

THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

A Record of the Progress of Single Tax and Tax Reform
Throughout the World.

KARL MARX AND HENRY GEORGE*

TWO PROPHETS WITH A SINGLE GOSPEL

(For the Review)

By W. H. KAUFMAN, Bellingham, Wash.

"Let each get all he earns,"
"Let each earn all he gets."

If the ideal represented by these two lines is attractive to you you are at heart a disciple of Karl Marx; for everything that Marx wrote is either an explanation, a corollary or a means whereby to achieve this ideal—the abolition of all unearned incomes in order that we may guarantee to every person the enjoyment of the full products of his or her labor.

RADICALS SHOULD ATTACK THE PLUNDERBUND INSTEAD OF ATTACKING EACH OTHER

For ten years past my chief object in life has been to get Radicals to quit attacking each other and unite in an assault on the common enemy. With the Powers that Prey likely to devour all of us—with such oodles of opportunities for good fighting going to waste—why should we Radicals spend our energies attacking each other?

MUCH CRY—LITTLE WOOL

The trouble always was that everyone was absolutely certain that what he was doing was necessary to "maintain the faith." Apparently, "heresy hunting" is the almost universal occupation of Radicals!

Trade unionists felt socialism a grave danger to their "hours, wages and conditions" programme; while many Socialists looked on trades unionism as a mere "middle class movement."

*References in this article are to volume and page of "Das Kapital" (which should have been translated "Private Monopoly").

Thus I spent some eight years in striving so far as I could for harmony; fully persuaded that along that way lay ultimate victory. Then, suddenly, as though I had overslept to be awakened by the sun shining full in my face,

I DISCOVERED MARX!

I found that Marx was an earlier, and as it seemed to me, a more consistent Single Taxer than was Henry George himself!

I knew exactly how that old Greek felt when he found the solution of his great problem and shouted "Eureka!"

Marx the founder and patron saint of socialism, being a Single Taxer, don't you see that Socialists must quit attacking Single Taxers?

Then too, Marx being a Single Taxer and Socialists having therefore accepted Single Tax—don't you see that Single Taxers must feel kindly toward Marxian Socialism?

The American Federation of Labor has endorsed Single Tax and therefore trades Unionists must cease attacking Socialists, for according to Marx, Land Monopoly is the prime cause and necessary condition of our modern economic ills, such as unemployment, low wages, long hours, congestion in city slums, rural depopulation and high cost of living; and, also, according to Marx, Single Tax is the very first step toward economic justice.

What the discovery of America was to Columbus, that my discovery of Marx was to me—the end of my difficulties, the realization of my hopes!

If any unsympathetic person, here arises to remark that my discovery was no discovery at all—that Marx' works have been in existence for a quarter of a century—I reply that America had been in existence for twice that long before Columbus discovered it! Indeed, if America had not existed—how could Columbus have discovered it? If Marx' writings had not been in existence how could I have discovered them?

Now when I find Socialists and Single Taxers abusing each other I just romp through the crowd, using *Das Kapital* as a broad sword with startling effect (for not one Socialist in a hundred has read Marx, so that his position is always a surprise to them).

When I find some heresy-hunting Single Taxer attacking Socialism, I call his attention to the fact that Marx, the founder of Socialism, was an earlier and a more consistent Single Taxer than was Henry George—and I have never yet failed to convince even the most stubborn.

BERNARD SHAW AND THE SOCIALISTS

When Shaw went to London and fell in with the Socialists they kept constantly taking him to task, saying in a patronizing way, "Now if you would only read Marx you would understand Socialism and give up these vagaries."

Finally it got on Shaw's nerves and he made a thorough study of Marxian Socialism, finding to his surprise that Marx sustained Shaw's side of the controversy. At first Shaw was puzzled a bit, but finally concluded that his oppon-

ents had never read Marx, but were merely "bluffing". So when he met them he would take each aside and say to him, "Now, honestly, as man to man, have you ever read Capital?" and every mother's son of them answered, "No, I have not!"

Bellingham is a city of 25,000 people, and there were cast at the last election some 1,200 Socialist votes; yet the librarian of the Socialist local tells me that to his certain knowledge he is the only Socialist who has ever taken out the three volumes of Capital!

In this county (outside of Bellingham) there are also about 25,000 people—and so far as I know only one of these 25,000 people has read the three volumes of Capital—two men in a population of 50,000 have read Marx—and *neither of these two men knew that Marx taught Single Tax!*

Yet the quotations I will presently make will show that Marx taught Single Tax quite as explicitly as did George a generation later.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AN UNBALANCED, ONE-SIDED, WAGeworkERS' MOVEMENT

The Socialist party being (until recent years) almost exclusively a wage-workers' movement and wageworkers working almost exclusively those who work with "machines," Socialists have come to place too great stress on machinery, forgetting about natural resources (land). Yet Marx says again and again that it is the control of natural resources, not of machinery, that is the foundation of economic robbery (III: 723) "We have seen that this mode of production presupposes on the one hand the separation of the direct producers from their position as mere attachments to the soil (in their capacity as bondmen, serfs, slaves, etc.); and on the other hand the expropriation of the mass of the people from the land. To this extent the (private) monopoly of landed property is an historical premise, and remains the Basis of the monopolistic ('capitalistic') mode of production as it does of all other modes of production which rest on the exploitation of the masses." George wrote nothing stronger than this. Marx *always* makes private ownership of natural resources the overshadowing curse.

With Marx it is always the private monopoly of land, never the private monopoly of machinery, that is the basis of exploitation of producers. Marx tells with great glee of a Mr. Peel who took 3,000 people and \$250,000 in machinery, food, raw materials, etc., to Swan river, West Australia, expecting to found a manufacturing village. But as Mr. Peel had omitted to have the land monopolized on the morning following the landing every colonist left him and took up land for a home. Although Mr. Peel had all the machinery, all the food, all the raw materials—still he had not left a servant to cook his breakfast or fetch him water from the river!

I: 842 "Where land is very cheap and all men are free, where one who so pleases can easily obtain a piece of land for himself, labor is very dear as respects the laborers share of the produce."

I: 843 "The labor market is always understocked. The degree of exploitation of the wageworkers remains very low; where land is free laborers soon cease to be wageworkers."

MARXIAN SOCIALISM A UNIVERSAL GOSPEL

According to Marx, humanity is divided into two great classes: Producers and Parasites. Between these two classes there is the world-old "class-struggle." Producers should become "class conscious." That is, all Producers should regard all other Producers as brothers and sisters; should regard Parasitism as an evil to be utterly abolished. The class-struggle is never between employers and employees, except as employers have some "special privilege" (capital).

MARX WOULD MAKE THE GOLDEN RULE EFFECTIVE BY ABOLISHING ALL
UNEARNED INCOMES

To Marx Mutual Service is the fundamental law of human society; the thread of gold that at once unites and glorifies all forward movements. A one-sided service approximates, and when complete, ends in slavery. Therefore Marx would abolish all unearned incomes; thereby abolishing all parasitism and guaranteeing to each worker the enjoyment of the full product of his labor. To accomplish this all workers—all who render mutual service to each other—all "producers"—must unite, superintendents and shovelers, artists and sewer cleaners, surgeons and bricklayers, teachers and farmers, musicians and road builders, employers and employees—all who render mutual service—all who produce must unite to abolish all Parasitism—all unearned incomes!

Everything that Marx has written is either an expansion, a corollary or a means whereby to attain this fundamental conception. Marx' aim is to abolish graft!

WHO ARE THE BIG GRAFTERS?

Whom does Marx hold to be the greatest of all grafters and parasites?

III: 747 "To the same extent that the production of commodities develops as a monopolistic production...does the production of surplus products proceed. But to the same extent that this continues does property in land acquire the faculty of capturing an ever increasing portion of this surplus value by means of this land monopoly."

III: 749 "...so does also property in land develop the power to appropriate an ever increasing portion of these values, which were created without its assistance, and so does an increasing portion of the surplus value assume the form of ground rent."

Marx' great aim is to secure to each worker the full product of his toil by preventing the appropriation of "surplus value," (the "unearned increment" of George) by the parasites of society.

Where do we find the great bulk of "surplus values"—of the unpaid wages of the laborers? Marx says it is practically all absorbed by the community-made values of natural resources (land).

III: 898 "One section of society thus exacts from another a tribute for permission to inhabit the earth."

III: 901 "From the point of view of a higher economic form of society, the private ownership of the globe on the part of some individuals will appear quite as absurd as the private ownership of one man by another."

Note that in the quotations given above, the speculators' share is "ever increasing."

III: 728 The fact is that if this system is permitted to exert its full effects . . . the entire ownership of houses as well of country real estate will be in the hands of the great landed proprietors."

Why, according to Marx, are our natural resources undeveloped?

III: 945 "This barrier and this obstacle, which are set up by all private property in land against agricultural production and against a rational treatment, conservation and improvement of the soil itself, develop on both sides (that is whether in large or in small holdings) merely in different forms" "While small properties in land create a class of barbarians standing half way outside of society; a class suffering all the tortures and all the miseries of civilized countries in addition to the crudeness of primitive forms of society, large properties in land undermine labor-power in this last region in which its primal energy seeks refuge and in which it stores up its strength as a reserve fund for the regeneration of the vital power of nations, the land itself."

Marx says that the high cost of living is because the mass of the people are divorced from the soil. Last of all—most important from the Georgian's point of view—Marx makes Single Tax the first step toward the overthrow of Parasitism, toward the establishing of economic justice, "The application to public purposes of all rents from the community-made values of natural resources."

AN IDEAL PLATFORM FOR UNION OF ALL RADICALS

- 1st. Let each get all he earns.
- 2nd. Let each earn all he gets.
- 3rd. As all forms of exploitation depend ultimately on the private ownership of natural resources, the first step toward economic justice (the abolition of unearned incomes) is "the application to public purposes of all rents from the community-made values of natural resources." Manifesto, page 45.

All can unite in subscribing to this creed. All can support this programme.

RADICALS ARE MAKING SINGLE TAX PARAMOUNT ISSUE

In 1909, after having been editor of our Grange paper for two years, I was fortunate enough to secure the unanimous and enthusiastic adoption of a Single Tax resolution by the Washington State Grange; representing some 15,000 members—the first large body of American farmers to officially endorse Single Tax.

The last session of the American Federation of Labor fell into line endorsing the Oregon proposal.

In Texas, the *Rebel*, the official organ of the Socialist party of that State, has page after page of Single Tax editorials and contributions.

In Oklahoma, the Socialist party is making land the paramount issue, and Texas and Oklahoma are the two States in which the Socialist party is making phenomenal growth.

The *Appeal to Reason*, the leading Socialist paper of the United States, is turning from the cities to the farmers as the hope of the Socialist party. Before long the *Appeal* editors will learn that it is not the farmers so much as the land question that is the hope of the Socialist party. *So Marx taught!*

On the 26th of last Feb. the Socialists and Single Taxers of the State of Washington met at Seattle to organize the Washington Non-partisan League. On almost exactly the same day the Manhattan Single Tax Club had as its two guests of honor, Congressman Warren Worth Bailey, Single Taxer, and Meyer London, Socialist.

The day of factional fighting between Radicals seems to be passing! The original "warring colonies" are being transformed into a continental "Union."

My discovery that Marx made Single Tax the paramount issue, will furnish an intellectual basis for that harmonious action which all have come to regard as not only desirable but inevitable.

PRIVATE MONOPOLY SPELLS UNEARNED INCOME

According to Marx "capital" means merely "private monopoly;" (privately monopolized means of production and of subsistence.) If therefore we substitute Marx' "private monopoly" in place of his technical and very misleading word "capital," we will make his writings very simple and easily understood.

Now a private monopoly is anything whereby a man gets more than his due. If the normal price of potatoes be \$1 per bushel, and I am able, through a private monopoly (whether of earth on which to raise potatoes, or of a railroad on which to transport them, is quite immaterial) to get \$2 for what should sell for \$1, I am manifestly receiving more service than I render. According to Marx this land, or railroad, or cash, or whatever it is that enables me to get service in excess of the service which I give—this monopolized cash on land or railroad is capital.

Primarily Marx is after this unearned income. He attacks monopoly only because monopoly spells unearned income. Public ownership is nothing as an end. As a means of abating unearned income it is the best proposal yet advanced.

I: 839 "Capital is not a thing, but a social relation between persons established by the instrumentality of things."

Does these words convey any idea to you? Probably not.

No wonder George thought Marx a near fool!

Yet, substitute private monopoly (which is what Marx says he means by capital III: 948); and we have "private monopoly is not a thing but a social

relation between persons established by the instrumentality of things"—a simple, lucid statement, which any child can understand.

I: 839 "A negro is always a negro. Only under certain circumstances does he become a slave. A mule is a machine for spinning cotton. Only under certain circumstances does it become a private monopoly (capital)."

INTEREST A MATTER OF TRIFLING CONSEQUENCE

George stoutly defends interest; but from the Socialist point of view it is unimportant. When we have abolished all unearned incomes it will be a trifling matter whether I sell you potatoes at \$1 per bushel, cash, or \$1.10 payable next year this time. When each has fairly earned all he owns, interest will be a negligible quantity. It is interest on unearned wealth that is blighting the earth.

III: 948 "Capital signifies the means of production (with Marx the subsistence of the worker is a part of production) monopolized by a part of society."

When I have no monopoly, and therefore can sell the product of my labor only for what it is really worth, the products of my labor is not capital, that is, are not a private monopoly. III: 840 "We know that the means of production and of subsistence, while they remain the property of the immediate producer are not capital (that is are not a private monopoly) for the producer can get for them only a fair price. It is only when we can evade the law of mutual service that commodities become private monopolies (capital)."

MUTUAL SERVICE, LAND MONOPOLY AND SINGLE TAX ARE THE THREE PARAMOUNT FEATURES OF MARXIAN SOCIALISM

- Ist. Mutual service is the ultimate ideal.
- 2nd. Land monopoly is the hindering evil.
- 3rd. Single Tax is the remedy.

Ist. Mutual service, the Golden rule applied to economics, is the fundamental law of human society. Marx would make the Golden Rule effective by abolishing all unearned incomes—that is, by abolishing all private monopoly—especially of land which is vastly greater than all others combined.

2nd. Land Monopoly is the prime cause of our typical modern evils:—unemployment, low wages, congestion in city slums, rural depopulation; inefficiency, waste, high cost of living.

3rd. Machinery makes it possible for workers to create much surplus value; *but natural resources (land) absorb an ever increasing part of it and will eventually absorb it all*: III: 747: 749.

4th. Therefore, the first and most important step toward economic justice and the establishing of the Golden Rule is "*The application of all rents of land to public purposes.*"—Manifesto p. 45.

This statement should suit all Marxian Socialists and it should also suit all Georgian Single Taxers, as well as all Trades Unionists; and I know that

when intelligently presented to farmers it will be received with enthusiasm—for I have tried it.

MARX ON LAND MONOPOLY

(References are to British robberies: but our own are similar).

I: 835 "The expropriation of the great mass of the people from the soil, from the means of subsistence and from the means of labor, this fearful and painful expropriation of the mass of the people, forms the prelude to the history of private monopoly. III: 944 "But on the other hand, the private ownership of the land, and with it the expropriation of the direct producers from the land—the private property of some, which implies lack of private property on the part of others—is the basis of the private monopoly mode of production."

I: 841 "We have seen that the expropriation of the people from the soil *forms the basis of the monopolistic mode of production.*"

Some readers of the Single Tax Review may not know that Marx wrote Vol. III first, left it in rather crude shape, never editing it, it being published after his death by Frederick Engels, in 1894. The first volume was published by Marx in 1867, 17 years before vol. III. Yet note the identical phrase from the old notes for vol. III and the later vol. I. All these quotations refer to the theft, by British speculators and land grabbers, of the small holdings of English peasants, the enclosure of commons (precisely like our railroad land grants of past years and the stealing of power sites which is going on today) the driving of thousands of men and women from their clan properties, the theft of church lands, (in the titles of which the poor had a legal interest) and other similar acts of robbery common in Great Britain during the seventeenth, eighteenth and the early portion of the nineteenth centuries—precisely what the Electric Power companies are doing in the United States today, so far are our robber experts behind those of Great Britain. In the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries, many an English village fared as badly at the hands of speculators and Barons as has any Belgian city at the hands of Germany, so similar are the methods of robbers of all nations and of all times.

I: 787 The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil, is the basis of the whole process.

I: 792 "A few acres and a cottage would make the laborers too independent."

I: 794 "The abolition of the property of the agricultural laborer in the soil made him a proletarian and eventually a pauper."

I: 796 "But at that time the process (of robbing the common people of their land) was carried on by means of individual acts of violence against which legislation, for one hundred and fifty years, struggled in vain. The advance made in the 18th century shows itself in this, that the law itself becomes now the instrument of the theft of the people's land, although the large farmers make use of their little independent methods as well. The parliamentary form of robbery is that of Acts for Enclosures of Commons, in other words,

decrees by which the landlords grant themselves the people's land as private property, decrees of expropriation of the people" (corresponding to railroad lawyers in Congress granting our Commons to the railroads, granting our power sites to the electric companies). The Gifford Pinchots made their protests in Great Britain in the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries precisely as they are making protests in the United States today.

I: 800 "To say nothing of more recent times, have the agricultural population received a farthing of compensation for the 3,511,700 acres of common land, which between 1801 and 1831 were stolen from them and presented to the landlords by the landlords?"

I: 805 "The spoliation of the church's property, the fraudulent alienation of the state domains, the robbery of the common lands, the usurpation of feudal and clan property and its transformation into modern private property under circumstances of reckless terrorism. . . . conquered the field for monopolistic agriculture, made the soil part and parcel of private monopoly and created for the town industries the necessary supply of a 'free' and outlawed proletariat."

I: 808 "Thus were the agricultural people first forcibly expropriated from the soil, driven from their homes, turned into vagabonds; and then whipped, branded, tortured by laws grotesquely terrible, into the discipline necessary for the wage system." (The "wage system" in Marxian usage does not mean merely one man working for another for wages, but it means several landless, hungry men *underbidding each other for one job*, and is a purely technical word.

I: 817 "The expropriation and expulsion of the agricultural people, intermittent but renewed again and again, supplied, as we saw, the town industries with a mass of proletarians."

III: 722 "Landed property is conditioned on the monopolization of certain portions of the globe by private persons."

III: 725 "This sum of money is called "ground rent" no matter whether it is paid for agricultural soil, building lots, mines, fishing grounds, forests, etc."

III: 726 "Thus they (landowners) pocket a result of social development brought about without their help."

III: 728 "This illustration of property in buildings is important. In the first place, it clearly shows the difference between real ground rent, and interest on fixed capital incorporated in the soil. The improver gets the returns for a short time, but the capital incorporated in the soil ultimately passes into the hands of the landlord together with the land, and the interest on the money invested in improvements helps to swell the landlord's rent."

III: 737 "A rise in rent is a national disaster."

III: 746 "The amount of ground rent develops with the progress of social advance as a result of the total labor of society. . . .with its needs and demands for either means of subsistence or raw materials."

III: 932 ". . .the actual tiller of the soil. . . .whose unpaid surplus labor passes directly into the hands of the landlord."

MARX AN EARLIER SINGLE TAXER THAN WAS HENRY GEORGE

In Nov. 1847, an International Congress of Workingmen, meeting in London, directed Marx and Engels to prepare a statement of the philosophy of their movement; and also to prepare a practical programme. The manuscript for this manifesto was given to the printer in Feb. 1848, thirty years before the publication of "Progress and Poverty."

In the practical programme Marx includes 10 numbered paragraphs, containing 13 distinct reforms or measures, which he says will vary in different countries but in the most advanced countries will be pretty generally applicable. The first of these numbered paragraphs reads:—

I. "Abolition of private property in land (by the application of all rents of land to public purposes.)"

MARX—GEORGE—LOWELL

Not only did Marx and George, almost simultaneously, discover and state in scientific form these great truths, thus proclaiming a new gospel, but at the same time Lowell gave it unrivaled poetic setting.

"Down to no bower of roses led the path,
But through the streets of towns where chattering cold
Hewed wood for fires whose glow was owned and fenced:
Where nakedness wove garments of warm wool,
Not for itself; or through the fields it led,
Where hunger reaped the unattainable grain:
Where idleness enforced, saw idle lands.
Leagues of unpeopled soil, the common earth,
Walled 'round with paper against God and man".

In my next article I will show wherein Single Taxers are better Marxians than was the "Land Plank" of the National Socialist platform adopted at Indianapolis in 1912. Those platform writers, as well as the entire Socialist convention, seem to have been ignorant of Marx' teachings concerning land. No Socialist or Single Taxer who attaches any value whatever to Marx' opinions should fail to read the next article.

THE moral ideas of most people are more conventional than convictional. They are imbibed rather than thought out. The social instinct, rather than the conscience, determines what they shall be. What everybody seems to think they take as their own without thinking, and by thus giving assent to the popular ideas they form habits of expression which they erroneously call their convictions.—J. BELLANGEE.

ONE's thoughts are always pure when giving attention to productive labor because it necessitates co-relating one's efforts with the scheme of the universe.—J. BELLANGEE.