

"Socialism means that all these things up-
on which the people in common depend shall
be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment
shall belong to their creators and users; that
all production shall be for the direct use of
the producers; that the making of goods for
profit shall come to an end; that we shall all
be workers together; and that all opportunities
shall be open and equal to all men."

THE SOCIALIST

For the Socialist Party.

There can be no possible compromise or identity
of interests, any more than there can be
peace in the midst of war, or light in the
midst of darkness. A society based upon this
class division carries in itself the seeds of its
own destruction. Such a society is founded in
fundamental injustice. There can be no possi-
ble basis for social peace, for individual free-
dom, for mental and moral harmony, except
in the conscious and complete triumph of the
working class as the only class that has the
right or power to be."

NO. 237.

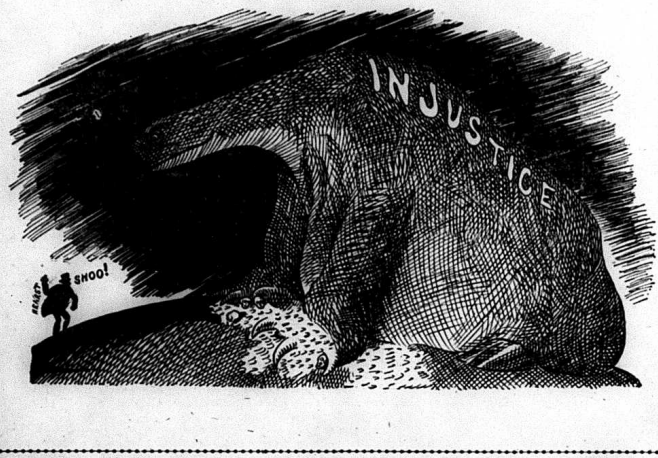
TOLEDO, OHIO, APRIL 8, 1905.

PRICE 5 CENTS.

TWO SORTS OF SOCIALISM

Sham Socialism==

The Sort That Says "Shoo"



The Real Thing



THE NEW SOCIALISM---DEMOCRATIC PARTY SOCIALISM

SOCIALISM THE LATEST FAD.

Mr. Hearst will soon be saying he's a Socialist, too. And Mr. Bryan. And even Mr. Roosevelt. The name of Socialism is getting popular.

In Toledo, the new home of The Socialist, they say Sam Jones was a Socialist. They say Sam Jones said he was a Socialist. All the Jones people were inclined to welcome "The Socialist" as their own paper. What a fine chance for this paper! For Sam Jones had a majority of the votes in Toledo. What poor policy for us to come out openly and declare Sam Jones was no Socialist!

HEARST WOULD LIKE TO BE A SOCIALIST.

The N. Y. Evening Journal is Mr. Hearst's paper. On March 7th that paper contained an editorial intended to point out the new path for the Democratic Party.

This editorial quotes President Roosevelt as saying to some railroad presidents: "Gentlemen, the Republican party will not go up against any more 'stuffed clubs' in a good while. The Democratic Party will not try that game again in this generation."
"What then?" gasped one of his visitors. "SOCIAL DEMOCRACY" came the astounding rejoinder from the President. "That will be their next move, unless we Republicans satisfy the people and reform existing conditions. If we don't do this, we shall be overwhelmed," said the President.

ONLY A SLIGHT CHANGE OF NAME.

"Social Democracy" is almost the same name as "Democracy." Mr. Hearst would like to capture the name and capturing the Socialists at the same time.

Hear Mr. Hearst's as follows:
"In Germany the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY is, of course, the PARTY OF THE PEOPLE."

In America, Mr. Hearst claims the Democratic Party is the Party of the People.
Hear him again.
"It is certain, that out of one hundred intelligent Americans, NINETY NINE, if they lived in Germany, WOULD BELONG TO THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY."

WHAT DOES HEARST MEAN?

He means to bid for the Socialist vote, of course. He wants to capture our thunder.

And the truth is, if the Democratic Party should call itself the Social Democratic Party and propose immediate Government Ownership of the Railroads, and promise progressive public ownership of the Trusts, a great body of so-called Socialists in America would fall into the trap.

WHAT IS "THE NEW SOCIALISM?"

In "The Arena" for March, appears an article by David Graham Phillips, entitled "The New School of Socialism in Europe."

The author is an ignoramus on the history of Socialism, making the most laughable blunders.
For instance, he gravely assures us, "The leaders of the old Socialism were men born and bred in poverty, even in misery--its founder (Marx) was not only a poor man, but also a Hebrew, and a Hebrew in Germany. They began to hate as soon as they began to think."

This is in face of the well known fact that Marx's father was a prominent lawyer, officer of the court in Treves, and that Marx himself took a complete university course and planned until he was 25 years old to become a lecturer in philosophy at the University of Bonn.

WHY THIS HOT AIR?

This only shows that the writer deals in "hot air" for a purpose. His wish is to hear to his arguments as well as his facts. He is like Hearst. He wants a NEW SOCIALISM. So he

proceeds to laud and magnify Jaures of France. To him Jaures is a hero. He is one of his "New Socialists."

He tells us, "These New Socialists are many of them rich, almost all of them extremely comfortable, almost none of them what would be called poor."

THESE NEW SOCIALISTS ARE PRACTICAL.

Says Mr. Phillips: "These practical Socialists endorse with a mental reservation the Socialist's battle cry: 'You have everything to gain; you have nothing to lose but your chains.'"

He claims the German Socialists are dreamers, but the French New Socialists get things done. "Jaures is a shopkeeper and a mighty successful one. He is a bourgeois of the bourgeoisie, a perfect type. And the others look at him, at his wealth, at his shops, and say to themselves: 'True he does talk in a very unsetting way sometimes and he urges and secures many laws which operate against his class. BUT IT IS HIS CLASS AFTER ALL, HE IS ONE OF US.'"

NOW WHO ARE THE NEW SOCIALISTS?

These "New Socialists" are, in one word, Business Men Socialists. They are Middle Class Socialists.

The Old Socialists are Working Class Socialists. But the most dreadful thing to the New Socialist is the despised Working Class, with its revolutionary demands.

As our author says, "Jaures is taking the bourgeoisie, that is, the Business Class, the Middle Class, into Socialism."

This is precisely what the "New Socialism" would do in America, turn the Socialist Movement into a Business Man's Movement.

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THE BUSINESS MAN?

The Business Man is up against it, by the Small Business Man. The Big Business Man is eating him up.

You see the cartoons of Oppor, for example. The giant Trusts, those great fat bellies, are always towering over the poor little lean fellow, marked "The Common People."
The "Common People" in these cartoons never means the real Common People, the workmen, but it always means the small Business Man. It is the small Oil Producer in Kansas who is up against the Standard Oil. It is the small butcher who is up against the Beef Trust. It is the small dealer who is up against the mail order department store.

WHAT THIS COMMON PEOPLE WILL DO.

This Common People of the Business Class, the small traders, the class called the "Middle Class," is having an awful time in these days of the Trusts.

They have been very numerous in America. The United States has been a Paradise for the small business man, the storekeeper, the trader and the speculator. It has been the ambition of every American boy to "make money," to get on, to establish himself in business, to become a man of influence in his town, to be a member of the Chamber of Commerce, to have an elegant home of his own and to move in the best society.

But this great common Middle Class is losing its grip. Its former power is gone or going. The only career open to a boy now is to become the manager of somebody else's business, to handle other people's capital.

The small business man and his hanger on, the small professional man, are being driven to the wall. They know it. They are fighting against their fate.

SMALL BUSINESS MEN ARE THE "NEW SOCIALISTS."
To save themselves from destruction by their giant competitors, the Trusts, the Middle Class is rallying for a final battle.

All this fury of Lawson's against "The System" is the voice of the Little Fellow shrieking against being despoiled by the Big Fellow.

All American traditions of Liberty are founded on the independence of the small Business Man. So they frantically appeal to "Jeffersonian principles" to save themselves by

Mr. Bryan's and Tom Watson's attempt to gather together the "Radicals" in the Democratic Party, is another sign of the distress among the Business Class.

"DOWN WITH THE TRUSTS," some of them say.
"CHECK OR CURB THE TRUSTS," cry others.
"SAVE US FROM THE TRUSTS," is the fierce call from all of them.

WHAT OUR PICTURES SHOW.

Now you will understand our first picture. It is one of Mr. Hearst's own pictures.

Hearst is fond of picturing the terrible monster of Injustice. The Trusts run everything, he cries. Our old government of the people, is gone. In place of it is a government run by the Trusts.

Corruption rules everywhere. "The People"--he means the Business People--are not in it anymore. We will not stand such injustice!
So he stands before the Monster with wide open jaws and cries "Shoo!"

MR. HEARST AND HIS CLASS HELPLESS.

This New Socialism of Mr. Hearst, this Middle Class Socialism, this sham Socialism which they will try to christen "Social Democracy," can do nothing but cry "Shoo!"

For the Middle Class is doomed, just as surely as the slaveholding class was doomed 50 years ago.

Why? Because they stand in the way of human progress, for one thing.

The Trusts are huge machines for doing human work economically, for saving labor, for producing wealth with least expenditure of money.

Did you read how Mr. J. J. Hill shut up 300 R. R. agencies, when he succeeded in consolidating the G. N. and N. P. and Burlington? That is it, a saving of 300 offices and all their office force. That is what all these great combinations do. You can't stop it. The Middle Class can't stop it.

Another reason. The Middle Class is getting smaller every year. Small business men everywhere are becoming clerks and street car conductors and day laborers. Year by year they are crushed out by the Trusts, by big capital. The great rolling wheel of history is passing over the Middle Class. What is the use of their crying out, "Shoo!" YET THAT IS WHAT HEARST, BRYAN AND CO. ARE DOING WITH THEIR NEW DEMOCRACY OR NEW SOCIALISM OR "SOCIAL DEMOCRACY!"

WHAT THE OLD AND REAL SOCIALISM IS.

Look again at the second cartoon on this page. That is the Real Thing. You can see at a glance how it is done. THE WORKING MAN IS THE ONLY MAN BIG ENOUGH TO DESTROY THE MONSTER, INJUSTICE.

This Working Class Socialism is just as old as capitalism. It began when the Wage Working Class began and it will continue till the Wage Worker is emancipated.

The Real Socialism is powerful just where the Sham Sort is weak. There is no "shooting" at monsters by the Working Class. No impractical organizing of dying interests!

WHY IT IS STRONG.

The Real Socialism based on the Working Class is strong because the Wage Working Class is constantly increasing. It is already 4 to 1 in our cities.

Take your city directory, open where you like, and reckon up the occupations on the page you open to. You will find 80 per cent. are working men or women.

Now take a directory of the same city ten years ago and make a similar count. You will find only about 50 or 60 per cent. were wage workers then.

Try it and see for yourself. Don't take our word for it. What does this show? That the Working Class is rapidly increasing and the Business Class diminishing in numbers.

NOW THINK WHAT THIS MEANS.

You workers have the ballot. You constitute 80 per cent. of the population in our cities. What does that mean? THAT YOU CAN CAPTURE THE GOVERNMENT ANY DAY YOU ALL AGREE TO VOTE TOGETHER!

Here in Toledo, where this paper is published, we working men are divided into Republican and Democratic or Republican and Independent camps. Don't you see this plays into the hands of the Business Class all the time?

There is only one political party in this country which stands for the Working Class, that is, the Socialist Party.

When workers are once instructed NEVER TO VOTE FOR ANY CLASS PARTY BUT THEIR OWN, then the Battle of the Ballots will be won. Only then will the monster Injustice be killed.

SUPPOSE SHAM SOCIALISM WONI

If the Business Class succeeded in their endeavor to restaff themselves in the saddle! Suppose they check the Trusts! Suppose they drag back the good old days of Jeffersonian simplicity, will that destroy the monster, injustice?

How will that help the Working Class? Do you know how the small Business Man succeeds? By robbing the Working Class, just the same as the Trusts succeed by robbing the Working Class.

Don't you know it all comes out of the Working Class, first or last?

Either the small Business Man gets it out of the Working Man and then the Big Business Man gets it away from the small Business Man, or the big Business Man gets it out of the Working Man direct.

It's all one. So long as the Business Class, that is, the Capitalist Class, is in the saddle, the Working Man will be robbed of his product, and given just enough to live on.

Why then should the Working Man be cheated with this "New Socialism," so-called--which is only an attempt of the Middle Class to retain the power to exploit wealth out of the worker?

THE GREATEST DANGER AHEAD.

The greatest menace to the Workers in the immediate future is, that they should be cheated by this Sham Socialism.

The highest immediate duty of every Working Man who understands the class distinction of Capitalist society, is to press home upon his fellow workers the truth as it is and as he sees it.

Nothing but ignorance hinders the emancipation of the Working Class and abolition of Injustice!

WE HAVE THE BALLOT. WE HAVE THE VOTERS. NOTHING REMAINS FOR US BUT TO UNITE ON ELECTION DAY.

LOOK OUT FOR SCHEMES.

The Capitalist Class is afraid of nothing but a United Working Class, united at the Ballot Box.

They use the daily press to mislead you. They use the pulpit to mislead you. They use the public schools to mislead you. They pay for them all.

They even use many Working Men to mislead their fellow Working Men. They can buy almost anybody--for everybody is dependent upon them for a livelihood.

BEWARE OF EVERY ARGUMENT YOU HEAR UNLESS IT RINGS TRUE TO THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS.

We must be our own saviors. We are powerful. We must cease to be humble and to distrust ourselves. We must do our own thinking. We must demand and take what belongs to us.

THE WORKING CLASS IS THE CLASS OF THE FUTURE. UNDER ITS DOMINION, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN RECORDED HISTORY, THE MONSTER, INJUSTICE, WILL DISAPPEAR FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH.

The almost simultaneous occurrence of two recent incidents has brought the Socialist Party sharply, but unexpectedly, to the front...

Party Life at Stake. The question at issue does not affect Hagerty and Berger so much as individuals as it does the tendencies which they represent...

Enough of Impossibility. The Socialist movement of America has had enough of impossibility, whether it come clothed in the garb of a De Leon, a Hagerty, or what else...

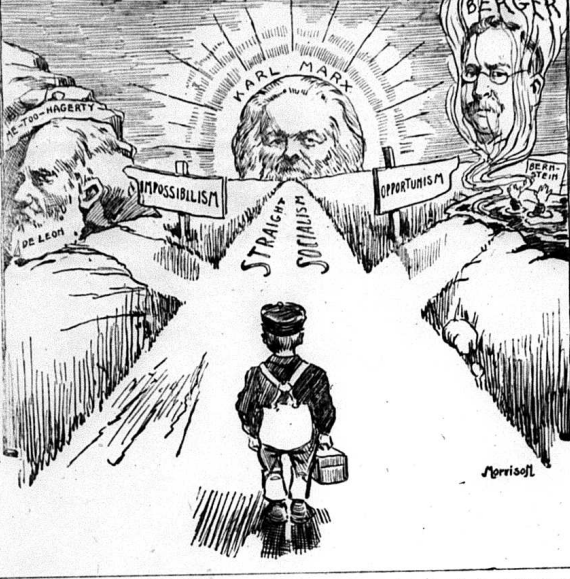
DELEON, HAGERTY & CO.

Daniel De Leon and Father Hagerty are fast killing the proposed new movement in favor of Industrial Unionism.

The "Socialist" has always favored a reorganization of Labor Unionism. It has always favored a resolution to that effect for the consideration of the Chicago convention last May...

That De Leon should seek to foment discord in the Socialist Party and at the same time save himself from approaching oblivion by another of his Trade Union schemes, was to be expected.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE HAGERTY TROUBLE IN SAN FRANCISCO. Chairman Lewis Unanimously Sustained by the Party.



promise to say that an individual represents or does not represent the Catholic church, or any other religious institution...

State Autonomy Not the Cause. But state autonomy is not the cause of compromise any more than industrial unionism is any more than impossibility.

Explanation of his editorial endorsing Walker that the editorial committee was not consulted in the matter.

How State Autonomy Has Worked. The statement made by the clause of the national constitution quoted by Berger is in the main the same one inserted in the constitution at the Indianapolis convention in 1901...

As between these two elements, so unlike in some things, so similar in others, but so sure in their final destination, the Socialist Party has no choice.

SIX MILWAUKEE COMRADES TO BERGER'S DEFENSE

Six Milwaukee comrades send us the communication printed below. They defend Victor L. Berger in his advice to Milwaukee Socialists to vote for funds for the national convention.

First. We are not concerned with Trautman's argument for his motion or secret, with the capitalists, it is not the point at all. We have no evidence on that question...

Resolved, By the Socialist Party of Milwaukee, in view of our poverty and the situation of the Socialist Party in Ohio...

Editor of The Socialist, Toledo, Ohio. Jan. 1905. We note with much surprise that to fill the ticket. The City Central Committee has nominated a ticket since we had no ticket in the field...

PARTY NEWS AND CORRESPONDENCE

QUARTERS.

FROM NATIONAL HEAD.

National Secretary Barnes' financial report for March shows the following...

NATIONAL DUCE FROM STATE COMMITTEES.

Table listing National Duce from State Committees for various states like Arizona, California, Connecticut, etc.

From Unorganized States.

Table listing contributions from unorganized states like District of Columbia, Maryland, Massachusetts, etc.

LOCAL DUCE STAMPS.

Table listing local duce stamps for states like Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, etc.

RECAPITULATION.

Table summarizing financial totals for March 1938, including Balance Mar. 1, 1938, Receipts for month, and Expenditures for month.

As to J. Carlos Becker.

State Secretary John C. Chase has written the following letter with reference to J. Carlos Becker's resignation...

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the following motion made by Comrade Prevez of the 10th district. That any member of the Ohio state committee who neglects taking action on questions submitted for vote shall forfeit...

Comrade J. R. Crouble, Secretary Local 32, reports a successful meeting of the Central Ohio State Committee...

Local Toledo. Mrs. HAZLET TO TOLEDO. Mrs. Ida Crouch Hazlet gave a very instructive address at Toledo...

The local quorum of the State Committee of the Ohio State Party, which was called to order...

Requests have been received from several locals in Tennessee for the formation of a state organization.

The Socialist and the Cleveland dress this office year for \$1.20.

OHIO.

What the State Officials Are Doing. The election to fill the vacant position of state committee head March 30...

Local San Francisco. The referendum of the party in Colorado on the question of removing G. T. Remond from the committee...

Things are moving in Michigan. Daring March the state office purchased \$10 worth of due stamps from the National Committee...

Michigan. The following conditions must be observed by the contestants: Manuscripts must be written on one side of the paper...

Local Saginaw, Mich. Mr. and Mrs. Guy H. Lockwood, of the Saginaw Socialist Club, entertained an audience at the Arbuter Hall...

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this was their first visit from the present showing. The Lockwoods are among the most popular of Socialist friends...

KENTUCKY.

Report of the State Secretary for the Month of March, 1938.

The attention of the locals is called to the fact that tickets for the coming summer campaigns are about to open...

The election of our state committee to succeed Comrade J. G. Keister by the state secretary...

A letter from Utah. Editor The Socialist: In number 219 of the Socialist Party Bulletin...

WASHINGTON.

State Secretary Martin has been instructed to arrange dates for George K. Kirkpatrick in August...

The resignation of David Burgess as state organizer has been accepted.

Comrade W. H. Cook, secretary, Local 10, Toledo, Ohio, reports...

THE BEST SOCIALIST LITERATURE.

For sale by The Socialist. Sent postpaid on receipt of price. The COMMUNIST MANIFESTO...

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. By Chas. H. Van Cleave. THE DAY OF JUDGMENT. By George D. Herron...

GENERAL.

THE REFERENDUM OF THE PARTY IN COLORADO. The referendum of the party in Colorado on the question of removing G. T. Remond...

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QORRESPONDENCE.

Editor The Socialist: I received your issue of March 25th. This morning it has the true ring...

COMMENTS ON BERGER CASE

FROM 'THE WORKER' N. Y.

From Milwaukee comes a piece of news which equally astounds and grieves us. Directly the fact is these: An election is about to be held...

It is superfluous here to remark that the news is as surprising to us as it is painful. We could hardly have believed it on any less authority...

THE SPEAKERS' COMMITTEE OF LOCAL SEATTLE ARE NEGOTIATING WITH JACK LORAN FOR A LECTURE. The intention is to arrange a lecture and have speakers...

THE REFERENDUM OF THE PARTY IN COLORADO. The referendum of the party in Colorado on the question of removing G. T. Remond...

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Contest for \$50. The Socialist will give three prizes to the above amount for the three best articles on 'WHAT IS THE GREATEST NECESSITY IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT PRESENT?'

SO GO GOOD BOOKS FREE. The Socialist has made special arrangements with the publishers by which the following first-class books can be given free for subscriptions.

Poverty. The book that has caused more discussion about social conditions in the United States in recent years.

The People of the Abyss. The book that has caused more discussion about social conditions in the United States in recent years.

THE SOCIALIST, Toledo, Ohio.

