Socialists in the United States and Canada are using more of this work than of all others combined. No other work gives more than 5% of this red-hot stuff.

### The Socialist Victories

in Milwaukee, Schenectady, Berkeley, Pasadena and other cities were won because the comrades there have been studying all sides of economics and government — or to put it in plain words—Socialism. Then when the elecput it in plain words—Socialism. Then when the elect tion fights were on they were able to show the rest of the people just what Socialism is and the reason for it. Men will voteright, you know, when they know what right is. They have not been satisfied with the government of greed, privilege and plun-der—they have been merely kept in the dark, but now when the comrades open their eyes, they VOTE RIGHT.

#### Are You Prepared To Do Your Part?

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**LO DO YOUR Part?** The old capitalist papers and politicians are beginning to take notice —they are getting scared. The hardest licks must be struck NOW. Are you pre-pared to help? Berger, Spargo, Warren, Simons, London, Wayland, Gaylord, Un-termann, Irvine, Lewis — ALL leaders eay the best preparation you can make is to read the Library of Original Sources —"greatest work extant for socialists." If you want to help — and we know you do-send today for the won-derful "Ball and Tyler" story and find out how you can get a whole library of the same kind on the easiest co-opera-tive plan in the world. BUT only the introductory edition will be distributed on this plan, so write today or you may be too late, as the large edition is going dike hot cakes.



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