We advocate the political organization of the working class to overthrow the domination of the capitalist class and to establish Socialism.

\$2+\$2+\$2+\$2+\$2+\$2+\$2+\$2+\$2+\$2+\$2+

WHOLE NUMBER 418.

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAL, AUGUST 9, 1902.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

### Liberty and the Social Revolution

There was a larger attendance than ever ever at Odd Fellows Hall Sunday afternoon, July 27th, and Comrade Wilson made what may be termed his star speech. Comrade Walter Thomas Mills, who was making a flying visit to our city, presided as chairman and his appearance on the platform was the -signal for a perfect storm of applause.

Speaking on the subject of the "Fun-damental Principle of Social Liberty," Comrade Wilson said in part:

We are in the moment of an impending social revolution. Economic changes in he last five, six, seven or eight years in the ctory of America and in the history of the world have been so rapid, have been so mighty and powerful as to give us Socialist agitators and Socialists of the rank and file the simple, sweet conviction that we shall be members of the co-operative commonwealth.

You take any living being, whatever that living being may be, and you will discover two elemental functions always there: first, the struggle to live itself, and, second, the power and desire to propagate its kind. Scientifically speaking, all life bears these two expressions—nutrition and propagation. In human society we call one of these expressions the principle of individualism and the other we call the principle of socialism. The principle that relates people together is the principle of socialism, or societyism; the principle that separates the individual from the masses is the principle of individualism.

Individualism and socialism are simply pects of one whole. There never was an individual apart from society and there never was a society that was not composed of individuals. The principle of socialism destroys the ruthless principle of individualism. That ruthless individualism—net individual asserting himself irrespect-

n it is pushed to an extreme, the power of its tyranny is the greatest that cursed the earth, but the principle that made a Nero and a Napoleon Bonaparte is to-day mightier than ever in human so-ciety, and it will manifest itself evilly unless it is curbed. The persons are gone; the problems of that time are finished, but the principles remain.

There are four kinds of liberty: the re ligious liberty, intellectual liberty, politi-cal liberty and economic liberty. Three of these liberties have been practically

Religious liberty gave man access to the great infinite fact of our universe to interpret it according to his own conscience. The way to get religious liberty is to make God and access to God common property, without respect to persons, and religious liberty will take care of itself without your interference. The interpretation of the big fact of the universe by multitudes of people was only possible when they made the universe common property.

Intellectual liberty means the right to study stars and bugs on your own account and make your own account of it. It can only be attained by making common property the resources of common thought. The public school is the result of socializing the instruments of education.

Socialism cannot develop and the demonstration of Socialism cannot be effected unless we have an immense ocean of thought let loose from original thinkers in the movement. Intellectual liberty gave every man the right to think for himself. It was made possible by making collective or common or social the means by which all the people unfold their minds.

Political liberty was attained by socializing or making common property the means of government. We say "our government." We got it by socializing the things concerned. By making common property of the means of government we gave private access and private kingship to the last man beneath the stars and stripes.

Economic liberty. The competitive system has no bottom; only truth and liberty has a bottom invincible and eternal and we will win it on the principle of Socialism. The Socialists stand for the socializing of the means of production by which all the people live. When we social-

at present in the hands of private individuals and you will get economic liberty. Private ownership of the means of production robs the producer and the consumer, makes both believe it is prosperity and defrauds the people.

### Hungry for Agitation

Yuma, Ariz., July 29, 1902. Dear Comrade:

I write to ask you to look out for a peaker for Yuma. Any one who happens be traveling through on the S. P. route that can stop over a day or two and give us a good socialist speech will be heartfly received and all stopping expenses paid. We had a rousing meeting the Fourth. Comrade N. A. Richardson of San Bernardino, Cal., was with us and made several new converts, besides enthusing all the old ones with the spirit of success; we have organized a committee for campaign political work and expect to hold a convention soon to nominate county officers for the fall elections. We are so far from other Socialist sections and speakers that we seldom have a chance for a good speaker. Fraternally, S. H. Johnson, Sec'y.

### Four More Down South

Julian, August 1, 1902.

Dear Comrade: I have the pleasure to announce four new locals thus far on this trip out of six towns. I find an amazing amount of individual work being done in all of the country places. It will sum up well, I think, in November.

Helphingstine.

### The Work in Humboldt

Editor Advadce: On July 20th Miss M. Lena Morrow left Humboldt county

She has had better attention, larger audiences, and has made a deeper impres-sion on the minds of the people than any other Socialist speaker who has ever been in this county. I say this not to find fault with the others, but to make known through your popular paper to any community who desire to spread the Socialist doctrine and create a healthy and deep influence on the minds of the people, that they will do well to send for her. Her manner, appearance and magnetic eloquence must carry weight in every com-

T. M. Edwards.

### Around the Bay

Benicia, July 30, 1902.

Editor Advance: Comrade Morrow gave us a call again last Wednesday. She delivered an excellent address to a crowd in front of the City Hall. The next speech was made at Port Costa. We opened up the port for the free entry of So-cialism all right. The audience was large and well pleased and we sold many booklets to them. The meeting at Crockett was a repetition of the other two in its success. We are sure of good results.

Fraternally,
J. H. Carlson.

### New Local in Prospect.

Comrade Dynan of Confidence, sending n a good list of subscribers to Advance, writes that Richard Barbee, the delegate from the union to the Denver Convention, has declared for the Socialist party. Barbee is an agitator and a good one, and has been appointed State Organizer for the W. F. of Miners. We may shortly expect a local of fifteen or twenty members to be organized, as Comrade Dynan has sent for blanks and instructions to the State

### Propaganda Program

District Club No. 3 holds regular propaganda meetings every thursday night at room 8, the Odd Fellows' Bldg., Market and Seventh streets. On Thursday, Aug. 14, Comrade Mrs. Walker will give a readized God we got religious liberty; when we ing, Comrade Gray the news of the week socialized learning we got an age of science from a Socialist standpoint, and Comrade that eclipsed anything that the world ever P. A. Wood, late of Chicago, will speak knew; we socialized government and we on "Canvassing Points for Socialist Workgot political liberty. Socialize the power ers." Everybody is invited to attend.

#### The Socialist Primary Ticket for San Francisco

The following are the regular nominees of the Socialist party for delegates to the Socialist conventions. Stickers containing these names can be obtained at the headquarters, Room 8, Odd Fellows' Bldg. Every comrade should all and get one and go to the polls. Vo e this ticket and no other. All other tickets are simply schemes to wrest the political powers from the organized Socialist prity to betray and wreck the cause. Comr des are warned against all other ticket as frauds. If you wish the success of the Socialist party go to the polls and vote your district ticket.

28th Assembly Distri State Delegate—A. A. pel. City and County—R. Pleming, O. Seifert, R. Day, A. Seaman, A. Appel. 29th Assembly Distric

State Delegate-I. Ro enblatt. assler, Geo. Bar-cob Pusa. City and County—I. laby, A. F. Lindwall, J

30th Assembly Distri State Delegate—J. H. City and County—J. Scott Anderson, Andre Wesley, G. B. Benham Fairbrook. H. Fairbrook, Sorenson, J. C.

31st Assembly Distri State Delegate-Gus Postler, C. M. Rommel, Hugo City and County—G Bosler, Otto Marcus, W Lotzin.

32d Assembly Distri State Delegate—J. I City and County—C W. Asmussen, Wm. Sch Pierson, C. han, Geo. Guth-

rie, J. Barduhn. 33d Assembly Distr State Delegate—And City and County—Thistleton, C. E. P. Max Schwind. Sorenson. Sorenson, Geo. Wm. Senner,

34th Assembly I

Clifford, Wm. Clauss, Paul Roder James

35th Assembly District.
State Delegate—S. Seiler.
City and County—S. Seiler, G. W. Arthur, John A. Miller, J. S. Clark, James

36th Assembly District. State Delegate—L. Vanalstine. City and County—L. Vanalstine, J. E. Davies, N. C. Andersen, R. Hewald. Earnest E. Kirk.

37th Assembly District.
State Delegate—W. M. Coward.
City and County—W. M. Coward, G.
P. Bartel, Anton Simbla, E. M. Tidd, J. M. F. Eitel.

38th Assembly District. State Delegate—C. H. King, Sr. City and County—C. H. King, Sr., F. M. Phelan, John M. Reynolds, M. W. Boeken, H. Strunsky.

39th Assembly District. City and County—Geo. Knauft, N. J. Schultz, F. R. Whitney.

40th Assembly District. State Delegate—J. A. Meyer. City and County—J. A. Meyer, H. Groner.

41st Assembly District.
State Delegate—E. V. Fleury.
City and County—E. V. Fleury, H. Weideling.

42d Assembly District. State Delegate-L. L. Nevins. City and County-L. L. Nevins, C. A. Smith, W. E. Walker, A. G. Swanson, H. C. Wilson.

43d Assembly District. State Delegate-W. C. Shepard. City and County—W. C. Shepard, Wm. costley, Richard Kraft, Harry O. Stanton, L. W. Lindgren. 44th Assembly District.

State Delegate—John Messer. City and County—John Messer, A. W. N. Lyons, A. Lipstein, Jos. H. Alfonso, I. Flaum. 45th Assembly District.

State Delegate—Geo. Nesbit. City, and County—Geo. Nesbit, Chas. Herold, E. G. Chamberlin.

Job Harriman will arrive in California within a few days. It is to be earnestly hoped that his health will rapidly improve. California's welcome will be the heartiest.

Pennsylvania is striding rapidly to the front as the best orgnized state.

### Revolutionary Socialism-An Exposition.

A Lecture at Academy of Sciences' Hall, San Francisco, by Cameron H. King,

Socialism, as understood and enunciated by the Socialist party of the United States, and as interpreted by the Socialist party throughout the world, contemplates nothing less than the complete revolution and overthrow of the present capitalist systems of government, and a complete revolution of the present capitalist methods of industrial production and distribution of wealth.

It does not follow that revolution must be brought about by force of arms, bloodshed or any act of violence.

Revolution means an entire change in the constitution of the government and of society, and thorough reconstruction from center to circumference. It may be bloodess and peaceful—the gradual result of evolution and slow economic changes or t may be the result of a sudden and bloody struggle—a political cataclysm— but in all cases, whether gradually or suddenly brought about, it is the result of evolution and produced by evolutionary forces. By evolution we mean progressive change from within caused by resident forces. The explosion of Mount Pelee or the vomiting forth of lava from the volcano was the result of long gathering and accumulating forces resident within the core of the mountain itself and was none the less evolutionary because its final form or expression in bursting its crater shell seemed sudden and cataclysmic.

When we apply to Socialism the term revolutionary it is to sharply contrast it with those political methods which do not contemplate revolution—or an entire change in and overthrow of the present capitalist system, but which have only in view the reform of certain features of government and society, while it preserves

reform. Reform seeks to cure the sores upon the body politic by the application externally of some patent salve or ointment when it is the very life blood and internal organs of that body which are poisoned and diseased, and it is only by internal treatment, by doses administered internally, that the real seat of the disorder and disease, which caused the outside sores and scabs, can be effectually cured.

No doubt reform measures may, like charity, relieve particular and isolated cases of misery, but they cannot relieve the cause, which is necessary to effect a permanent cure and general relief. cooling lotion may arrest the itching of the smallpox sores, or give some temporary relief to the child suffering from the measles, but the real seat of the disease lies deeper than the outside skin and the remedies to effect a cure must reach that real internal seat of the malady.

Socialism perceives clearly the cause of he wretchedness and povert lot of those who work and produce the wealth of the world, while others, who do not toil, live in luxury and idleness.

Socialism analyses the causes of the great inequality of conditions that exist among the men, women and children in this country, and in all other countries where the capitalist method of production

It discovers the falsehoods of capitalistic political economy and the misconceptions of the bourgeois historian. It points out that all the institutions of society and government have an economic foundation, and that the true conception of history lies in the understanding of these materialistic conditions.

As is truly said in the opening paragraph of the Communist manifesto:
"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Free-man and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild master and journey-man—in a word, oppressor and oppressed -stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, that each time ended either in revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes.'

Socialists perceive that present society is divided into two hostile classes—the working or producing class and the capitalist class. This division of society into antagonistic classes is the natural, inevitable and direct result of the private ownership of all of the means of the produc-

tion and distribution of wealth by one class of individuals termed capitalists and the dependence of the other class of individuals, the actual workers, upon access to and the use of these means of produc-tion and distribution in order to create the commodities necessary to sustain their lives and support their families.

This private ownership of the means of production enables the capitalists so owning them to take as their own and to absolutely control the entire product and all the commodities made, through the use all the commodities made, through the use of these means of production, by the wrokers and actual producers. This total product—these commodities so produced by the workers, but owned and controlled by the capitalists—is sold by the capitalists for money and out of the sum so realized the workers are paid by such capitalists a wage barely sufficient to support the workers and to maintain their families, so that they may raise children, who in turn shall become workers for the capitalist class and keep the labor market well supplied.

The lion's share, estimated at threeuarters of the sum realized from the sale of the commodities made by the workers, goes to the capitalists, a part of which is used to renew and replace these means of production, and the rest is profits which add to and increase the capitalists' capital and more strongly entrench them in their superior powerful position as masters.

The wage-workers are, therefore, by this system of production, made absolutely and entirely dependent upon the capital-ist owners of the means or machinery of production for a chance to work and earn a scanty livelihood, which is also made most uncertain and precarious by compe-tition between the workers themselves for employment by or an opportunity to serve their capitalist masters, and this debasing competition brings with it wide-spread and appalling poverty and misery to the working class, arrays brother against

This, then, is in brief the class stru It is not the result of the teachings of S cialism. It is not the result of the appeals of labor agitators and walking delegates It is not the result of the speeches of politicians, nor of the platforms of political parties. It is not produced by free trade, nor by protection. It is not affected by a gold or a silver standard in the money of exchange.

The ownership of merely so-called public utilities by the government, the most radical suppression of trusts, the restoration of unrestricted competition in business—none of these, nor any of the re-forms advocated by political reformers will abolish or in any way prevent this historical and ever-present class-struggle.
The political action of so-called labor parties, though they are supported by many honest and conscientious working men, so long as such parties are in favor of sustaining the present system of capitalist production, and so long as they nom-inate even workingmen—however sincere and honest—who yet are ignorant of the true principles of Socialism, and in favor of upholding the present system of capitalist government—can never abolish the class struggle, though perhaps such labor parties may intensify it, and perhaps cause greater solidarity in the ranks of the working men.

The trades unions are but a striking exemplification of the testimony to the existence of this class struggle, and the employers' associations corroborate and emphasize the fact. The class-struggle is here; it is in every country and place where the capitalist system exists. It can only be abolished by the abolition of the capitalist system itself-and that means Socialism-Revolutionary Socialism-no reform but only real, thorough and complete revolution can bring full and adequate relief to the toiling masses, abolish he misery, wretchedness, poverty and crime which exists as the result of capitalism, and, ending this class struggle, restore, liberty equality and fraternity, bringing with it the blessings of peace and true prosperity.

This is the mission of revolutionary Socialism.

But you ask how shall this revolution be rought about? How and through whom shall revolutionary Socialism be estab-

It is plain that neither a Republican, Democratic, Public-Ownership, Single-tax, Union Labor or any other political (Continued to page 3.)

## **ADVANCE**



Organ of the Socialist Party of California: Published Weekly by the Local San Francisco, Socialist Party.

Editor, C. H. King, Jr.; Business Manager, Walter E. Walker; Directors, H. C. Wilson, Mollie Bloom, L. Van Alstine, Scott Anderson. Office Room 8, Odd Fellows Bdg., San Francisco, California.

Subscription price, 50c. per year; six months, 25c. Make all checks and money orders payable to Advance.

#### State Committee Report with Annotations

San Francisco, August 1, 1902. We hereby submit the State Committee's report for July:

Financial report for the calendar month

ending July 21, 1903: Receipts—Total receipts for dues during July, \$97.35; total receipts for supplies during July, \$12; total receipts for campaign fund during July, \$16.70; to-tal receipts for Northern Organizer, \$9.75;

deficit, \$23.91: total, \$159.71.

Disbursements—Deficit at end of June, \$16.98; extra work on petition, \$15; printing, \$7.90; mailing scales, stationery and incidentals\$8.58; postage and envelopes, 5.49; postage on leaflets, \$29.81; Northern Organizer, \$15.25; dues to National Committee, \$48.70; Secretary's salary for month of July, \$12; total disburse-

ments, \$159.71. During the month new charters were granted to new Local Napa and revived ocals Dixon and Oxnard.

About eighty thousand leaflets were

sent out during the month.

Very little money was received for campaign purposes, and as one-half of the dues received by the State Committee goe to the National Committee, it is evident that the ability to pay for leaflets, organizers, etc., is very limited.

This is mentioned as a reminder to those comrades who make statements regarding the State Committee's dealings with organizers.

It is a notable fact that the receipts of the State Committee for campaign funds are far less than during the same months in the campaign of 1900, notwith-standing the fact that there has been more agitation by California Comrades and by visitors from other states.

It is very probable that more money was actually contributed this year than ever before, but it went to individual speakers and not to the State Committee, and consequently the State Committee has had a relatively small income, and very limited means for doing effective work.

(1.) The State Committee has had to protest against the repeated failure of the editor of the Advance to publish the minutes, reports, etc., of the State Committee, notwithstanding that the reports, etc., have always been given in good time for publication. When chided for this, the editor, C. H. King, Jr., declared that reports would go in or not just as he chose. That he really usurps such license is proved by his frequent omission to publish official news on the pretense that it is crowded out. (2.) But it has been observed that the paper is never so crowded that the editor cannot find space in the first column of the front page to explain that he is a "prime favorite with San Francisco audiences" or that he delivered a stirring and telling speech, etc.

Advance as his personal organ is shown not merely by the denial of the privilege of its columns to others, but by frequent They are interested in the State Commitpersonal attacks and misleading state-

In this week's issue he publishes an article full of bitter personal abuse, and also replete with falsehood, told deliberately for the purpose of misleading the mem-

(3.) He states that Bersford and other members of the State Committee oppose trades unions, whereas the fact is that Bersford personally organized three un-

(4.) King implies that the State Committee had printing done by non-union houses, whereas not a line of printing has been done for the committee by nonunion people.

(5.) He states that but for C. H. King, Sr., our State petition would have been rejected, whereas the fact is that it was King, Sr., that was the cause of the petition being first rejected; he drew it up and worded it wrongly. He charged the State Committee \$20 for his advice (of which we have paid him \$15), and he advised us wrongly.

(6.) King, Jr., states that the petition was accepted without any change being made, whereas a whole section pertaining only by the Secretary making these in Local San Francisco and in the Los

changes that the petition was finally ac-

In 1898 the present Secretary got the party's State petition accepted without the

aid of Mr. King or any other lawyer. These are only a few samples of the numerous false statements of Mr. King, and we beg to suggest to members that when they read Mr. King's scurrilous articles, it would be well to remember that he does not seem over particular in the matter of truth, especially when he has

some object in view. We very much regret these froubles and acerbities, but beg comrades to remember that the aggressors are to blame for quarrels, and we have not been the ag-

Fraternally,

The California State Committee,

Per Thomas Bersford, Secretary. We print the State Committee's report above because we wish to use it as a text. There are a few errors in it which we wish to correct, and to facilitate the correction we have numbered them, that they might be dealt with point by point. We will pass by their whine about lack of funds as not quite pertinent to our discussion and take up point number 1. We are charged with repeated failure to publish minutes, reports, etc." What are the facts? The present editor has been in charge since Advance became a four-page paper (about last February). During this time the minutes of the State Committee have appeared regularly except on two occasions. They did not appear in the issue of June 28th. The forms of that issue were closed regularly Wednesday night, June 25th, on which evening the editor spoke in Vallejo (see the Advance of July 5), and was unable to personally attend to the "makeup" of the paper. This was attended to by Comrade Mary Fairbrother, who can in no way be accused of unfairness or intentional suppression of the minutes. The second omission was in the issue of July 19th, when the linotype machine broke down, and made it impossible to have more than a note set up as to the minutes. Our printing arrangements are such that un-less we turn in "copy," i. e., articles to be set up in type, and go to press on schedule time, other papers will take the right of way and delay us a couple of days. There is a third omission, however, which probably galls Mr. Bersford more than the others, and that is the failure to publish either majority or minority report on his appeal from the action of Local San Francisco, suspending him for disorderly and unruly conduct in the local's meetings. Well, perhps it was wrong not to publish all we received in regard to the matter. But it would have been bad for Bersford had we done so. We believe, nevertheless, that we acted impartially in publishing nothing either pro or con. Such are the facts in regard to point No. 1. There have been three omissions, the last mentioned of which alone can the editor he tioned of which alone can the editor be held responsible for, and in which omission he received the express sanction and thorough approval of the Board of Direct-

The second point touches the editor's modesty, and when read in connection with the minutes proper of the State Committe imply that the editor has used the paper as a means of self-glorification. The statement referred to in point 2 occurred in the regular report of the San Francisco propaganda meetings, which was written by Comrade Fairbrother. Doubtless it was a heinous crime not to blue pencil it. We leave the matter of our self-glorification, however, to the readers of Advance with the simple question, "How often have you seen King, Jr., praised in Advance, and were you aware that he was editor before

But the Comrades of California are not interested in the editor of Advance. tee and its Secretary. We have dealt with the charges against us only because the evidence, the facts are in the hands of all our readers, who are thus in a position to judge whether the editor or Mr. Bersford tells the truth.

We wish to call attention to the fact that we made the charge of DeLeonism against the majority of the State Committee. We accused them of three things: 1st. Indifference or hostility to trades unionism; 2d, dogmatism and fanaticism; 3d, sowing the seeds of discord, suspicion and hatred within the ranks. Incidentally we refer to their incompetency.

In their reply they attempt to answer only in regard to their union standing and the ability of their Secretary. Let us continue the examination of these

No 3. It is true that Bersford assisted n organizing some unions. He was a paid secretary of the Laundry Workers for a time, and during that time seldom or never attended the Socialist meetings. He took up the Socialist party again only after he was compelled to resign the secretaryship of the Laundry Workers' Union. With the cessation of his salary to Senators and Assemblymen had to be his affection for trades unionism ceased. State Committee chosen from Local San stricken out and a complete division of the Will he refer to the Laundry Workers for Francisco alone and leave out locals at petition had to be mde, (?) and it was a recommendation? Or will he deny that Oakland and Alameda,

from the trades unions?

No. 4. If the State Committee wishes to avow friendship for organized labor, why is it not vigilant enough to insist on the union label on its printing The Typographical Union has entered a protest with Local San Francisco in the matter. The proof of the pudding is the eat- except Liess, who declined to be a candiing, and on three separate pieces the la-

bel has been lacking.

Points 5, 6 and 7 deal with the incompetency of the State Committee's Secretary. The facts are these: Mr. Bersford first drew up a petition form ridiculously inadequate and submitted it to the Secretary of State for his approval. The Secretary of State advised Mr. Bersford by some comrades, of course I did not reto get a lawyer to draw up the petition ceive all of their votes, which was the only in proper form. Mr. King, Sr., was en-gaged and drew up the form. This was the next highest vote. duly circulated and the required signa-tures collected. Then, in disregard of the request of Mr. King, Sr., and in defiance of the protest of Comrade Reynolds of the State Committee, Mr. Bersford took the petition to Sacramento without allowing the attorney to look it over and see that it was in proper form. The manner in which the petition was put together was illegal, no showing or statement was made as to percentages, and altogether it was a mutilated, unarranged, unclerical bundle of paper, which the Secretary of State was obliged in self-defense to reject. When the petition was rejected Mr. Bersford condescended to seek the advice of Mr. King, Sr., again, and in accordance therewith arranged the petition by Congressional districts, mended the illegal mutilations, and out of an abundance of caution one clause which was necessary to nominate Senators and Assemblymen in districts including more than one county was stricken out, as it could not be shown that three per cent had been obtained in those disper cent had been obtained in those districts. We shall present proof of this point next week. Meanwhile, we will state State Committee, and the reasons why it on point 7, that the three thousand and was done, and the necessity for the elecodd names collected in San Francisco were districted by the editor of Advance, provisional State Committee as permawho worked all day and on to 4 o'clock a. m. to get the job done. The comrades of the Socialist party. He said that the California can thus see that Mr. Bersford, members of the old State Committee were in his committee report, fails to leave a all good enough men and Socialists, but correct impression with his readers. He that they were all members of the middle only got the petition correct, either in le- class in Society, and hence they were gal or clerical form, after his own failure rightly removed. He explained why the obliged him to call in a competent person. And seemingly he can only get his facts correct after they are duly annotated.

In regard to No. 8, we refer the competence of the seemingly here. rades to the affidavits of Comrade Lyons. nething of the beginning That shows so of the trouble. The case of Mr. Bersford's ontinual disorderly conduct was an incident. And the present-controversy is not of the seeking of Local San Francisco. It has been the persistent policy of rule or ruin which this faction have endeavored to follow which has caused Local San Francisco to force them into the open. We sought peace. We wished to devote our time and energy to Socialist propeganda. But these men would not have it so. Personal attacks and obstruction when in a minority, and DeLeonism when in a majority, have been their tactics. We regret not only this quarrel. We regret its personal nature. same evening to Comrade W. E. Walker But the personality of the controversy and wife. cannot be ignored. It is the incarnation

of the principle. We again ask the comrades, Have the State Committeemen refuted the charges we have made: 1st,of indifference or hostility to the trades unions; 2d, of dogmatism and fanaticism; 3d, of sowing the seeds of suspicion and mistrust, and, 4th, were you aware that he was editor before of incompetency? In their reply they the State Committee informed you have failed to bring the facts forward to oughly expose the extremities to which these men will go, we publish the following affidavits:

## What Think You of This, Comrades?

State of California, City and County of San Francisco, ss.

Arthur W. N. Lyons, being first duly sworn, deposes and says: For nearly a year before the last State Convention of the Socialist party, there had been held continuously a series of private caucuses, which were attended very regularly by Comrade Beresford, myself and a few others, at which it was decided upon that we would band together and conspire to accomplish the following objects:

1. We were to overthrow the State Committee, then composed of Cameron H. King, Sr., John M. Reynolds, James Andrews, Scott Anderson, G. B. Benham, J. E. Scott and George J. Smith, and have

ourselves elevated to their positions. 2. We agreed to agitate for a State Convention.

3. That we would get Comrades Bersford and Geo. S. Holmes sent as delegates to said state convention. 4. We would have members of a new

5. We were then to nominate each oth-

Angeles convention he spoke in favor of er for members of the new State Commita greater separation of the Socialist party tee and secure the placing of our names at the head of the list to be sent out for a referendum to the State.

All this we did-Bersford, Appel, Messer, Ober, Johnson, Hefferin and Liess being first made a provisional State Committee at the State Convention thus secured. On the referendum all were elected date, and John M. Reynolds was elected.

Before the election of State Committee I discovered that their scheme was not for the benefit of the party, but only to advance themselves and gain control for their own selfish purposes, and so before the election I declined to act with them furby some comrades, of course I did not rereason I was beaten-polling even then

Arthur W. N. Lyons. Subscribed and sworn to before me this 5th day of August, 1902.

Henry B. Lister. Notary Public in and for the County of San Francisco.

There can be no question but what Comrade Liess was an innocent party in this matter, and his name was included by the conspirators for the prestige it would give the rest—seeming to stamp the counter-feit genuine.—Ed. Advance.

State of California, City and County of

San Francisco, ss. Albert S. Cogswell and Eleanor G. Cogswell, his wife, both being first duly sworn, depose and say: We are both members of Local San Francisco Socialist party. That in the month of February, 1902, after the adjournment of a meeting of the local, Comrade Benjamin P. Ober joined us as we were walking home and said he wanted tion of the same persons who composed the nent members of the State Committee of members of the provisional committee should be supported as permanent members of the State Committee. In this talk. which lasted a long time, he said, among many other things, that it was men like those on the provisional committee who were the Robespierres of the party. That these men (meaning Bersford, Appel, Messer, himself, Ober and the other members of the provision! State Committee) must be put in charge of and must control the Socialist party of the State, and must control Local San Francisco, from which the State Committee were to be selected, or if they could not control the local they would break it up and join a Socialist party that every one knew was revolutionary. From his language we understood him to mean the Socialist Labor party. The foregoing was the substance of Comrade Ober's re-

Eleanor G. Cogswell. Albert S. Cogswell, Subscribed and sworn to before me this

5th day of August, 1902. Addie L. Ballou. Notary Public in and for the City and County of San Francisco, State of Cal-

State of California, City and County of

says: I am a member of the Socialist party, and have been a Socialist for six years last past. I am also a trade unionist, was president of the Bakers' Union, Local 24, of San Francisco, and a delegate to the For Socialist Propaganda Labor Council of San Francisco and to the California State Federation of Labor. On the 20th day of July, 1902, I was a baker engaged in the Palace Hotel. On that day, between the hours of ten and twelve o'clock at night, Comrade Fleming asked me to join District Club No. 1, Local San Francisco Socialist party. Comrades Ober, Appel, Messer and Bersford were present. Comrade Ober then said cisco or they would burst it up and join pression the others, Messer, Appel, Bersford and Fleming tacitly assented. I de-

Theodor Molitor. Subscribed and sworn to before me this 31st day of July, 1902.

clined to assist them.

Addie L. Ballou, ifornia.

the Socialists elected a number of candidates for the first time, and secured a surprising increase in their vote as a

### Hoch die Revolution

Agnew, Aug 2, 1902.

Editor Advance: At last it has come, the revolution with-

n a revolution, the revolt of the Utopians gainst the Practicals. And this time right at home in S. F.,

nd God be praised, so soon!

Well, it is merely individualistic atavsm against the awakened spirit of collectivism, which recognizes the humnn race as an integral whole, and in this economic proletarian revolt against capitalism, perceives that the trades unions are part of the machinery that moves the boat.

In this political warfare more than in any other, strategy is the greatest thing on earth.

Our comrades mentioned in the August 2d edition of Advance are simply suffering from cerebral delonitas. This disease is atavistic, and hereditary. The fact is, that it has existed under other forms and other names as long as political agitation and evolution have been going on. That it broke out in the Socialist movement in America is but further proof that it was latent.

It is always arch-revolutionary and in-

ensely non-strategical.

It tends, like other forms of dementia upon religious or political subjects, to violentism when opposed, or to suspiciou hypochondria when avoided. The writer would like to say that these above statements are not to be taken as attempts at witticism with the intention of provoking mirth. They are the scientific, psychopathogenesis of a morbid condition of mind liable to appear among those who have thought much over the wrongs of the proletaire and of the means of right-

ing those wrongs.

These people, like other morbid subjects, have great persuasive eloquence when haranguing their favorite theme. Their consciousness of possessing this faculty misleads them into supposing themselves fitted for leaders of the people and dictators of the revolution.

Lo! a Marat, a Robespierre, and in our day a De Leon.

But none of them have the constructive genius of a Cavour or an August Bebel.

When history is re-written, that constructive political strategist of proletarian political revolution, August Bebel, the Leipzic wood turner, will occupy the fore-

most place of honor.
In our country, with its heterogeneous mass of workers, fluctuating from one trade to another, the consolidated trade union movement must certainly ceived by all logically trained thinkers, to be the incipient collective proletarian re-volt against private capitalism. This being true, then the agitators of the Socialist party who would antagonize the trades unions, commit a serious strategical blun-der, and arouse the enmity of the organized proletaire towards the Socialist c and worst of all, towards political action

The proof of the superior political strategy of the Socialist party, is found in the fact that since the Unity Convention, there has been and is a greater movement in the trades unions toward political action, than ever preceding that event.

A very large percentage of our patients here at Agnew, suspect the doctors and the attendants of conspiracy to make them appear insane; when this mania takes on a violent form, they have to be placed in restraint.

The Socialists will have to do likewise with those who manifest symptoms of de-

If it runs rampant it will perturb the wise tactics at present adopted by the party, and which will cause it to accumulate ever greater and greater strength as it Theodor Molitor, being first duly sworn, ing the ultimate, the Collectivist Republic

of North America.

Chas. A. F. Purdy.

Advance is published principally for propaganda purposes. To that end to make it most available as a propaganda paper, we have a great offer to make to all comrades. Advance will be furnished from now till after election for 10 cents in clubs of ten. You get ten people to pay 10 cents each and send in the names, adthat they (meaning the crowd then pres-ent—Fleming, Appel, Messer, Bersford from now till after election, those ten perand Ober) would control Local San Fran- ple will get four pages of argument and encouragement to make them good revthe Socialist Labor party, to which ex- olutionary Socialists. No more effective propaganda can be done. The people pay for their own conversion. They get the best thought on Socialism, the latest news of the Socialist movement, and timely criticisms on the labor movement, its successes and its blunders, its allies and its Notary Public in and for the City and County of San Francisco, State of Calfoes. Let every comrade who wishes to self or herself a committee of one to get In Mulhausen and Strasburg, Germany, be Socialists elected a number of candiates for the first time, and secured a after election only ten cents. Join the a club each week for the next two months. Advance Guard.

### Revolutionary Socialism

(Continued from page 1.)

party which does not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production deserves or should receive the support of any member of the working class, or those who sympathize with them, for none of these parties can accomplish this great revolution-nor even aid and assist in its accomplishment.

Who, then again, shall establish revolutionary Socialism?

The only force which can be relied upon to bolish the capitalist system of production and establish this revolutionary Socialism is the working class itself and those in immediate sympathy and allied with it. All other classes, notwithstanding their disagreements and conflicts as to political methods, reforms and aims, are alike interested in sustaining and upholding the private ownership of land machinery and all the means of wealth production and distribution and in maintaining the present capitalist system.

The Socialist party is the only political party whose aim is the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it for the purpose of conquering the powers of government and using such powers to transform the present system of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution into the colective ownership and management thereof by the entire people—thus abolishing, not reforming the capitalist system.

The Socialist party cannot and must not become a party of opportunism or expediency, and for this reason alone cannot and will not, under any circumstances, combine or fuse with any other political party, nor endorse the candidates of any political party, nor submit its own candidates to the endorsement of any other party, but must pursue, uninfluenced by outside political organization, its straight course forward for the overthrow

of capitalism, the collective ownership of wealth, and for the emancipation of the working class from the chains of wage-

But while such should be its course it should, by means consistent with this elear-cut and straight-forward policy, endeavor to enlist in the support of Socialism all trade and other organizations on all sions. It should present to such ornizations on all occasions the clear prinde of Socialism. It should seek to conto such principles of revolutionary Sosm those who seem to be inclining and or to sympathize with such prin-s. While carefully preserving the in-ty of the Socialist party, it should to its ranks those who accept the principles of Socialism, ough it may require much further udy before they fully understand the equisite and necessary revolutionary tac-cs. A raw recruit is not made an old soldier in a moment. The child creeps before it learns to walk and those who perceive the general truths of Socialism, but are not clearly informed on all the details and tactics, can certainly be better and more quickly educated when within the party and associated with bright and intelligent comrades than they can be by keeping them outside the party or dooming them to a purgatory for the refinement of their souls and the cleansing of their obscure ideas before admitting them to the Socialist paradise.

So I say, preach the gospel of Socialism to all organizations and to all people, make converts first and give them a more thor-

ough education afterwards. pletion of the emancipation struggle." But while a proletarian may be "a worker who owns no means of production, and is compelled to sell his labor power to a capitalist for wages in order to live" or is "a propertyless wage-worker," there are yet others, who in the strict sense of the word are "proletarians" and it is both useless and misleading to attempt definitions of those who are of the class upon which must rest the burden of overthrowing the capitalist system. We may find good English words to express our meanings when we appeal to English-speaking persons. The "proletariat" is our "working class" and a proletariat is a "worker," whether a worker with muscle or with brain, but he is a worker who produces something of benefit to society, and does not live by ex-ploiting his fellow man.

The proletariat is "the modern working

class, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital—who must sell themselves piecemeal and are a commodity like every article of commence, worker who is a producer of wealth, some and are consequently exposed to all the are as truly parasites upon the social body are as truly parasites themselves. Coachvicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market."

But it is not every wage-worker who is

are often and generally propertyless wageworkers, but they are not the proletariat who will lead in the struggle of emancipation. Nor is it confined to those alone who labor with their hands.

Marx and Engels have well said in the communist manifesto: "The lower strata of the middle class—the small trades people, shopkeepers and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants-all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminuative capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, and is swamped in competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

Further we have already seen entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply he proletariat with fresh elements of en-

lightenment and progress.

"Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of lissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular a portion of the bourgeoisie ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical novement as a whole."

The manifesto also contains this warning, which we should also bear in mind: "The 'dangerous class," the social scum, that passively rotting class thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may here eans of producing and distributing and there be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary

> There is perhaps much danger from such a dangerous class—the social scum danger from their treachery, and not less so from their intense ignorance, which produces bigotry, intolerance, distrust and suspicion, causing internal dissentions and disturbance, and destroying unity of

action and necessary co-operation.

It is not those who have worked with their hands alone who have been the most trusted, tried, true and earnest workers in the cause of Socialism. The learned professions have furnished many distinguished names. In Germany were Karl Marx, the son of a lawyer, himself a professional man and married to the sister of the Prussian minister, Von Westfalen; Ferdinand Lassalle, lawyer and orator, and Frederick Engels, son of a manufacturer, and himself a professional man, and to-day Paul Singer, the millionaire manufacturer, is one of the Socialist leaders in the Reichstag; George Von Vollmar, the Socialist leader in Bavaria and the close friend of Liebknecht and Bebel; KarlKautsky too should be mentioned Victor Adler, physician in Austria; Val liant, a doctor; Juares, a professor, and Guesde, a lawyer in France; Ferri, a professor, and Turati, a lawyer in Italy. dare even mention the Communist Anarchist, Peter Kropotkine, the Russian prince, and in Russia has it not always been the noble and heroic students in the universities who have given to the cause The tactics of the Socialist party, as their talents and even their lives. In I understand it, is to "keep clear the class England we find Henry M. Hyndman, their talents and even their lives. In character of the party as a proletarian the scholarly graduate of Trinity college, and organization for the victorious comfessional men there, such as Belfort Bax, lawyer, and William Morris, poet and artist; and in America Job Harriman and Morris Hilquit, lawyers; Herron, Brown, J. Stitt Wilson, Walter Thomas Mills, ministers; Fathers McGrady and Hag-gerty, priests, and Daniel DeLeon, A. M. Simons and E. Unterman, professors, and our N. A. Richardson in California—

scores of others could be named. But for all this I concede and earnestly maintain that the Socialist movement must be conducted in the sole interest of the working class, and must depend for its successful accomplishment upon the working class, but it will also look through all classes for support, and will gladly avail itself of the trained intellects of its professional men and educated scholars. It will use the brains of this last class as readily as it will use the bright minds and earnest eloquence of its working class sup-

Revolutionary Socialism will use all of ts best material, from whatever rank of society it may come. It is not every wageas are the capitalists themselves. Coachmen, waiters, valets, body servants and personal attendants of the wealthy capitthe real proletariat, upon whom can be alists perform no services to society. They trusted the work of assisting in the eman-like the lawyers, are also parasites upon the cipation of the working class. Bank capitalist parasite, and since both depend clerks, insurance clerks, railroad and other upon capitalism for the continuance of

corporation directors, officers and clerks their occupations, they are both subject ten new subs to the Advance. The names o equal suspicion and distrust.

Revolutionary Socialism will carefully est the fitness of its supporters for the tasks assigned to them, and while it will not tolerate the dilletantes and opportunists it must frown with equal disfavor upon the impossibilists.

We recognize that Socialism will not immediately overthrow the capitalist system; that the social revolution cannot at once be accomplished; that it will take time, perhaps years, for its great forces to be concentrated and to gain the necessary intensity and activity which will make them irresistible and successful. What shall be its tactics during the intermediate time? What can it do to assist those upon whose shoulders the burden of the great struggle for emancipation rests, who are even now fighting on the skirmish line, bravely baring their breasts to the foe? Shall not the Socialist party endeaver to give immediate aid to those who in the near future must be the ones that will make revolutionary Socialism triumphant and victorious over its capitalist foe? Certainly it seem to be a plain duty, and the Socialist party, in its national, state and municipal platforms, has given full expression for the friendship for the working class, and for the organization of wage-warkers into trades unions. It has pledged itself to give to such unions its active aid and sympathy in all their strikes, boycotts and other struggles on the economic field, and it urges all Socialists to become and remain members of the respective unions of the trades to

which they may belong.

While adhering strictly to revolutionary Socialism, as I have this evening attempted to portray it, the Socialist party considers it of the utmost importance to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition. It believes that higher wages and shorter hours can be secured to those working in so-called public utilities by having such utilities owned by the nation, state or municipality than can be obtained if they are under private ownership, and that private corpora-tions and capitalists will be forced to al-low the same wages and hours in the other occupations as are fixed in those utilities and industries which are owned by the public. The Socialist party, therefore, deems that, while waiting for the ultimate struggle,, the present interests of the workers will be aided by certain palliative measures, which may be regarded also as progressive steps toward the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

The Socialist party in advocating these palliative measures of public ownership, etc., as immediate demands, warns the working class against capitalist, so-called public ownership movements and also against unscientific Labor movements led by designing and crafty politicians in close touch and sympathy with capitalists and actuated by hunger for office and thirst for political spoils. The capitalist public ownership movements are attempts by the employing class to secure govern-mental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security for exploitation in other industries and with ment of public expenses, thus lessening the rates of taxation on the property of the capitalists, and in no instance are capitalist public ownership movements forwarded for the improvement of the eco-nomic conditions of the working class.

The self-styled labor parties, though of-ten supported by many honest and conscientious workingmen, yet not being founded upon the only principle which can bring adequate relief and which as enunciated in the Socialist party platform consists in the abolition of private ownership in the means of producing and distributing wealth, only engage in a struggle to place in office men who are completely ig-norant of and blind to this socialist principle—who on the contrary make every effort to uphold and support the capitalist system and who afford no relief to the working class but only too frequently betray the confidence which the workers have reposed in them.

In Revolutionary Socialism alone lies the hope of the working people for freedom from the chains which now bind them in wage slavery.

### Advance Guard

Comrade Fairbrother adds two more subs to her list. The Advance moves on in power.

Comrade Nichols of New Jersey adds one more to the Advance list. The Advance is being read all over the world.

A comrade from Novato, Cal., brings to the office four new subs. The Advance is reaching all parts of the country., Send them in comrades.

Comrade Tuck adds a large list of subs to Alameda and Oakland's credit by sending in thirty-seven new names. Comrades series \$2.00 to the Eastern Miners' fund.

Comrade \$2.00 to the Eastern Miners' fund.

Comrade Schwartz of Sen Tose sends \$2.01 to the Eastern Miners' fund.

Comrade Schwartz of San Jose sends \$7.25; total, \$8.10.

are coming in lively.

Comrade Jentzen sends from Alameda ten subs. Socialism is coming faster than we think for.

Comrade Gilmore of Williams, Cal., sends twenty subs from that place. Socialism will reap a harvest in the way of votes

Mrs. Comrade Walker of San Francisco idds three yearly subs to the Advance.

Comrade Lindwll brings to the office two yearlies. Boys, your work is effective, for the subs are tumbling in.

Comrades, watch our ads and trade at hose places when you want things; also, comrades in the country, send in your orders by mail, but don't forget to mention the Advance when you buy.

Comrade Lindwall adds two new yearly subs to the Advance.

Comrade Newton of Vallejo adds one nore to the large Vallejo list of subs.

Miss Ethel Sorenson sends to the Advance for the campaign fund \$2. This is what counts for this year's campaign. Comrade C. W. Mitchell of Revelstoke,

B. C., sends to the Advance one sub. The Advance is reaching foreign countries. Comrade Postler handed to the manager

of Advance \$2 for the campaign fund. Who will send the next in. Comrade Miss McKinnie sends to the

nanager two subs. Comrade Lawrence of San Jose leaves

in the Advance office two subs. Comrade Tuck of Oakland sent in a

subscription list of twenty-one. Oakland is doing a fine campaign work and subs what counts for literature. Comrade Russell of the city sends in

Comrade Lodge adds to the list one nore. Send them in, comrades.

Comrade Wolfrom gives the manager ne more sub. Comrade Mrs. Walker adds two yearly

ubs to her list. Comrade Shubert sends in one more

sub to his credit. \_

Comrade Dynan of Confidence, Cal., ends to the Advance three new yearlies; also money for Socialist literature and application for a charter to start a local. This is doing work. Work ahead, boys, for you will reap the reward.

Comrade Miss Bloom brings to the Advance office four new subs from San Jose. Subscribers make votes. Send them in

### Fresno vs. Bersford

Fresno, Cal., Aug. 5, 1902.

Editor Advance:—Comrade: The present status of the proposed amendment to the State Constitution, as far as we are concerned, is as follows: It was decided to send a copy, accompanied by a circular letter, stating our reasons for substituting same, to each local. After much trouble we succeeded in getting a list of fortyseven locals, with most of the secretaries names. We forwarded to these as stated and requested the State Secretary to give us a list of locals and secretaries. We also forwarded him a copy, with our request that the State Committee take action. His the end in view of applying the revenues answer was that it was received, consider-from publicly owned utilities for the pay- ed and laid over for seconds. Again we ed and laid over for seconds. Again we asked for a list of locals and secretaries, and when our second request was ignored, we forwarded him sufficient copies of the proposed amendment, and gave him a list of the locals to whom we had sent it, requesting him to supply the rest of the lo-To-day I received his letter, in which he states that the State Committee have taken action, but says also that "the State Committee and Local San Francisco have not" received copies. We certainly are not to blame if San Francisco has not got a copy, and if the State Committee has not got a copy I wonder how they came to take action in the matter? Finally, if any local has not received a copy of our circular letter stating our reasons, we will be glad to forward the same onfinding their address.

Fraternally, G. F. Alexander, Recording Secretary Local Fresno.

### California State Committee

Meeting held August 1st. Present, Comrades Messer, Ober, Appel, Reynolds, and Bersford; Comrade Messer in the chair. Minutes read and approved.

Communications read from G. F. Alexander, C. A. S. Higley, E. T. Page, W. G. Hoagham, W. S. Geron, J. A. Waldron, Geo. S. Holmes, P. B. Simpson, W. G. Luper, E. S. Nash, Conrad Rump, Leon Greenbaum, A. F. Smith.

Cash received by Secretary: From Lo-

cals San Diego, \$3.50; Pinole, \$1.10; Long Beach, \$2.50; total, \$7.20. Received for campaign fund, J. A. Waldron, Junction City, \$1; W. G. Luper, Vallejo,

Charter granted to new Local Pinole. Three locals having seconded the initiaive of Local Fresno, it was ordered submitted to a referendum vote of the locals, the State Committee to canvass the vote

on August 21st. The following resolution was adopted: Resolved, That we, members of the State Committee, protest against the conduct of the editor of the Advance, C. H. King, Jr., in treating that paper as his own personal organ, suppressing official news, using a party paper to make false and malicious personal attacks on old and tried party members, and to election-

eer for his partizans and to boom himself. Referendum on fraternal delegate to Canadian Socialist Convention, ordered submitted to vote of the locals. Adjourned.

Thos. Bersford, Secretary.

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could, so as to avoid the misery. At night I could not sleep. The doctors said I had nervous indigestion. I

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## fines Its Position

Whereas, certain evil disposed persons were intent upon inaugurating bossism and boss rule in local San Francisco, and Death Benefit Society have openly declared that they would connave openly declared that they would control and run local San Francisco as they pleased or would burst the local up-and the Temple, 117 Turk street. Secretary H. Warneke, 923% Shotwell St. Physician, Dr. Frederick A. Rinne, 1312 Market street. Hours, 3 to 5, and 7 to 5 F. M. Doctor's residence, 2901 Folsom, cor. 22th St. Hours: Before 9 A. M.; 1 to 2, 5:30 to 6:30 F. M. Telephone South 882. large, have persistently circulated false reports, especially in the Southern part of the state, to the effect that there was among the membership of Local San Francisco many middle-class reformers, fusionists, non-class-conscious Socialists, and others who did not recognize the class struggle between the capitalist class on the one side and the wage-working and producing class on the other, and who also were not in favor of clear-cut revolutionary tactics, but rather of merely reformatory measures, and these persons so spreading such reports have represented themselves as the only straight-out revolutionary Socialists, and as being engaged in a fight to uphold the integrity of Socialism, when in fact they were simply trying to get sympathy from outside Socialists, in order that they might foist themselves as bosses upon the Local and upon the state, and so control and run the party as they chose; now, therefore, in order to correct and refute such malicious and baseless slanders and libels upon the party membership of Local San Francisco, and in order to define the position of such mem-bership, we, the City Central Committee of the Socialist party of the City and County of San Francisco (composed of delegates more than two-thirds of whom have just been elected by a vote representing more than eighty per cent of their constituents fully alive to this issue) hereby declare and set forth the following as the sentiment of the vast majority of the members of Local San Francisco.

First, That society is divided into two hostile classes—the working and producing class and the capitalist class. That such division of society into antagonistic classes is the natural and direct result of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. This private in the product of labor.

ownership enables the capitalists to take 5. State or national insurance of workentire product and all commodities made by the wage-workers and actual producer of the same. It makes such wage-worker actually dependent upon the capitalist owner for a chance to work and to earn a scanty livelihood, made most uncertain and precarious by competition between the workers themselves for employment by their capitalist masters, and resulting in wide-spread and appalling poverty and

plete revolution of the entire economic system and of the method of industrial production can bring adequate relief to the working class. Reform measures, like charity, while they may relieve particular and isolated cases of misery, do not remove the cause, which is necessary to a perma-

Third, That neither the Democratic, Republican, Public-Ownership, Union Labor, nor any other political party which does not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, deserves or should receive the support of any member of the working class, or those who sympathize with them.

Fourth, That the only force which can be relied upon to abolish the capitalist sys-tem of production is the working class, and ations in other industries, and with the end those in immediate sympathy and allied in view of applying the revenues from with it and all other classes despite their publicly-owned utilities for the payment of with it, and all other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflict, are alike interheard much about Ripans Tabules and at last I thought
I wou'd try them. I had taken only one box when I ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution, and in maintaining the present capitalist system.

Fifth, The Socialist party is the only political party whose aim is the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, for the purpose of conquering the powers of government, and using such powers to transform the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership and management by the entire people—thus abolishing, not reforming, the capitalist system.
Sixth, That the Socialist party, having

for its high aim the foregoing revolutionary principles, and not being organized to accomplish mere reform in, but a complete overthrow of the present capitalist and industrial systems will not, under any circumstance, combine or fuse with any other political party; nor indorse the candidates of any other party, but will pursue, uninfluenced by any outside political organizations, its straight course forward for the overthrow of capitalism, for the collective ownership of the means of producing and distributing wealth, and for the emancipation of the working class from the bonds of wage-slavery.

Seventh, That while the foregoing are the rigid principles to which the Socialist party in San Francisco will closely adhere, and from which it will not in the Committee during the Convention of the

Local San Francisco De- friendship for the organization of wageall occasions give to such unions its actual aid and sympathy in all their strikes, boycotts and other struggles on the economic field, and urges all Socialists to become and remain members of the respective unions of the trades to which they may be-

> Eighth, That while adhering to the Socialist principles above declared, we consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition. We deem that the interests of the workers will be aided by the following palliative measures, which may be regarded as ameliorative steps toward the overthrow of capitalism, and the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth:

> 1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenues of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capiaalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the im-provement of the service and diminishing

> the rates to the consumers.
> 2. The city shall proceed to acquire by condemnation, purchase or new con-struction, and in the shortest practicable time, all public utilities, waterworks, street' railways, electric light and power plants, telephone and local telegraph lines and such other industries the ownership and construction of which, at the present time, may, by the vote of the people, be decided upon. No more private franchises for such public utilities shall be granted, neither the Geary street railway, nor any other present franchise extended.

> 3. Municipal industries shall be managed by the employees, co-operatively, un-der the control of the city administration. The employees shall elect their own superior officers, when such officers are not elected by a vote of the people. No em-ployee shall be selected or discharged for political reasons.

> 4. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages, in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worekr

as their own and to absolutely control the ing people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.

6. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used

for that purpose, in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

ide-stread and appalling poverty and lisery to the working class.

Second, That nothing less than a complete revolution of the entire economic system.

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9. The initiative and referendum and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these palliative measures as immediate demands, we warn the working class against capitalist so-called public-ownership movements and unscientific labor movements, led by designing and crafty politicians, in close touch and sympathy with the capitalists, and actuated by hunger for office and thirst for political spoils. The capitalist publicownership movements are attempts by the employing class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose public expenses, thus lessening the rates of taxation on the property of the capitalists, and in no instance are capitalist public ownership movements forwarded for the improvement of the economic conditions of the working class. The self-styled labor parties, though often supported by many honest and conscietionus working men, yet not being founded upon the only principles which can bring adequate relief, and which, as enunciated in the Socialist party platform, consists in the private ownership in the means of producing and distributing wealth, only engage in a struggle to place in office men who are completely ignorant of and blind to this Socialist principle, who on the contrary make every effort to uphold and support the capitalist system, and who affford no relief to the working class, but only too frequently betray the confidence the workers have reposed in them.

Believing that the foregoing principles represent the wishes of the members of Local San Francisco, the City Central Committee respectfully refers this declaration to the respective clubs, with the desire that they shall express by their votes their approval or disapproval of the same, and send their votes of expression to this committee.

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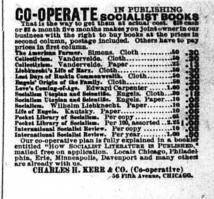
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