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Ninth Year—No. 420

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, May 8, 1909

Price Five Cents

THE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

THE VOTE WE DID NOT GET

By C. W. Barzee, National Commit-
man of the Socialist Party
from Oregon

It is an established fact that the failure to obtain the expected Socialist vote at the late election was not on account of the lack of Socialist sentiment and a desire for the supremacy of Socialist principles by those inclined to Socialism, but on account of the known inability of the Socialist Party to reach, at the present time, a position commanding legislation. The vote was not cast in accordance with the voters' candid opinion of what would be best for future society, but with a view of relieving their need, which meant their reinstatement in the status quo.

Our Faulty Position

In the nature of its campaign propaganda, the Socialist Party is very much to blame for this practical, or impractical, conclusion on the part of the voter. The erroneous position and the faulty wording of the national platform left the "job seeker" little to expect from his vote for Socialism. Whereas, had we by clear wording made our platform a declaration of protest, instead of a declaration of reform principles, we would have made it plain to each voter that to register his vote with the Socialist Party would be giving it double force and double power.

Failed as a Vote Catcher

The clearheadedness of Debs never permitted him to refer to the platform of reform legislative measures in his appeal for the votes of the working man, nor in his interview with Lincoln Stephens for "Everybody's Magazine." But he did declare, always and everywhere, the power and influence which one million votes for Socialism would have on future legislation, for and in behalf of labor. No matter which party was elected it would head that protest. Debs well knew, as did every other voter, that legislation for or against the working man must come from the party in power, which in any case surely could not be the Socialist Party. With a straight revolutionary program we could have then made a clear declaration for the abolition of rent, interest and profit; and not stand before the nation a mixed quantity.

Necessity of a Program

In our propaganda we find it absolutely necessary to formulate some plan of our purpose in a declaration that will arrest the attention of the thinking working man previous to his becoming class conscious and intelligently informed in the science of social economics. We must appeal to his judgment, though we reach it through his stomach. With clear reasoning from a scientific standpoint let us make our appeal practical.

Middle Class Legislation Analyzed

The middle class is capitalistic. It is a fact that we weaken our party scientifically and every other way when we advance any measure in support of the middle class. Any measure that tends to divide the working class into a large profit, or a graft, and a small profit, or a legitimate business, is a capitalist measure and tends to reform, not to revolutionize. When we propose any measure that can be appropriated by a capitalist party in common legislation, we make ourselves fanatical and our party non-sensical. The late Populist Party "went over the road" by this route because it was not revolutionary and did not have a distinct cause to continue in existence. When we undertake to declare for middle class interests we prove ourselves not to be a revolutionary party. If we make ourselves a party of protest, radically revolutionary, we constitute a power through our revolutionary program.

In self-defense against this position the capitalist party will then enact reform legislation meeting the expectation of the protesting voter, and leave our science of economics uncommensurate with middle class reform.

Constructive Socialism vs. Capitalist Reform

We cannot have Constructive Socialism as long as a profit system stands of a use system, continues to order our social relations. LET SOCIALISTS EVERYWHERE UNDERSTAND THIS AND REFUSE TO WALK INTO THE "PROPERTYED" MIDDLE CLASS TRAP. Every vote registered, every nominee elected, every attendance in speech or press is but a protest against capitalism and an exhortation to rally to the cause of Socialism. Until we possess ourselves with the powers of government and legislatively or otherwise declare our emancipation from the profit system, our social relations will be directed by capitalist interests, whether they may be under the auspices of reform or of rank plutocracy.

A Revolutionary Protest vs. a Middle-Class Program

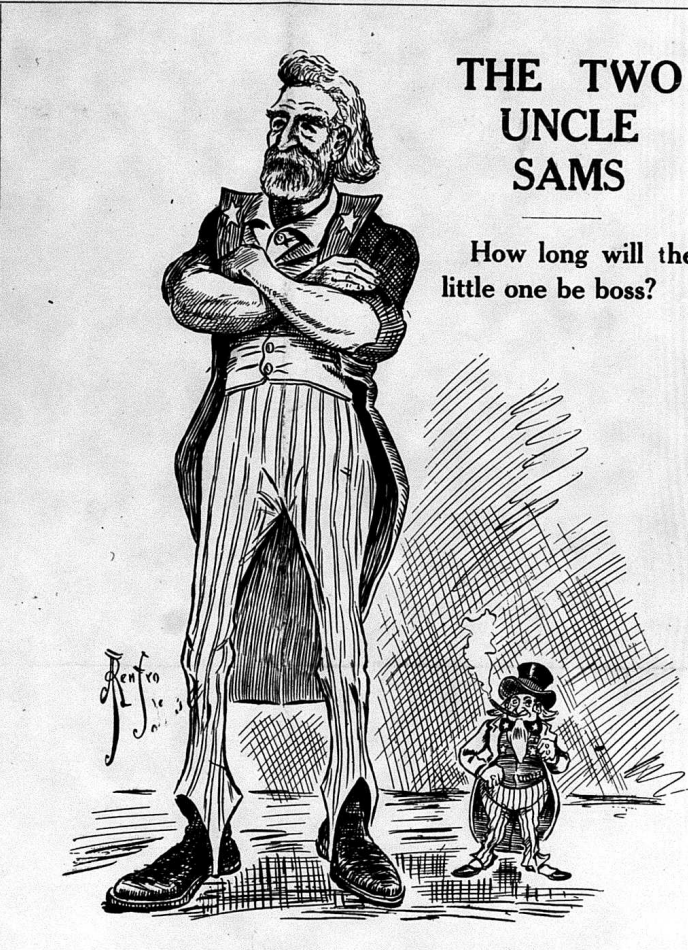
With a Revolutionary Socialist Program as a basis for action, we would assume a commanding position that would demand recognition; where with a reform Socialist platform we could command neither respect nor recognition. We well know that the capitalist party will, as the concentration of wealth increases, inaugurate a system of taxation that will be used as a pretense to destroy predatory wealth. We can outline their legislation for them with scientific accuracy. They will give the people income and inheritance taxes with other reforms to relieve the middle class. They will grant old age and unemployed insurance to wage workers for the purpose of relieving acute distress among the wage slaves, and thus avoid the danger of revolution arising from their systematic robbery. None of these measures will remove the cause or effect a cure. These meager benefits are as truly drawn from labor as if they were directly assessed to them, and are but an apology for the evil that comes of a profit system. "The crumbs that fall from the rich man's table" will have effect, not only as an excuse for the continued grind of the profit system. As long as the wage worker votes with the capitalist parties they will not fear him as giving his vote as a protest he will further the cause of revolution and still be permitted to gather "crumbs."

Class Consciousness

Thus by a clear exposition of middle class legislation we will draw the wage class vote to the Socialist Party and weaken the Capitalist Party's position until they will be compelled to unite their forces to carry an election. This will then narrow the chasm between Capitalism and Socialism, eliminating the middle class, and bring the two opposing factors of society face to face. The Socialist Party, for a final conflict of votes and ballots. With class lines distinctly drawn the people will become class conscious and their political organization. The agitator will then be free to point out reforms which Capitalist legislation will concede because of the existence of a revolutionary party.

Reform Legislation

We cannot inaugurate Socialism by reform methods. To engage in reform legislation is to engage in Capitalist legislation, and is not far removed from voting the Capitalist ticket. Any attempt to alleviate present conditions without declaring for actual confiscation, by which the profit



THE TWO UNCLE SAMS

How long will the little one be boss?

homicide determination, Capitalism will prepare the way for Socialism.

Party Unity

The matter of reform measures is the bone of contention in all our conventions. By the foregoing plan we would remove the cause and make the party a unit. Every desired reform by the most extreme opportunist could be pointed out as a conciliatory measure favorable for the Capitalist legislation; and thus the Socialist party would avoid confusing its members and allied voters with the Capitalist measure. The scientific analysis of social economies, together with a thorough exposition of the profit system, would become clear to every one; and Socialist economy would be assimilated in world conditions. Its subjects are now, intelligently by its working class. A careful study of Socialist philosophy and revolutionary tactics will support these qualified and practical suggestions. If we are to maintain our understanding as a revolutionary party we must act consistently.

International Consolidation

There is dire need for endorsing some such program by the International Movement. Capitalism with the profit system is a civilized, or uncivilized, world condition. Its subjects are now, and the same result is in every land. There is the greatest need for a unified program in each nation, to go down before the mighty force of international Revolutionary Socialist philosophy.

Conclusion

This brief analysis of Capitalism and Socialism in relation to the profit and use system is given with the hope of unifying the party on the vexed question of program. The writer, while obscure and not of a leading scientific authority, does desire unity and party success. Ten years of active propaganda work in the Socialist Party has, by actual contact, direct contact with criticism from every vantage point of capitalism, developed the practical program for the Socialist party. Look not to presidents, as you criticize this, neither ask yourselves if it be Marxian, European or American; but take counsel only, if it be scientific and revolutionary.

Yours very truly, for a Revolutionary Socialist Party,
C. W. BARZEE.

Their Latest Dodge

The Middle Class elements in the Socialist Party of Washington are bound to "go back to the Co." back into the party. Defeated in every previous attempt, they have invented a new plan. It is a proposed amendment to the constitution, which will allow several Locals in the same city. For every 20,000 inhabitants in cities over 100,000, the State Committee "shall" be "may" but shall grant a charter to any who apply. This is aimed directly at Seattle, so as to let in the Mills "Independents," the Burgess "Insurgents" and all the anarchist Socialists who have drifted out of the Party during years past. It is a way to get around the recent Referendum, which took the whole Seattle matter, leaving Local Seattle to settle its own troubles.

Revolutionary Program

Let us go before the people with a revolutionary program that says to them, "You vote against the profit system and for the use system and they will fear you and concede to you every reform within the cat-in-hat that will permit them to retain the profit system." We may enumerate their reforms as specifically as we may choose and denominate them as capitalist measures. This will give the voter who is inclined toward Socialism a reason for divorcing the Capitalist parties and the profit system, and it will prepare him for the adoption of the use system. It is an experienced fact that every propagandist is met with a demand for a program. Every unscientific voter who desires to break with the Capitalist party asks for it. We must be able to show some practical results that will come from an alliance with the Socialist party. "Leaves and Fishes" figured, as a policy, with the unscientific voter at the late election, and command consideration from our party. Revolution means revolution and Socialist sentiment will increase more directly from the demonstrated demerits of capitalism, than from the undemonstrated merits of Socialism. The failure of one must precede the success of the other. Through co-

system may be abolished, is capitalist legislation and constitutes fasten, Capitalist interests, either directly or indirectly, cause us to become confused on this point. We either place property interests above human rights, or we have individual private property interests which we wish to protect when we endorse reform legislation by any party. It is always middle class properties interests and not proletarian interests that speak through reform measures. Socialists must face this proposition as a proletarian party.

clearly defining the revolutionary use system, will carry society into a crisis, without the knowledge of a strike and a universal strike ensue, with its accompanied riot and the loss of life and property. Indeed we are in the throes of this condition at the present time. There is now the greatest need for clearer conception and practical outline of program for the safety of society and the integrity of the Socialist Party.

Social Revolution

No ruling power of government ever abdicated its authority or submitted to any change whatever, until some other organized body by force of circumstances, legally or otherwise, took possession. This applies to political as well as revolutionary changes. The pending social revolution will combine both of these features and will differ in its authority from any other change or revolution. The purpose of the profit system is to make gain or profit to the owners of private property and is supported by the powers of the government to that end. The purpose of a use system is to establish "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" in all that pertains thereto, for the use and benefit of the human family; and the use system would then be enforced by the government. A profit system places human rights secondary to property rights, and a use system would place property rights secondary to human rights. Human rights are and always have been subordinate to property rights and are today bound to the competitive wage system for private profit. Society has moved up to its present standard from feudalism through chattel slavery and is now ripe to declare its next evolutionary emancipation. Private property rights are the present power that enforces wage slavery by means of a

profit system. It is the purpose of the Socialist movement to destroy this power and free society by placing human rights above property rights. It is as much the duty of a government to protect society in the right to earn a living (own the job) as it is to guarantee the right to use the living (the proceeds of the job) after it is earned. For the Socialist Party to possess the power through legislative authority of this government, without destroying the profit system, would not be Socialism. The profit system must be abolished and a use system established in its stead.

Confiscation

"To the victor belongs the spoils" will be the principle of the social revolution as much as any other revolution. In the advent of the Socialist party to power, the government will through means of national legislation, become the rightful owner or possessor, dictator and director of every part and parcel of property within its jurisdiction. The government would then direct and rule with the same authority and enforce its dictum by the same means as now. Through the demise of the profit system would come the discontinuation of private profits to individuals owning property. Any property privately owned for the exclusive purpose of making profits has a common use value to all. If we destroy the profit value we destroy the purpose of the individual ownership, which would virtually confiscate the property to a common use purpose. Socialism does not mean the exchange of grant legislation for reform or legitimate business legislation; but it does mean to exchange the profit system for a use system of production and distribution. The people through the government would, by the destruction of the profit system, confiscate all other property than that having a pri-

Don't Forget

That though "The Socialist" is temporarily out of danger our troubles are not ended by any means. We are looking to you for the sinews of war and working like hell to keep our end up.

The Socialist

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY

PROGRAM

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are necessary. These alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So today the machinery and the land are handled by one man, his owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machines owned compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and the world increases. They bring over larger masses of workers under their control, reduce them to the point where mind and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-sufficient farmers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial class.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the nation and the world increases. They bring over larger masses of workers under their control, reduce them to the point where mind and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-sufficient farmers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial class.

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The movement of organized labor

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