

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Vote their Own Emancipation

Socialism demands the public ownership of the means of Production and Distribution. Anything less is but middle-class patchwork and WILL NOT abolish wage-slavery.

# The Socialist

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## THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

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The number on the label opposite your name is the number for your subscription expires. This is No. 78

### OUR NEW GOVERNOR AND HIS LITTLE BROOM.

Gov. McBride, of Washington, late Lieutenant Governor, is out with an interview declaring for a State Railroad Commission to fix rates and exercise control affairs for the "Merger" monster Northern Securities, in which the Great Northern, Northern Pacific and Burlington railways have been combined for common interests.

Gov. Van Sant, of Minnesota, has already bared his fingers on this "hot number," and wishes now he was well of it.

Petitions from "business men" of St. Paul and other cities, resolutions by members in North Dakota, together with countless editorials in the daily press all unite to approve the course of J. Hill in this combining all the transportation interests of the North. Hill has already declared a reduction in rates, and he predicts further reductions. Of course he can make lower rates because of economy of administration. Competition is expensive. Co-operation is cheap. Under competition wage workers have some choice of masters and cannot be handled as complete slaves. Under one management workers must work at the management's terms or go "way back to the stone age."

that now we want a Revolution in Distribution. Instead of the wealth going to a few, we want it distributed according to each man's part in its production. We now have aristocratic Socialism. We want Democratic Socialism!

The Revolution in Production is pretty nearly finished.

Mr. Harriman, the head of the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific Merger, in his testimony before the Interstate Commerce Commission last week, told how he and his associates had bought up Northern Pacific stock "that was lying loose all over this country and Europe"—held by five to seven thousand persons.

There you have it, 7000 investors give place to perhaps a dozen. Seven thousand Little Fellows displaced by a dozen Big Fellows!

So the Law of Concentration sweeps on. "The Merger" has arrived. Organized Production is here. It is a Revolution begun when the first machine was put in operation and reaching its climax in this world-wide community of interests, including railway and steamship lines, iron, steel and copper industries as well as general manufactures—known as the Merger.

Welcome to the Merger! The next step is Socialism.

### TO AID UNEMPLOYED.

Thoughtful Suggestion Made by Emperor of Germany.

BERLIN, Jan. 23.—Emperor William has expressed a wish that the inhabitants of Berlin should not illuminate the city on his birthday, January 27, but devote the money which might be thus expended to helping the unemployed and needy.

The above is from the Capitalistic press dispatches—the heading selected by a toady news editor trying to earn his salary.

Yet this same emperor is most deadly opposed to the Social Democracy, the strongest political party in his empire, who advocate the only practical way "to aid the unemployed." Emperor William is the figurehead and representative and servant of German Capitalism. Whenever German Capitalism produces so much that it can find no market, then it discharges its employees and lets them starve and freeze because they were producing too much food and clothing. Whenever Capital cannot get profit, Labor must go unemployed.

Then the emperor is "thoughtful" and "kind" if he recommends a bit of "socialism" and "social justice," really "thoughtful," that is, if he did some thinking, he would espouse the cause of German Socialism, which would set all men at work to produce wealth for all, and forever put an end to the unemployed.

But then—would also put an end to the Hohenzollern Dynasty. "The Emperor" would then become a useful worker instead of a strutting parasite. And that's the reason he will never espouse the cause of the workers. See?

The U. S. Senate passed the bill providing for a new Department and Cabinet office. The bill was framed, it called for a "Department of Commerce," to have supervision of manufactures and trade. At the last moment the Senators bethought themselves and hastily added another word. It is to be known now as "The Department of Commerce and Labor."

Just so. At first they only considered the interests of Commerce. Later, and just in time, they remembered that "the interests of Capital and Labor are identical." Also Labor has votes and should receive due recognition. Also, a "Department of Labor" alone is demanded by some Labor Organizations. It would not do at all to have Labor separated from capital. Labor is the silent partner in this great Commercial scheme, and must be properly stroked down.

Will Gompers & Co., the 12 silent partners in the Labor Peace Committee of '96—be glad and rejoice that "Labor" has received such an honor as to be thought of at the 11th hour and have its name tacked on to that of

## And He Forgot and Lost His Vote



Last Day of Registration, February 11th. Place of Registration, City Hall.

Residence Qualifications: 11 months, 10 days in State; 70 days in County; 10 days in precinct, reckoned from Feb. 11.

"Commerce"? Hurry up, gentlemen, and pass suitable resolutions of gratitude!

Capitalism demands new markets in which to dispose of its surplus product. American Labor produces Two Thousand Millions a year more than Americans can consume. If Capital, the sole and rightful owner of this over-production of Labor, cannot find anybody to buy it, why, then, the interests of Labor and Capital cease to be identical, because Capital cannot dispose of its goods at a profit. Then Labor has to stop working for Capital and itself, till Capital can dispose of its surplus, its "over-production." Such a condition is called a Panic. It is a Panic for Labor. It has nothing coming in and loses what little it had got ahead. Capital forecloses mortgages and collects notes and debts during this Panic, while all the time it is disposing of that surplus, that over-production.

Well, Cuba and the Philippines are being tinned into good buyers for these surplus billions which Labor in America cannot consume. And China is also being taught to eat wheat instead of rice, and wear cotton goods instead of silk, and indulge in whisky instead of opium.

Have you noticed the war in Colombia? Do you know where Colon is? South America, somewhere? Yes, in a very convenient and significant place in South America, too. Opportunity time for an Insurrection and a New Government! For Colombia and Colon are just where the Panama Canal is situated. "A Senate bill is being authorized by a Senate bill, for week to purchase the old French canal, 'provided a satisfactory title can be obtained.'"

Now it does not require a prophet to foretell which of the "governments" in Colombia will win out. That one which can give a "satisfactory title" to that canal territory will somehow be the victor. For we learn that the "Junta" which conducts the Insurrection has its headquarters in New York. O, Capital knows its business pretty well in bringing on a war with Spain, send Dewey to Manila, retain the Philippines for the sake of the down-trodden heathen of those islands, get the cheapest and best canal route across the Isthmus—all for the purpose of getting markets for that surplus product, that Two Thousand Mil-

lions a year which American workers create but do not own, and hence cannot consume.

Yet there are people who think that philanthropic and moral "ideas" control the acts of nations and parties, who deny "the materialistic conception of history."

Also there are millions of workers who are content to vote for their masters—willing dupes and slaves.

### OPPORTUNISM.

By a Young Socialist of 14 Years.

The Opportunist is always claiming to be misunderstood. He seems unable to write a line or say a word without someone has a misconception of what he means. In these United States he tells us that we must appeal to the farmer's sense of liberty in order that Socialism may succeed, ignoring the fact that a class struggle exists in this country. Society which has divided the people into capitalists and proletarians, with interests opposed to each other. True, in the past one class of people may have liberated another, but only to that extent that it bettered their material interest. If the farmer predominated in the Socialist Party it would soon become a middle class reform movement, acting in the interests of the farmer by nationalizing the railroads and other means of transportation, but going no further toward Socialism. In this and many other ways the Opportunist would compromise in order to gain votes.

In Europe the doom of Opportunism was sealed, and it seems strange that we should take up a theory that is proven by the best of logic to be useless. For almost fifty years Scientific Socialism has stood firm, never wavering for a moment before all opposition, and always preaching the existence of the class struggle and the solidarity of the working class. Is it now to give way to this Opportunism? Is it to cease to be the laboring man's only hope? I think not. The Socialism of Marx and Engels will progress in spite of Bernstein, and when the farmer shall have lost his acres and become a member of the ever-increasing propertyless class, then he will become, as the rest of the workers must become, a Socialist.

—HENRY BAUMANN, Jr.

To My Father.  
Dec. 24, 1901.

### REPORT FROM NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Special Dispatch to The Socialist.  
ST. LOUIS, Mo., Jan. 28, 1902.—The National Committee of the Socialist Party met on Friday, the 24th, at Lindell Hotel. Representatives present from some 20 states. A three days session was held, the committee adjourning on Sunday, Jan. 26.

Leon Greenbaum was re-elected National Secretary. The local quorum of five was also re-elected, with the exception of Comrade Brandt, who was chosen in place of one member who has gone East.

The best of feeling prevailed on all sides. Some had anticipated division of counsels, but unity was rather strengthened and emphasized.

Much was accomplished. Steps were taken to systematize issuing of literature and the carrying on of propaganda.

The stamp system of paying dues was practically adopted.

Comrade Boomer, a member from Washington, was delegated to spend two months in Utah reorganizing that state, where some misunderstanding recently occurred in connection with the State Convention.

Next week we shall have fuller reports by mail from "Uncle Sam."

### RELATIONS OF CAPITAL AND LABOR.

Speaking of the identity of interests between Capital and Labor, we are reminded of a story:

Two small London boys, walking down a street of the city, passed a tobacconist's shop. The bigger remarked: "I say, Bill, I've got a ha'penny, and if you've got one, too, we'll have a penny smoke between us." Bill produced his copper, and Tommy, diving into the shop, promptly reappeared with a penny cigar in his mouth. The boys walked side by side for a few minutes, when the smaller mildly said: "I say, Tom, when am I to have a puff? The weed's half gone."

"Oh, you shut up!" was the business-like reply. "I'm the chairman of this company, and you're only a shareholder. You can spit."

Socialism—The abolition of that individual action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operative action—Imperial Dictionary.

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### THE MERGER NOT AFRAID.

Mr. Hill, Mr. Harriman and Mr. Melrose showed a serene willingness to give before the Interstate Commerce Commission. There were those who predicted these magnates would refuse to stand on their dignity, &c. Nothing of the sort. They know a little worth several of that. These men have no fear of the public. They want the public to see what good they are doing for the public they are working for. They are wise and beneficent. There is nothing dangerous about the Merger. Cheaper and more stable rates are sure to ensue. The surrounding country will be developed and quickly. New settlers will be brought in. Already there are hundreds of paid lecturers over the country speaking in schools and distributing circulars. The Merger will send special trains North and South equipped for building countries as feeders to the great trunk lines. The Merger will provide the best and cheapest stock for the farmers. The Merger will be a wise and normal superintendent of production from the Mississippi to the Pacific.

Mr. Harriman: "If Mr. Hill or I owned all the roads, the people would get better service."

The better hand we could the better.

Of course, of course! The Merger is proving just what Socialists have always contended. The only trouble is



# THOUGHTS,

By Your Uncle,

DENVER.

I found on reaching Denver that the letter asking arrangements to be made for a meeting had not been turned over by secretary and that a different time was coming. However, Sunday afternoon is the time for their regular meeting and I found a good audience waiting to hear Comrade Osborne. He, though totally blind, is just establishing a first number newspaper in Denver, known as the Rocky Mountain Socialist, whose first number shows a thorough appreciation of the importance of the class struggle. Comrade Osborne kindly offered to let me speak, as he could easily use another Sunday.

Some months ago, owing to a visit by J. Pitt Wilson, a sentiment was aroused, and as a result a Local with some 150 members was organized. But the members were "Socialists" because of sentiment, and not knowledge of the economic position of the Socialist movement, and the result was that the sentiment cooled the membership dropped off until about 50 remained. The Sunday before I spoke some one had delivered a talk that had thoroughly disgusted most of the comrades, and after I got through with my humble illustration of the class struggle I was deeply moved by the almost unanimous congratulations with which I was almost overwhelmed. But one comrade voiced an objection. It was a lady who is in the movement because her heart bleeds for humanity, and who believes love will do more than the material interests. They subscribed to the paper in a way which, better than in any other, testified to their manner in which, after a deluge of unmeaning sentiment, they appreciated my feeble words along the material, bread and butter lines of the Socialist movement.

Comrade Denver, at Colfax, they have a very strong Jewish bias, that is based solidly upon a true understanding of the movement. I regretted my inability to speak before them, but shall surely do so on my return.

## ST. JOSEPH.

Hereafter I shall make my own arrangements for meetings. During three weeks on the road I have missed but five nights when meetings were not held, and these were missed because I left the arrangements to someone else. But even in a couple of cases I met a group of comrades at their homes and had good, useful talks. At St. Joseph there are queer conditions, due principally, I believe, to the fact that the "club" is more or less in the control of small middle class men. One of them is a physician, and he bragged that he was fixing up a scheme to combine with the trades unions and put up a fusion ticket. One or two of the little fellers in business, however, see pretty clearly, and, with them and the few wage workers who are in the party, St. Joe will eventually climb out of its ground. I had a pretty warm discussion in the evening with a couple of a dozen of the boys, and yet a few subscribed and bought literature and unanimously agreed to get up a big meeting for me on my return trip.

## KANSAS CITY.

The comrades here had no knowledge of my coming, and I could rustle up but a couple of them during the day—they are nearly all wage workers. It was impossible to hold a meeting, but they were anxious to know when I would be back, so that a meeting could be held.

I would say in closing my brief description of my trip, that I am more than surprised at the vast amount of Socialist sentiment existing which simply needs crystallization. And I find it extraordinarily easy to make solid class-conscious Socialists out of the wage worker and the exploited. So, altogether, the situation is far more encouraging than could ever have been imagined a few years ago.

BOOMER.

## NATIONAL COMMITTEE

### FULL REPORT FIRST DAYS' PROCEEDINGS.

The National Committee met in Parlor 22, Lindell Hotel, St. Louis, Mo., Friday, Jan. 24, at 10 o'clock a. m. and was called to order by Comrade Dunn, chairman of the local quorum. Max Hayes, of Ohio, was chosen temporary chairman, and Dunn, of St. Louis, temporary secretary.

Harman, of New York; Miller, of Kansas; and Boomer, of Washington, were chosen credentials committee, and Carey, of Massachusetts; Berger, of Wisconsin; and Putnam, of Mis-

souri, committee on rules.

Credentials committee reported the following as entitled to seats: Carey, Massachusetts; Harman, New York; Hayes, Ohio; Work, Iowa; Mills, Kansas; Boomer, Washington; Berger, Wisconsin; Turner, Missouri; Berlyn, Illinois; O'Neal, Indiana; Roche, California; Ufert, New Jersey; Bigelow, Nebraska, and the local quorum, Hildebrand, Putnam, Hoehn and Dunn.

Comrade Bigelow attended as substitute for National Committeeman McCaffrey, who was too ill to travel. In the matter of the Utah trouble, where two delegates claimed the office of national committeeman, Mrs. I. C. Hazlett and E. Edler, it was recommended that the Utah charter be revoked and a member of the national committee be sent into Utah to reorganize the state; also that the referendum be asked upon the above action. Berger, of Wisconsin, was practically the only objector.

The two contesting delegates were both given seat and voice in the meeting, but no vote.

Upon the report of the committee on rules the temporary officers were made permanent; and various standing orders were chosen. The report of the national secretary was lengthy, but was exceedingly interesting, and it was a matter of great pride to your committeeman that Washington was one of the few states that were read as promptly paying dues month after month. Negligence in this matter hampers the national officers greatly in their important work.

The evening session, Friday, was mainly devoted to good of the order, and Comrade Berger took occasion, as usual, to object to everything in sight. He don't believe in dues, nor in national authority, nor in the right of those who grant things to take them away. He believes, however, so strongly in autonomy, that it is bewilderingly impossible to imagine how in thunder he happens to be a Socialist, while more strongly individualistic than the most hardened anarchist. One cannot believe in collective effort and autonomy at one and the same time. Those who do not believe in dues should not bemoan the smallness of propaganda.

After a long and warm, though friendly discussion on the trades union attitude, the following resolution was voted to be sent to the United Mine Workers, in session at Indianapolis: "Greeting: We appreciate your efforts in waging the battle for industrial emancipation by organizing against capitalism and the trust power, and hope that the 200,000 mine workers of the country will rapidly come to see the necessity of combatting with their political power the same class that they are compelled to fight with the strike and boycott."

UNCLE SAM.

## DEAF EAR TO TAXATION PLANS.

If Socialism is a working class movement and the working class is propertyless, actually "broke," how can the subject of taxation interest him? True, indirectly he settles all the bills, but in the payment of taxes, the capitalists (large and small), after holding the wage worker up for all he's got, except just enough to live on, pays the taxes out of the spoils and pockets the rest. The working class, therefore, has no interest in the subject of taxation, except in one way. He sees that under competition all capital tends to concentrate into the hands of a few. The only drag on concentration are the small capitalists, who strive in every manner imaginable to save themselves from being forced down into the ranks of the working class. He knows that the sooner this concentration is completed and this small fry is swallowed up, the sooner will Socialism be realized. He also knows that by increasing taxation, it forces these small capitalists to disgorge that much more, and hence, hastens their downfall. Therefore, Mr. Workingman, turn a deaf ear to those schemes aiming to reduce taxation; the dying middle class only wish to use you for their own selfish interests, and it will only prolong your serfdom.—People's Paper, Santa Barbara, Cal.

## NOTICE

The address of Comrade G. W. Scott, State Secretary, is changed to 86 Virginia street.

You promised to support our advertisers, don't you know?

## NATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Adopted at Indianapolis, July 31, 1901:

The Socialist party, in National convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transferring the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society in two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, industries are ruined, crime is encouraged and the destruction of whole races sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent activity, are actually interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois Public Ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are all political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the overthrow of Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of its end.

As such means we advocate: 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 revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing of the rates to the consumers.

2. 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 worker in the product of labor. 3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be furnished by the government and to be administered under the control of the working class. 4. 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. 5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food. 6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

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Copy

## The Comrade,

28 Lafayette Place, New York.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movement as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

## Socialists Attention.

The Socialists of Seattle are hereby notified that a convention will be held on Friday, February 7, at 7:30 p. m., at 120 Virginia St., for the purpose of nominating a ticket and adopting a platform for the coming municipal campaign.

By order of Executive Committee:  
T. E. LATIMER,  
Organizer.  
G. H. PETERS, Secretary.

## AGENTS FOR THE SOCIALIST.

E. B. ROBINSON, Billings, Mont.  
ALEX. FREEMAN, Bozeman, Mont.  
JAMES D. GRAHAM, Box 343, Livingston, Mont.  
H. LUEHMANN, Helena, Mont.  
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PARTY NEWS

The regular Sunday night propaganda sessions of Seattle Local Socialist Party...

Local Notes: The regular Knights will meet on "Economic Socialism" at Car...

The Socialist Labor Party will hold a meeting on February 2, to nominate...

Comrade Fubbers says the Sunday afternoon meetings should be held...

The best way to get votes for our ticket is to know where a workman lives...

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introducing bills, they will present additional measures, this morning... during the remainder of the session...

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To the Socialist: The sessions of the Massachusetts Legislature...

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To the Socialist: The sessions of the Massachusetts Legislature...

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LETTER FROM WHATCOM COUNTY, WASH.

After having perused with interest various columns and read the arguments...

It seems to me that this late effort to introduce an article on the eight-hour...

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APPROVES THE APPEAL IN OMITTING THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Dear Comrade: I can no longer refrain from expressing a protest against your...

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The "Populists" threaten to put up a city ticket in Seattle. And they are reported to say as follows:
"The Populists will this year more than ever advance the cause of Socialism; not anarchly, but the growing belief that exists among all classes of citizens that the time is fast coming for radical reforms in our social system, especially in the way of government ownership and operation of public utilities.
"On these questions the Democratic party is wholly at sea and cannot hope to control the voters who believe as we do regarding such problems."

Observe three points in this connection.
First. These "Populists" would like to call themselves Socialists. They say they will advocate the cause of Socialism. But their "Socialism" is not working class Socialism. There's the rub. They stand for "government ownership and operation of public utilities" but don't try to get into ownership of the thing that will relieve the dying middle class map. They, the small capitalists, want the holdings and advantages of the Big Capitalists taken away from them, so that the Little Fellows can have a chance again to exploit the working class. What they want is Socialism which will emancipate the middle class, and what we want is Socialism which will emancipate the working class and leave no class at all. They want to establish a Middle Class Radical Party and cheat middle-headed people by calling it Socialism.

We Socialists repudiate the whole scheme. Be honest, gentlemen. Say plainly you stand for your own interests, and don't pretend to be supporting Socialism. Call it anything you like, "Populist," "Democratic," "Reform," but don't try to get into ownership under cover of the name Socialism, which is now sacred forever to the party of the working class.
Second. Observe the scattered and disordered state of the "opposition" to Big Capitalism exemplified in the Republican party. Big Capital is in the saddle. Little Capital hardly knows where it stands. It has been so suddenly and overwhelmingly defeated by "Trusts" and "Combinations" and "Mergers" the last few years that its forces are divided into guerilla bands. Here and there a vigorous leader, a Bryan or Tom Johnston, rises up for a moment like De Wet or Botha. They fight against their only and predestined end, absorption into the proletarian host. Well, keep it up, gentlemen. We admire your bravery, if not your judgment. You will have to come to us. It is our turn to lead. We are the Eternal. You will soon be on wages or salary yourselves, and then we shall see whether you will be content as slaves or fight as those who have nothing to lose but their chains and a world to gain.

SOCIALISM NOT ALTRUISM.

The most important truth that he who calls himself a Socialist must recognize sooner or later, is that Socialism is a working class movement. It is not a great preconceived humanitarian movement having for its express purpose the uplifting of civilization by the establishment of economic justice that must follow as a matter of course. But the revolutionary Socialist is not an altruist as the term is generally applied. He is merely fighting for his interests and the interests of his class. He sees that by the evolution of industry a propertyless class has been produced. Although having produced everything, this class is robbed of it all, except that portion which the capitalist class gives back in the form of wages, just sufficient to maintain life and perpetuate the species. Socialism, then, is the awakening of a class to the consciousness that it is being robbed, and shows a way in which they can gain control of the public powers in order to legislate the capitalist class out of existence. In short, Socialism is the movement of a class, but of a class that will ultimately comprise the whole people.

Many of us go blocks out of our way to trade with the Socialists. We are glad to do such a little thing as that for our great cause.

Many people think of Socialism as a... co-operative system which will develop the best of human nature... that is ultimate Socialism for which we all hope, the co-operative commonwealth, the successor and heir of capitalism.
But that good time is not yet here, and meanwhile we have a very different sort of Socialism. Socialism in the midst of Capitalism. Present Socialism, Political Socialism, Militant Socialism, Socialism as means to the end.

Everybody agrees that this Present Socialism is political, is a political party. Now a political party is a body of citizens acting together at the polls, and, if they win, acting together in legislation and in administration. All students of political history now know that any such political party must be composed of citizens having common material interests. Common ideas are not enough. Common ideals are not enough. Men may agree in theories, intellectual and moral, but when their interests clash, they will disagree. Hence a political party must be composed of what is called an economic class—that is, a class in the community having the same material interests. For instance, stated broadly, the Republican Party has always stood for business interests and the Democratic Party for landed interests. The old conception that these parties represented respectively individual liberty and centralized power, and that these conflicting ideas have been contesting for supremacy is now seen to be superficial. Behind the "ideas" or "ideals" we discover two kinds of economic revenue—commercial and agricultural. Southern slavery was abolished, not as so many fondly believe, because of an aroused moral sentiment, but because it was to the interest of the commercial classes of the North. "Free" labor is more productive of profit than slave labor. Therefore the Republican Party has grown with the growth of the great business class which it represents, and the Democratic Party has declined with the decline of the old individual producer of the soil.

Now it has always been the crowning glory of Socialism as a political party that it has clearly perceived this basic truth of political history. Socialism has appealed to one economic class, the propertyless class, the exploited class, the wage-working class. For fifty years it has repeatedly proclaimed, "Workingmen of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

In Germany, where it has pursued this course undeviatingly, without compromise, Socialism as a political party has grown marvelously in numbers and in power, until it is now the strongest party in the Empire. It is this fundamental conception of Socialism as a political party, based upon the economic class of proletarians, that Socialists in America must learn if they expect to be successful in politics. This is why Socialism is scientific. It perceives the facts of political and industrial evolution and acts in harmony with those facts.

Many well-meaning Socialists, like Weyland, make a general appeal to all classes alike, to the people, to become Socialists, and expect the party to be made up of all classes indiscriminately. It is a vain hope, because it contradicts history. It is a delusion which will prove disastrous, if it prevails to such an extent that it promotes heterogeneous political alliances shall be got together under the name "Socialist Party." Because such a party will inevitably resolve itself into smaller parties again, or be scattered into the older parties, as the Populist is now scattered.

Socialism as politics has always had to contend with the complexities of its effort to see this strategic point and who hoped to find a shorter cut to success. From Lassalle to Bernstein, the German party has had its internal foes who lost sight of the truth that the proletarian class is the only possible basis of Socialist politics. Those who have held to the truth have always been sneered at as "Revolutionary," "Scientific," "Narrow," "Intolerant" and "Impractical," while the real truth is confirmed irrefragably by the triumphant progress of the German party, that the only truly practical politicians are those who uncompromisingly adhere to the economic class struggle as the basis of the political struggle.

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