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To Organize the Slaves
of Capital to Vote Their
Own Emancipation

PROPOSED NATIONAL
PLATFORM FOR THE
SOCIALIST PARTY

KARL MARX IN HISTORY

Here follows the proposed Platform for the National Socialist Party to adopt at the Convention in Chicago May 10, 1910, as suggested by J. B. Osborne of California, the blind Socialist lecturer. It has been considered carefully by a number of comrades on the Pacific Coast and a few changes have been suggested but we are giving here Osborne's original draft.

THE SOCIALIST PART OF THE UNITED STATES in national convention assembled has adopted the following platform of political principles:

Standing just inside the threshold of the twentieth century and looking back through the ages, the past we behold that the path of human progress has been through the struggles of economic classes against each other. Hitherto all class struggles have been between proprietary classes, one division or section contending with the other.

The American Revolution was a struggle between American farmers and English capitalists. The war between the States was a class struggle between Northern capitalists and Southern farmers. The farmer lost, and lost forever, and the farmer is no longer heard nor his interests asserted in the legislative halls of the States or Nation.

Editorial Note—In place of this paragraph, some Seattle comrades preferred this: "The American Revolution was the outgrowth of an economic struggle between American capitalists and English Capitalists. The war between the States was a class struggle between northern capitalists and the southern slave holding oligarchy." Both declare the general truth that these events in American history were controlled by economic laws, were, in fact, matters of bread and butter, conflicts between the capitalist class and the working class. Osborne's statement is probably nearer the truth.

For the last half century the rule of the capitalist class has been unhindered and complete; and the industrial revolution that has transformed our nation and its government from a nation of farmers and chattel slaves into a nation of capitalists and wage slaves.

The present class struggle is between the wage workers who operate all industries and own nothing, and the capitalist class who own everything and do nothing. The capitalist class struggles to retain possession of the government and to maintain their ownership and arbitrary control of all the instruments of production. The working class struggles to secure possession of the government in order to change the wage system, to transform the means of social production into the collective property of the working class.

The working class alone can overthrow the capitalist class. In this struggle the farmer must pool his interests with the wage workers, for the wage workers cannot do without the farmer. The capitalist class is using no longer and will use no longer, such feeding on the thrift, skill, muscle and brain of useful class. It is a parasitical tax upon the energies of the only socially useful class, the working class. Henceforth all human progress can be made only by and through the working class.

The political revolution of the working class culminates in a social revolution that completely overthrows the rule of the bourgeoisie. In this revolution the working class brings with it, created out of its own life and struggles, its own ideas and ideals, its own conception of law, liberty and morality, and its own birth to a new social order out of class masters or slaves, an industrial democracy and associated humanity.

Editor's Note—Whether "the capitalist is useful no longer or not" is a question of fact. While the proletariat organizes to overthrow Capital and must necessarily occupy years in this training itself for effective action to the present order, the capitalist is engaged in perfecting the vast industrial machine. For example the combination of railroad systems, now in progress in America, looking to a more central under one organization, see Mr. Hill's or Harriman's, until the transportation industry is as well and economically administered as the Standard Oil system itself, is a capitalist consumption which will prove very "useful" for collective ownership. The premature demands of some of our platforms for Mutual ownership of street railways is undoubtedly reactionary, calculated to prevent the complete evolution of Capitalism which is a necessary condition for the function yet remaining to the Capitalist class.

Old Party Platforms

The Republicans, Democrats and the Populists fought out the national campaign of 1896 on the financial question alone; the Populists standing for a national currency to be issued directly to the people on farm products without the intervention of banks; the Democrats advocating the free coinage of silver as the only way for higher wages and higher prices for the products of the farm; and the Republicans expounding the single gold standard as the only safe and honest system of finance.

The Populists failed; first, because their system of finance was based on the interest of the farmer and could not easily lend itself to capitalist promotion or the purposes of official capitalism; and second, because it represented the interest of the agricultural class whose power and influence is slipping on the decline.

Our experience in the rise of the price of labor and all other commodities in the last twelve years without the aid of free silver has completely exploded the quantitative theory of value idea about which the Democrats and the Populists have been so proud to campaign, and our experience during the past six months with the financial panic, showing the voiceless and helpless, and of unemployed, amply demonstrate the unsoundness of the "sound" money policy of the Republicans.

These matters little what kind of money system we have under capitalism. So long as a few men own all the property must have and use in order to live they can take whatever they please from the people, and keep it as fast as they desire and paralyze industry at will.

Some of the reforms which are being inaugurated by the Democrats or Republicans will be in the interest of the capitalist class and dictated by the needs of the capitalist class.

Members of the Democracy and Republicans are now engaged in a mad effort to curb the greed of corporate capitalism, to limit the profits and dividends of the gigantic combinations of wealth. All of this is an attempt to keep down the rising flood of proletarian revolution and prolong the rule of the capitalist class. There is no difference between the employment of Bryan and Taft and the employment of Hearst and Roosevelt.

Editor's Note—This section is rather loosely connected with the rest of the platform. The superficial and ignorant discussions on money and the wild proposals of "statism" of all parties have begun to be quite tiresome. The only thing that is worth anything to us Socialists who have learned from Marx that money is primarily a commodity whose value depends on the labor embodied in it, is the fact that it is crystallized in its production and that no legal "fict" can constitute value into anything.

Labor and Patriotism

Soon after the financial panic of twelve years ago when the capitalist class began to open the mills and mines and shops and factories to the wage workers, the capitalist class, as the wages of these workers were not large enough to buy back their own product, began to export their goods to be acquired through wars of commercial conquest. American workmen volunteered in sufficient numbers to take Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines, and the American people buy the goods the American workers were unable to purchase.

One-third is much too small a proportion, often as it is quoted by Socialists. One-half is probably nearer the truth and is amply sufficient to carry the war against the capitalist class. The remaining four-fifths were disposed of in "Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines," which is absurd.

American volunteers who did not die of disease or wounds, now find themselves and classmates out of employment. The number of unemployed is three millions, and the economic mass of the unemployed is the largest of this industrial situation to beat down the wages and standard of living.

We believe in patriotism—the love for the country one owns, and if there are the wars of conquest and conquest in the future, we believe the army should be raised from that portion of the country of others and the home of others where it would neither harm nor benefit.

There is a burning immediate question of the hour. In this country with its unparalleled material wealth, with its boundless and unlimited powers of production, millions of the working class are starving and dying for lack of the means of life. In the large

Problem of the Unemployed

These unemployed citizens refusing to accept crumbs or the insults of industrial charities, peacefully assemble to present their grievances, and are brutally beaten and clubbed by the orders of the officials of the law and the Republican parties alike.

In periods of industrial paralysis the unemployed can be given work only at the expense of the propertied classes and no party of this private property can possibly legislate for Labor at the expense of property. The employment of the unemployed results in a clash between property and manhood. The Socialist Party takes the side of the man against the dollar, and wherever confronted with the political power either in city or state plans to establish the standard of wages to employ the involuntarily idle at prevailing union wages and conditions in the several occupations, at the expense of capitalist property.

Note—Well stated and might be improved. In our judgment the National Platform should be framed to fight the battles of the present hour, its statements grouped constructively around one live issue, possible, like that of the unemployed and not made up of formal and abstract generalities, however logical and correct. The Problem of the Unemployed is central, practical and strategic and furnishes splendid educational opportunities as well.

Engels' Letter

"London, March 14, 1883.
"Dear Liebknecht:
"My telegram to Mr. B.—, the only address I have, will have informed you what a fearful loss the European Socialist revolutionary party has experienced. Only last Friday the physician—one of the most prominent in London—had told us that there was

Yet Osborne's platform is superior to the others we have printed in this issue. It is a good deal more proletarian and does not cater to those farmers or the pretended friends of farmers, who would break down the proletarian revolution and the Socialist party organization for the sake of getting the votes of the farm owners. The supreme effort of the Socialist Party must be, it is to us, to get and hold the support of the wage class delivers its annual tribute of billions to maintain Capital on its throne. It is not that Socialists do not recognize the smallness of the wage class, but they also recognize that the wage man holds the key to the whole situation. That is the hard, inextinguishable fact and the farmer must be made to feel it for the purpose of telling the truth that I ask for space in this issue.

The Red Flag—Truth About It

Lind, Wash., March 25, 1908.
"Dear 'The Socialist':
"A report is going the rounds of the press to the effect that I displayed a red flag in North Yakima on my recent trip there. I feel that the readers of your paper ought to know the truth about this, and I am therefore writing to tell the truth that I ask for space in this issue.

Again the "Herald" made a false statement. It was a white horse, and, by plain infidelity, incited its readers to resort to violence to end the life of the Socialist. I am not a member of the Socialist party, but I am a friend of the people. At the next meeting the people of North Yakima decided he did, Orchard was the most abject and contemptible traitor ever known.

Berlyn on Platforms

Hillquit's Analysis is not agreed to by all Socialists. Panics at different times may have been caused by overproduction, but the Socialists would make a mistake if they were to affirm in a so-called platform that the present panic is the result of overproduction. It would be a banner of the same old error. The Socialists here to argue this question at length, but we Socialists who are evolutionists must recognize that each and every panic that has occurred has been the result of the capitalist system, and the industrial depression followed it, a new era of development.

The organization of the trusts has nullified the statement made by the Socialists of the planlessness of capitalist production, through which the supply exceeds the demand, and time for the destruction and consumption of the same had to elapse before a rebound could take place. The organization of the trusts has nullified the statement made by the Socialists of the planlessness of capitalist production, through which the supply exceeds the demand, and time for the destruction and consumption of the same had to elapse before a rebound could take place.

Editorial Note.—This section seems to understate the value of the industrial revolution and the power of the working class. It may be intended as an antidote to the still more impractical and Utopian schemes of the "Direct Actionists." Yet Unions are not the property of the workers. While the Socialist party is concerned with the political organization of the wage class, it cannot be unconcerned about its material or economic organization.

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Marx and Darwin

Marx was one of the first to comprehend the importance of Darwin's investigations. Even before 1859, the year of the publication of the "Origin of Species" by a singular coincidence also the year of the publication of Marx's "Critique of Political Economy"—Marx had recognized the epochal importance of Darwin, who, far from the noise and stir of the great cities, in his peaceful country home, was preparing a revolution similar to the one Marx was initiating himself at the turbulent center of the world only that he inserted his lever at a different place.

Especially on the field of natural selection—excluding physics and mathematics—and of history Marx closely followed every new appearance, verified every process; and Molechott, Liebknecht, Hülsey—whose "Popular Lectures" we attended conscientiously—were names mentioned in our circle as often as Ricardo, Adam Smith, McCulloch and the Scotch and Irish economists. And when Darwin drew the consequences of his investigations and presented them to the public we spoke for months of nothing else but Darwin and the revolutionary power of his scientific conquests. We emphasize this, because "radical" enemies have spread the idea that Marx, from a certain jealousy, acknowledged the merit of Darwin very reluctantly and in a very limited degree.

Marx was the most generous and broad of men, when it came to acknowledging the merits of others. For envy and jealousy as well as for conceit, he was too great. Only the false modesty of the bourgeois, who is ashamed of his own achievements and regards with a deadly hatred—as he did everything false and adulterated.

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Orchard

Orchard escapes the gallows. Of course. Did not the Socialists predict he would never hang? Gooding will pardon him. He cannot help himself. Judge Wood advises the governor to pardon him and argues that it was always Common Law practice to protect the accomplice who turns State's Evidence.

And now, Mrs. Steunenberg, widow of the murdered governor, and her son and their Caldwell neighbors, and many influential and interested people everywhere, especially the Christian people, will plead for mercy for the Arch Assassin.

He will serve a short term, till the world forgets, and then be discharged. He has earned his reward. He is the man who deserves his thirty pieces of silver.

PROGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

The metal trades have formed a similar federation recently launched by the building trades in Washington. Representatives of the machinists, molders, patternmakers, blacksmiths, boiler-makers and shipbuilders, electricians, plumbers, painters, and polishes and brassworkers, stove mangers, engineers, firemen, and steamfitters, met in Cincinnati and organized the M. L. Trades Federation of the M. L. Local metal trades council will be chartered, but they must be subordinate to the general city central body. Efforts will be made to amicably adjust all trade jurisdictional disputes, and the policy will be to have all local agreements with employers terminate the same.

Another conference will be held in Cincinnati, June 16, for the purpose of perfecting the organization—"Cleveland Citizens."

THE LOS ANGELES FIGHT.

The Los Angeles fight for free speech has progressed to the point where a trial has been had and the jury disagreed in two cases. The public prosecutor—more properly prosecutor—violently attacked Socialism and attempted to create prejudice against the party but his attack was used as the occasion to make propaganda.

At present the comrades are not

we are through him; and whatever the movement of today is, it is through his theoretical and practical work; without him we should still be stuck in the mire of confusion. Yours, "P. ENGLS."

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