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# BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIAN

From the Communist Manifesto, Written in 1848 By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

(Concluded from last issue.)

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battle lies not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

This centralization of the proletarian class, and consequently into a political party is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus, the ten-hour bill in England was carried.

Nevertheless collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle, at first with its aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself, whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times, with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own element of political and general education. In other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling class, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally in times when the class-struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, produces such a violent, glaring contrast, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself off, and joins the proletarian class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in fact a portion of the bourgeoisie, bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle-class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they do so only in view of their immediate transfer into the proletariat, they

thus defend not their present, but their future interests, and they set their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat. The "dangerous class," the social scum, that passively rots away, thrown off by the lower layers of the society, may here and there be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

In the conditions of the proletariat, the class of the large or petty industrial capitalist, the proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family-relations; modern industrial labor, modern objectless labor, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of old society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

In depicting the most general shape of the development of the proletariat, we traced the most restless civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to suppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it, under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to a position of independence, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeoisie. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule, because it is incapable of ensuring an existence for the slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie; it has to be supplanted. The essential condition for the ex-

istence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and maintenance of a certain condition for capital to wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their proletarian combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates its products. The bourgeoisie, therefore produces, above all, its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

Explatory: By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labor. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-laborers, who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor-power in order to live. From footnotes to the original.

## THE RULE OF THE MARKET.

That the money spent on immigration schemes by that executive committee of the Canadian employers, the Dominion government, has been wisely and prudently expended is attested by the beneficent results, the wholesale flooding of the Canadian labor market has had upon the price of labor-power. To such good purpose has this policy been pursued that whereas the earnings of highway robbery, which formerly brought from \$2.25 to \$3.00, are now and none too plentiful at that, can now be obtained in almost unlimited quantities for \$2 and as low as \$1.50. The decline is, of course, more marked in unskilled and unorganized brands but that the condition of the skilled trades has not

## A LABOR MARCH

'Prise the lay of the dawning day; old Europe from the centre To furthest shore, can bear no more the load that long has bent her. From sea to sea she must be free, despite the gun and sabre; It wakes the dead, our countless tread—The Thunder March of Labor. Though storm and wrath beset our path, the fat fourth, has gone: 'Tis Freedom's lead, to mighty deeds our hosts are marching on. And no'er displayed was holier blade 'midst Christendom's redressers. Than Labor's hands bear in their hands to front their proud oppressors. From depths of grief beyond belief we march in living earnest. The souls whom want would never daunt may face the foe the sternest; Through wily years our pioneers they land to land went flanking: Now Labor's strength is used at length in Freedom's cause unbrinkling. O'er our advance the Red Flags dance, and bar their way who cant! The true and lead, the hearts of steel are pressing to the van. For bloom or blight, 'tis final fight, end vain the gun or sabre 'Caust the countless tread by Freedom led—The Thunder March of Labor.

JOHN LESLIE.

been unaffected by this process is also attested by the attitude and tone of the employers have lately taken. The C.P. B. are having of large numbers of their shop "hands" and it is announced that notice has been served by the company to the trades concerned that the present wage scales would be abrogated and a ten per cent reduction would go into effect forthwith. It is also reported that the Builders' Exchange have decided to make substantial reductions on the scale of wages paid in the building trades as compared with last year. Of course, many workmen will declare that the reason for this is just sheer meanness on the part of the employers and that it shows an un-Christian spirit to thus disregard all ties of brotherly affection between Brother Capital and Brother Labor. But this is not the case; Brother Capital still loves Brother Labor as much as ever. He has just been sitting up the situation and with the foresight, ability and business acumen which he possesses in so great a degree, he has discovered that the labor market is over-run with large quantities of this two-legged merchandise which is wandering up and down the land, seeking nobody and he has accordingly come to the conclusion that

the price (wages) will stand substantial reductions.

Of course, the various trades affected will resist to the limit of their ability these cuts in wages, but swiftly and surely the workers are coming to realize that industry has reached a stage where their union combinations are all but powerless to deal with the situation. The fallacy of the belief that the wages of labor are determined by the ability of labor to produce wealth or by the aggregate earnings of the concern for which they work in every day becoming more obvious and the naked truth stands out ever more plainly that wages (the price of labor power) are determined solely by the market in which labor-power is bought and sold. A small supply of laborers seeking jobs and the price tends upward, and vice versa when there are a large number of workers seeking jobs and few jobs in sight, the price of labor-power will inevitably sink to its bare cost of production, or in other words the minimum amount which a laborer can exist and work. The cheerful alternative is, of course, that if he cannot secure a job even on these terms he can starve.

This, added to the present industrial depression which has caused the majority of industries to either close down or only work part time with reduced staffs, makes the outcome for the average wage-worker anything but a rosy one. It is time all workers awake from their dream of peace and plenty in the enjoyment of a good job at good wages and recognized that the stern reality of the falling labor market threatens seriously to sweep away any small advantages they may have gained through years of efforts in trade and labor unions in every industrial center meetings should be called and neither ignorance nor prejudice should be allowed to delay action along the right line unless it be gone about it in earnest.—Proletary.

## SLADDEN'S SHORT ARM JOLTS

Through the Columns of the Seattle Socialist He Delivers His Message to Reform Faddists.

Here is a sample of what Sladden has printed in The Oregonian, the ablest newspaper on the Pacific Coast. Pretty Stuff Stuff! Portland, April 9.—(To the Editor.)—I would ask space in The Oregonian to correct several errors as regards Socialism appearing in your issue of the 2nd inst. The Socialists of Oregon are not supporting any new legislation and do not care a continental about it. At the state convention of the Socialist party a resolution was sent in endorsing State-Not. No. 1, a pledge by candidates to support for a Socialism, and the people's choice, as expressed in the general vote, and it was rejected without a dissenting vote. A member of the Socialist party elected to office and voting for anyone except a Socialist would be violating the constitution of the party and would be branded as a traitor to the movement.

What we seek is to obtain that power which lies "behind all kings and parliaments, all governments and laws." Our present state platform declares "all present laws are rules of order for the regulation of capitalist private property." Does that look like any "real legislation?" You would leave at least to be inferred that the Socialists do not understand what is behind the "real legislation." It is a squabble in the ranks of the capitalists over a division of the loot and honors (?).

Doesn't Care a Flip.

A Socialist who knows what he is talking about will tell you plainly blank that he does not care a rap for your State-Not. No. 1, or initiative and referendum, your single tax or any of your thousand and one Hearst reforms or Populist hogwashees. He stands on the same principle as The Oregonian, only on the other side of the fence. He stands flat-footed on a class struggle; he is a rank partisan. He seeks to gain control by his class—wage-workers—all branches of government, legislative, judicial and executive and to make interpret and execute his own laws in his own interests and to make you swallow them, like we have to, whether you like them or not. Not Crazy Enough. Do you suppose we are crazy enough to support the class laws that initiate any laws that were against the interests of that mob, who to-day are wallowing in their own silt in New York, so long as a Supreme Court composed of ex-corporation lawyers on the bench, the President recently said had sweetbread in place of brains, could set aside by a decision of 5 to 4 that law? Do you suppose that a Socialist would take an oath or pledge before his name to support the class laws with all his power and ability and would then go to a legislature and vote to send a member of the Citizens' Alliance to the United States Senate? No! A Socialist will not take one oath or pledge to violate another oath or pledge. Bughouse Faddists. The Socialist movement is not that bunch of Hearst reformers, bughouse faddists and unrooked ecclesiastics who would palm themselves off on an unresponsive public class with all his power and ability and would then go to a legislature and vote to send a member of the Citizens' Alliance to the United States Senate? No! A Socialist will not take one oath or pledge to violate another oath or pledge. Bughouse Faddists. The Socialist movement is not that bunch of Hearst reformers, bughouse faddists and unrooked ecclesiastics who would palm themselves off on an unresponsive public class with all his power and ability and would then go to a legislature and vote to send a member of the Citizens' Alliance to the United States Senate? No! A Socialist will not take one oath or pledge to violate another oath or pledge. Bughouse Faddists. 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## CLUBBING OFFER.

THE CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST interest of the movement of Labor for its emancipation from economic bondage to capital. The subscription price is \$2.00 PER YEAR. We have made arrangements which will enable us to monitor the DAYLY SOCIALIST and WESTERN CLARION to any address in Canada for one year for \$2.25. This is a reduction of 25 per cent, on the regular price of the two papers. Remember this applies only to subscribers in Canada as the postage on the Western Clarion to United States points is practically prohibitive.

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## THE WAGE-SLAVE.

It is about time that all nonsense was laid aside in regard to that interesting, though usually stupid animal who drags out a dull and monotonous existence working for wages. The monotonous life of the wage-slave is only broken by the occasional loss of his job, which, as a rule, causes him to hop around lively in order to find another before he starves to death.

In his language this worthy specimen is commonly dubbed a wage-earner. He is flatteringly referred to as the "honest working-man" and he is lauded to the skies during campaign times as the "bone and sinew" of the latter-day Republic. He does not realize it all of this flattery and smooth talk is ladled out to him for the purpose of keeping him in ignorance of the fact that he is the only really "good thing" in the capitalist class. He stands the entire bunch of confidence operators who make a respectable living by taking advantage of such "good things" as blow-alows, to use all means at command to get up the windfall of a "good thing" in his own possession. In his own possession, he is the only really "good thing" in the capitalist class. He stands the entire bunch of confidence operators who make a respectable living by taking advantage of such "good things" as blow-alows, to use all means at command to get up the windfall of a "good thing" in his own possession.

To speak of the wage-slave as a wage-earner is a joke so transparent that no child could be so stupid as to speak of the wage-slave as a wage-earner. He is the only really "good thing" in the capitalist class. He stands the entire bunch of confidence operators who make a respectable living by taking advantage of such "good things" as blow-alows, to use all means at command to get up the windfall of a "good thing" in his own possession.

thing else. Not only do they earn their wages, but they earn all the wealth that is sucked up by the conglomeration of leeches, sap-suckers and parasites that constitutes the ruling class and its retainers. Funkies and other "good things" that they earn and get. The balance of the wealth produced is what they earn but do not get. The latter represents what it costs the wage-slave to produce the "good thing" in his own possession. He is the only really "good thing" in the capitalist class. He stands the entire bunch of confidence operators who make a respectable living by taking advantage of such "good things" as blow-alows, to use all means at command to get up the windfall of a "good thing" in his own possession.

production does weather the present storm it is safe to assert that no living man will ever see it again restored to that condition of activity and virility experienced during the past few years. The power to produce has become too great to admit of the product being disposed of even in a world's market. Proof of this is found in the present world-wide industrial depression and stagnation. If the product could be disposed of there would not be an idle workman in Christendom. Every factory would be running night and day. Every capitalist would be absorbed with a seraphic smile and satisfaction, while a clown's grin would appear like the plumbly frown of a Scotch Presbyterian church deacon, in comparison.

Everything must grow or die. Capital is no exception to the rule. Capitalist production must expand. Its purpose is the augmentation of capital. This implies that additional markets, i. e., additional fields into which it may expand, are always available. When such a field is not available, the only alternative is death. Death must inevitably follow. This, however, does not imply that its death need be sudden, like that of a packing-house slave dropped into a vat of boiling lard. It may be gradual. It will smelt bad in spots. It will become irritable and savage just like an old dog, who, becoming blind with age, snaps and snarls at every one who points a finger at him. It does not require a prophet to see that capitalist production is nearing its end. It can no longer be carried on except by fits and starts. Just now it is afflicted with the rickets. A little later on it will be afflicted with the dropsy. Still later on the obsequies. Glory be.

In the meantime the proletariat must suffer untold miseries and hardships. Everything must be out of joint and where peace and decency reign, there will be blood, turmoil and strife, riot and bloodshed. Battered affluence will abandon the boulevards while gaunt poverty skulks in the alleys. A few million more wage-slaves of various ages and grades will be added to the proletariat. A few million more women will be driven to lines of shame. Here and there a bunch of discarded slaves with empty bellies and heads with nothing in them will be mentioned in the national anthems played upon their captives with policemen's clubs. Take it all around it is a pleasing prospect.

## THE MODERN AJAX.

There one time lived in Greece a man by the name of Ajax whose fame for boldness has come down even unto this day. He is described by Homer as being the boldest and the boldest of the Greeks. Mr. Ajax one day defied the lightning. His def was not taken up. It seems that Jove did not dare to call the bluff. He had aimed a thunderbolt or two at Mr. Ajax, but he could not do so because he had been an interesting mix-up. However, it is not necessary to engage in speculation as to the result. The main point is that Mr. Ajax was absolutely fearless.

The May issue of the American Federationist is at hand. The new publication that sets forth the mighty achievements of one Samuel Gompers, the doughy warrior who leads the battalions of organized labor against the entrenched forces of capital and the heavy artillery of the strike, boycott and the union label. It seems that a detachment of Sam's army was recently sent on a punitive expedition against an offending manufacturing concern. Having located the enemy such a fusillade of boycott gear and canister was poured into his camp that complete extermination was threatened. The situation was saved, however, by an ally in the besieged position, who came to his rescue by completely spiking the guns of Sam's warriors. This ally was a moribund aggregation of ancient and honorable sleight-of-hand performers known as a Supreme Council. The result was that the use of the boycott was against the rules of civilized warfare; that it was never intended for anything but a joke and that when any joke, however well intended, becomes a serious circumstance, becomes of such a chresty flavor as to offend the olfactory of the disciples of "law and order," it was clearly unconstitutional and must be abated as an annoyance. This decision put the assaulting columns hors de combat. The erstwhile victory was turned into defeat and the now victorious enemy made a wicked assault upon the commissary chest of the beleaguered position, and the provisions were distributed to the forces and plasters for the wounds inflicted upon them by the un-American application of the boycott/joke.

his chief weapons put out of commission, the doughy chieftain himself remained undaunted. A resourceful Sam, is Sam. Also great occasions have occurred. And Sam rose to the occasion.

There is a contraction rigged up by the manipulators of the main law factory at Washington, known as the House Judiciary Committee. The intention of this contraction is to place jokers that are offered for presentation upon the national stage, for the purpose of discovering if they contain anything that might prove offensive to the public taste, means in this country to the public. Sam went boldly before the committee and demanded that the boycott joke be reinstated to that honorable position that it had long occupied in the diary of labor-power. According to his own account of it, Sam put up a bold front in making his demands. This can be seen sticking out all the way through the "editorial" account of the thrilling scene. But the committee was really resolved when Sam, presumably in stentorian tones, flung forth the following deft to the dastards who had spiked his guns and put his legions on the toboggan-slide. "Any set of workmen or workers in this country who want help in protecting their interests and advancing their rights, I shall, so long as life remains in me, try to help them to the very best of whatever little ability I may be capable of. And I want to say that in my 58 years of life I have been a law-abiding citizen. There is no man who can ever point to any act in my whole life that reflects in my mind as a disgrace to a citizen. I want to assure you on my word of honor that so long as I live I will never buy a Loewe hat or a Bucks stove or range until these gentlemen come into agreement with organized labor-power and on condition of fairness. Then they will get support and help. Until then, you may call it by any other name—boycott or no boycott—but I won't buy your hats anyhow."

One can imagine the consternation into which the House committee must have been thrown at the utterance of the bold def: "I won't buy your hats anyhow." Brave Sam, Bold, defiant warrior in the crusade of Labor, armed with the shining sword of justice, who has defied the cross-bill of government and the law. His fame shall go thundering down the ages as the champion of the oppressed, one who would go bare-headed through ether rather than bow to a tyrant. "I won't buy your hats and eat raw mutton chops rather than have them cooked on a 'Bucks' stove. Such fealty to the glorious cause of enslaved labor searching for extra crumbs from the table of the rich will have been recorded in history." It is positively sublime. But that bold def; that challenge hurled in the teeth of the enemy; that emphatic refusal to buy a certain make of hats really takes the man. It is magnificent. It is the boldest challenge ever offered to the doughy employer of labor, who, blind to justice, refuses his employees "fair wages and reasonable conditions of labor."

It is a magnificent tremble in his shoes and refrain from attempting to coerce Sam into purchasing the prescribed articles, even as Jove refrained from swatting Ajax with a thunderbolt when he made his def. The def of the "old man" may be considered unworthy of further mention. It pales into insignificance alongside of the achievement, in the def. line, of Samuel, the doughy chieftain of the House of Commons. All hail to Samuel! Let him be crowned the modern Ajax. He certainly is the boldest, brainiest, most fearless defter that ever followed the business.

In the United States they now have a National Union Labor Hospital at Vancouver, B. C. The patients are getting crippled by the course ought to give it plenty of business.

The Pope recently gave an audience to 1500 half starved peasants. The good man very generously filled their empty bellies with wholesome and nutritive spiritual advice.

In Granite City, Ill., last week, fifty men knelt before the various churches and prayed for work but failed to get it. Even the establishment of the alms-house in Granite City, Ill., is unable to afford employment to all who apply.

Among all the commodities in the market to-day, labor-power is the cheapest. It can be had at any price. The only commodity in the market, this commodity is the basis of all capitalist production. Great is capital. Long may it rule. Also "what fools these mortals be." Also several more also entirely unfit to print.

## THEY'RE AFTER YOU!

"There are only two 'classes.' One thinks thoughts of hate, jealousy and revenge, seeking money-it does not earn, property which has been earned by the sweat of other brows."

It sounds like a description of the capitalist class, but it isn't. Here is the other class: "The members of the 'Other Class' think thoughts of work, sturdy, well directed, intelligent work; which brings good pay; because it is good service to mankind. The sober, responsible Locomotive Engineer. The Skilled Mechanic, the Farmer, Merchant, Teacher, Lawyer, Banker, School Teacher, Minister."

This is certainly the weirdest classification of society that has yet come out of the jungle. It ought to be worth pondering over as it has been given some prominence in the press, having been first printed in the Western Clarion by a Socialist paper. It will probably be pleased to publish some extracts from it free of charge in the interests of humanity and of the advancement of knowledge. The fairly printed author of the article in question is C. W. Post, a prominent manufacturer of substitutes for food, who devotes some three columns of space (at his own expense) to warning the American people of their perilous estate, thus: "You don't believe the Labor-Socialist 'class' are really trying to take away the savings and property of the thrifty, Home-Owning 'class' do you?"

"Probably there will be a loud chorus of wails of indignity when the new laws go into effect and the 'Home-Owning' wake up to find themselves bound hand and foot and 'trimmed' of their savings and property by the def hand of the Labor-Socialist in carrying away business and leaving the Home-Owning slept, and which the courts must execute."

"Impossible" you say, but the game is on and the Labor-Socialists are right now actively at work before Congress and the various State Legislatures and will continue these laws quickly unless stopped.

Their plan is based on one principle. "If any man has worked and been economical and self-denying and has bought a home, take it away and give it to the Labor-Socialist who are unthrift, drinking, profligate or simply failures."

"Give it to the man who hasn't!" It is the chief object of the affairs. All the thousands of "Home-Owning" who read the Clarion should take warning and assure themselves whether the same is not taking place right here in Canada. "First thing know we will have to see how long that Jack-rabbit, and then what will we do with our mortgage?"

It would be most interesting to know how many of the workers in Mr. Post's fake-food factory belong to the "Home-owning class." Probably they will have to see how long he would extend the blessings of employment to any one who, not being a "home-owner," would be likely to be a "Labor-Socialist."

"The manner in which the 'Labor-Socialists' intend to achieve their vile purpose to a certain extent, is shown by the following further extract from our friend and benefactor's interesting article: "Let's first consider the 'Employers' Liability' movement. They have already sought to have it apply first to Railways for it is now popular to attack them. Any employee hurt, even by his own negligence, is to be paid a sum to be extracted from the stockholders. There are over 77,000 stockholders in the United States. Many are widows and in some cases their hard earned money and savings invested thus, is the main source of their bread and butter. But part at least is to be taken from the widows of the unfortunate 'Unthrifts.'"

It is simply outrageous that money should "be extracted from the stockholders," many of whom are widows, after they have worked so hard to give workmen employment, to be taken from some unthrift "shack" who was so careless as to leave a finger or two in a coupling. If that kind of thing goes on, pretty soon those widow and orphan stockholders will have nothing left for Hill and Harrison to take. Further on Mr. Post sheds a new light on the causes of the industrial crisis from which, according to the newspapers, we so happily recovered some few minutes after it happened. "And there was no help for the following, we would never have had any overproduction had it not been for the stoppage of industry by strikes, etc."

# Socialist Directory

Every Local of the Socialist Party of Canada should run a card under this head. \$1.00 per month. Secretaries please note.

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NANAIMO DISTRICT, NO. 2. S. P. OF C. Canada. Business meeting every Monday evening at 7:45. Business meeting every Wednesday evening at 8:15. Secretary: W. J. Lester, 100 Victoria Ave., Toronto.

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LOCAL TORONTO, S. P. OF C. CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets 2nd and 4th Wednesdays. Business meeting every Monday evening at 7:45. Business meeting every Wednesday evening at 8:15. Secretary: W. J. Lester, 100 Victoria Ave., Toronto.

LOCAL VICTORIA, NO. 1. S. P. OF C. Meets at 7:45. S. P. below Government Office. Secretary: W. J. Lester, 100 Victoria Ave., Toronto.

LOCAL GUELPH, S. P. OF C. MEETINGS every Sunday, 3 to 5. Wynford Street every Wednesday evening at 8:15. Secretary: W. J. Lester, 100 Victoria Ave., Toronto.

# Union Directory

When They Meet: Where They Meet.

Every Local of the Socialist Party of Canada should run a card under this head. \$1.00 per month. Secretaries please note.

SANITON MINERS' UNION, NO. 81. 811, 11th St., Vancouver. Secretary: W. J. Lester, 100 Victoria Ave., Toronto.

HOENES MINERS' UNION, NO. 1. S. P. OF C. Meets every Sunday evening at 7:45. Business meeting every Wednesday evening at 8:15. Secretary: W. J. Lester, 100 Victoria Ave., Toronto.

It is believed by many that one of the chief causes of the panic and present hard times was the persistent and widespread interference with, and stoppage of industry brought about by these same Labor-Socialists in carrying away business and preventing the steady distribution of money among the working classes. Every million dollars worth of steam pumps, farm implements, boots and shoes, steel, iron, locomotives, etc., etc. But the Labor-Socialists have time and again stopped up the source of this flow of money and have entailed on this country millions upon millions of dollars in losses and, consequently, much misery upon the workers.

In case anyone should be inclined to enquire as to who these dangerous Labor-Socialists are, our friend has kindly furnished us with a list of them.

"The discontented, surly and both workman tramping from one job to another. The Labor Agitator. The man who poured acid in the mouth of an independent working man, and after he had been beaten unconscious. The tramp. The professional criminal whose picture the police keep in the rogues gallery. When you see him running a newspaper at a saloon, you can not only name the newspaper that nourishes his criminal instincts but can accurately locate him in his class and probably make a close guess at what trick he will next play."

"The Wild-eyed, dirty-finger-nail chap over his second pot of beer." "There you are. What good can you expect of men who have not the common decency to come to their meals in the morning with their faces washed, their hands washed, and who have the extremely bad taste to drink beer when they might be regaling themselves with hot, refreshing draughts of 'Postum' and 'Three Star'?"

"The man who has not the common decency to give up his seat to the old man, and to carry on his bare struggle towards the emancipation of the American people from the tyranny of Labor-Socialists, coffee and oatmeal mush." Me.



THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

(Continued from page 3.)

writer is of the opinion that we should pollute the atmosphere as little as possible with the sound of the pious Conservative and Liberal. In fact, there can be no doubt but that their pronouncement will very soon be one of the lost arts.

The reverend comrades are certainly made to blush a bit when they are handed the question of the general attitude of the clergy to the social revolution. His remarks were received with intense enthusiasm—and taken as whole his talk was both interesting and encouraging to the workers.

Mr. Tarakhn Das, a Hindu, then spoke for ten minutes or so on the troubles of India; the meeting closing after a few minutes' talk from Comrade Kingsley.

F. M. T.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

The Clarion extends thanks to Comrades John T. Mortimer, or St. Vincent, Minnie, Dave Legler, of Bear River, and J. Graham and of Langley Farm, B. C., for copies of number 427, which have been forwarded in response to our request for same in order to complete files for binding. If the comrades would kindly note the number preceding name on the address slips attached to this issue they will see that their subs have been renewed for one year as per offer. The receipt of the three copies mentioned has supplied our needs in this matter.

VANCOUVER COMRADES.

Take Notice.

The convention assessment of 60 cents is now due and must be paid before the 17th, so come up and pay.

J. F. PERRY, Sec.

HARD TIMES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY.

It is often a heartrending sight to see a poor family evicted so mercilessly by a house owner, or to watch unemployed trading heavily with hunger and disappointment. Empty shops and shops are scattered all over the city. Failures of business houses and banks is not an unusual thing nowadays, and the poor workers roared in these houses of their hard earnings.

We never saw so many empty houses and shops in the city as at present. Empty shops are the result of failure in business. Empty tenements are a constant feature of the time. Workers unable to keep a house, even a room, rent together and live together two or three families in a little shabby but in the most unhealthful manner. As the result of hard times wages are reduced and yet there are so many unemployed all over the country. There is no system of release for the unemployed in Japan so they are left to the irony of fate. Consequently every form of evil is occurring that will demoralize society. Budeids, robbery, petty theft and murder are the headlines of the daily press painted in the most brutal fashion!

Strikes are suppressed by police force. Agitators are persecuted, blacklisted, and if they walked off the factory or mine by the injunction which is now used freely to protect the capitalists.

Every form of labor organization is persecuted and suppressed nowadays. We fear some untoward incident may occur if they are oppressed with such extreme brutality. Child-labor and female night work of 12 hours or day work of 14 to 16 hours daily is not only the usual manner of exploitation all over the country. We have hope only in an escalation and find many workers also begin to have hope in it.—Tokyo Socialist Weekly.

Less than half a century ago Japan was still under the feudal system. The rapidly with which the Japanese have discarded the feudal garment and took on the habiliments of full-fledged capitalism, is marvellous. That the Japanese bourgeoisie is entitled to front rank in the capitalist era of rapine and brutality is clearly shown by the above clipping. The record it is making along this line is one that should make even the most advanced of Christian nations look well to their laurels.

The boundary line between Canada and the United States may be an imaginary one, but the gang of impudently profiteers who are sticking their snouts into your private affairs and other baggage when you wish to cross it is real enough to satisfy the most exacting taste.

THE HEEL OF ACHILLES.

"The human stomach is the furnace of civilization."—Andrew Thomson.

the furnace of civilization is not supplied with fuel what is to become of civilization? Winston Churchill says the unemployed is the "Achilles' heel of civilization."

Modern civilization? Modern civilization means subjection of the world to capitalism the regime of private ownership of the means of production by a numerically small class—production for the profit of the few and not for the rest of the human race. That's civilization!

Who are the unemployed? Working people. Wage slaves who sell the use of their bodies by the hour, day, week, or month, for a miserable amount of life—all working people do—when the capitalists are unable to employ, and who therefore have no money to buy the necessities of life for themselves and those dependent upon them. There are now millions all over the "civilized" world today, and their number is increasing. This is the heel of the modern Achilles—capitalism.

Capitalism is not society—it is a form of society which arises from the method by which the members of society get their living.

Society has existed during the past in many forms—communalism, chattel-slavery, feudalism—under all of which the means of production were owned by a few and the rest of the people had to exchange (save in exceptional cases) but for use by consumption; therefore, the more goods produced the better off were the people. And it is just here that the difference between capitalism as we know it and the other forms of society is itself. The method of capitalism is not the production of goods for use by the people. If that were so there would be no difficulty at all; for it is well known that with the superiority in the method of production which it obtains, the present volume of produce could be quintupled with ease.

No goods are produced for the purpose of sale or exchange, with the object of realizing a surplus, or profit. The goods are produced for use by the people, for the use and benefit of the numerically small class that owns the land and all other means of production. Now, under this system (or any other) the goods produced are not consumed by the people in full; before goods can be consumed they must be purchased. Ah! We have now arrived at the crux of the matter.

The unemployed have no purchase money. They have no wages. Why have they no wages? Because the capitalists cannot employ them. Why cannot the capitalists employ them? Because they cannot make a profit out of them. Why cannot they make a profit out of them? Because there is not a sufficient effective demand for goods. Why is there not a sufficient effective demand for goods? do people not need them? Fool! Can't you see they are starving, dying, and begging for food? They have no wages. Why have they no wages? Because they are unemployed. Stop, stop! Don't you see we have landed at the point we started from? We are traveling in a circle.

It is in the vicious circle in which capitalism has the world's people involved to-day. Any sane person who studies it seriously, cannot fail to see that a contradiction so palpable as this is, if not removed and that speedily, must ultimately destroy human society. This system, which at its birth and during part of its course was, no doubt, of service to human progress (for which humanity paid a terrible price), is no longer useful but harmful in the highest degree. It is the only system known to man that is not based on a better system—Collectivism and production for use, under which goods would be owned, consumed, and enjoyed by those who produce them, when it will be impossible to see, as to how the world can be saved from the midst of plenty they have produced, but which the profit system forbids them to consume.—Sydney People.

Just as we entered the mine owner's office the word him say to the superintendent: "Send them out in the country, and see to it that they have plenty of root and open air exercise and the proper kind of diet to put them in the best of health." This pleased me mightily. So I said to the employer take such an interest in their employees. So we decided to speak our mind. "We're going to see you again such an interest in your employees," said. "The men will doubtless show their appreciation of you." "Employee h—!" exclaimed the mine owner. "I was talking about your mines."—Wageworker.

SCOTTISH SLUMDOLM.

Some startling particulars concerning the slums of Glasgow. Dundee and Paisley are given in the Dundee Advertiser by a special commission of inquiry. It has been a long investigation. Here is what he tells of how the children, the nation's hope—or should one say in this case the nation's peril?—are in a slumland:

"Come with me to the first slum house entered in Glasgow. It is one-roomed, and the occupants are a man and his wife, four children, a lurcher dog, and a turtle dove on a cage. The man and the woman both earn fair wages, but they drink every penny of what they make, and the children, whose ages range from ten years downwards, are in a disgusting condition of neglect. They are verminous to an extent which must be absolutely torturous, and as black with accumulated dirt as a pig wallowing who do it are usually dull, derelict in all their own mire. But in spite of all this another mother's baby is daily brought in to nurse. This is a common practice, and especially in Dundee. I found that the mother was quite a professional with a certain class of slum-dweller. The women hags, unfit for work in the mills, who spend their hours over the gin bottle, and hell fields that they are, make the poor children when they become troublesome with slips of the noxious liquor.

"Note this story which a Glasgow medical student recently gave me. He was called to an East End slum house as a consultant. The one room of the house was in a horrible condition. On the bed lay a drunken wretch on the point of becoming a mother. A cowering creature of a girl of six lay crouching in the corner, and just as the doctor took her outside in the hope that she would be cared for for a little time by some of the other tenants, a drunken, swearing, stampeding man came staggering up the stairs. The child ran back in terror, and clung to the mother's skirts. On the other side of the door, and in the situation, closed the door and barricaded it with what little furniture there lay about. The drunken man the husband and father of the home raved and smashed at the door, which withstood his battering, and amid this awful scene another little life was brought into the world.

"The most dreadful instance of slum existence I came across was in Glasgow, but I have been told that it has also been found in Edinburgh. Two families had taken up their abode in a single room. The first family consisted of a man and his wife, a girl of seventeen and a boy of fifteen, and three children less than five. The other was composed of six persons, the man mentioned above, her husband, and six children. Several of the children were disgustingly verminous, and all were in a state of chronic filth. Two married couples, a girl of seventeen, a boy of fifteen, and nine children all huddled together in one room night after night! Recall the full meaning of the situation!"

"One may well ask how children of such stunts, nature as they are in filth, immorality, crime and sloth, develop into good and useful members of the community?—Scottish paper.

We sincerely hope that the publication of such accounts of total depravity among the "lower orders" will in no way tend to dim the "glory of our Empire."

MAY DAY IN THE 'PEG.

This is May Day, and Winnipeg was given a look at its problem. A large unemployed demonstration, headed by the flag, came as a surprise to everybody.

The Socialist party had decided to confine their activities to a public indoor meeting at night. But there are evidently thousands with whom the flag is a touch for the demonstration was not held up without their knowledge.

Nearly or quite all who took part were men who are usually referred to as "foreigners," and because the flag was not known to many amongst them all the arrangements were made without a word about it being a coming public property.

In the morning a large concourse gathered in the vicinity of St. John's corner. The demonstrators were delivered in Polish, Ruthenian, German, and a few spoke in English. At noon a large procession started for the city hall, four deep, a long silent column of men proceeded north. At the head were two flags and another banner with the words in a foreign language and English, "We Want Work." The men were dressed for the most part in the thick clothing common to the foreign immigrant. They marched with an orderliness and precision which was remarkable. They led the banner at the front tell the whole story of the demonstration. "We Want Work."

The parade comprised from seven hundred to a thousand men with one of women until the subway was reached and then the employment agent station was reached and rapid equipment was taken to the city hall. The police barred the main steps to the procession, and a delegation which went to represent use gathering found the mayor absent. A detour was made around a block to the east, and for a short time there was danger of a collision with the police. The procession was in charge of calm heads and was turned northward. It proceeded to the Jewish hall, at the corner of Powers and Pritchard avenue, where a few speeches were made in Polish. There was quite a force of police on hand and apparently the speakers advised the men to disperse quietly and then the march was broken up without a bit of disorder or even a cheer.

To many who took part it was their first May Day in Canada, and they had evidently found that as far as they were concerned it was just as necessary to demonstrate here as it had been in their own land.

Down town there were many newly arrived immigrants taking their first look at Winnipeg and the west and the appearance of the vast concourse of unemployed with their red flags was very disconcerting to them. The peculiarity about this demonstration was the complete ignorance that the public was in respecting it. It was an instance of showing how ignorant people here are of the workers who know not one another and of whom little is known. Before the parade had dispersed English speaking out-of-workers had broached the proposal to have real inclusive unemployment demonstrations, and if the proposal should be carried out there will be such a procession as was never before seen in a city of this size. The Voice.

INTERNATIONALISM.

The first of May has come to be a sort of international stocktaking day in the working class movement. It is the day on which the workers by millions gather to celebrate the progress made during the previous twelve months, and to cement more firmly the bonds of international solidarity.

Each year, as the fight upon the working class grows fiercer and wider, the solidarity that reaches across national boundaries becomes more pronounced.

The organized expression of this fact—the Socialist movement—grows in a corresponding degree. To-day that movement has invaded almost every home in the world, and is changing a local written in Italian, German or French is serving as a form of propaganda in an English, American, or Scandinavian edition within a few months after its appearance in the original language.

Only in the realm of a few sciences is there an equal interchange of international thought. Yet the Socialist movement is a working-class movement. It is not composed of scientific references. There are no outcasts. These translations are not made in the leisure of a scholastic career, as ornaments to an intellectual reputation. They are made in the midst of a battle as weapons in the fight.

This same international solidarity is sounding the coming of the day when war shall cease to be. More and more the workers are learning that a member of the working-class, in whatever country he may be, is a friend, and that a capitalist, whether under the same or another flag, is an opponent. Although the spread of this knowledge is to-day laying the foundation of universal peace, so-called international politics are still in force. Call it its congress, so Roosevelt endorses its object. These belong to the class that lives by the exploitation of the workers, and that exploitation can continue only while the workers are ignorant and without other throats.

That the capitalists themselves set profits above patriotism, has been proven so often that it is scarcely worth a reference. There has never been a war when the capitalists of either country would not sell powder and ball to the enemy if a profit could be made thereby. Internationalism can be built on nothing other than a working-class basis. In fact, nothing substantial can be built on anything else. Just as the workers are the foundation of industry, so they are the hope of international peace. Just in proportion as this fact is

recognized, just in proportion as the knowledge of the common interests of the workers of the world becomes recognized, just in proportion as the laborers of the earth become conscious of the day of universal peace draw nearer.—Daily Socialist.

WILL THE WORM TURN.

Well! Well! Well! So the Canadian Pacific Railway Company actually closed their own shops, at their own time, and did not ask their OWN men if they liked it or not. Isn't that enough to make a tom-cat laugh for a week?

Of course, you wise guy of a working shrimp don't want Socialism. It might guarantee to you, and your family the right to a job if you were willing to work; and of course, it isn't a job you want? It might enable you to get a house to live in that you could call home. Oh! but I forgot; you don't want a home. You are quite content to live in a shack a house, and pay one-third of your hard-earned money to the poor landlord, who is having quite a job these days hunting up biblical excuses for a salve to apply to his conscience every time he takes a check that should go to feed your babies.

"Of course it would hurt your feelings to be compelled to take the full product of your labor." If the large corporations did not declare a large dividend next year off your labor, you knock-kneed million-cum-poor, I believe you would shed tears.

Your solicitations for the rights of the mighty are enough to make a china dog bite his own tail. You are so scared that Capital will be lost, and probably lose the country. Where would it go? You say, "Alec with the rusty brain wheels, tell me. It would rob the people of their individuality. Who says so? I will take a bet that the man who first used that phrase owned a departmental store where you get a number which is your guiding star as long as you give value for your seven per week. It would create a bureaucracy or an administration of things by departments, elected and controlled by the people. Well! If that is going to scare you, let me tell you right here and now, that I would sooner be in Hell with Bureaucracy than in Heaven with Capitalism.

Let me tell you, Mike No. 2, that the whole trouble with you is that there is too much fat on the lining of our stomach, but a day will come, sooner or later, when you will be forced to recognize the call of your class and fall in line and work for the social liberation of the masses.

SPARGO, in The Voice.

VICTORIA ADVERTISERS

Union Men When at Victoria don't fail to eat at the EMPIRE RESTAURANT The best 25 cent meal in the city. G. W. Bruey, Mgr. 346 Johnston St.

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JEWISH POLISH AND RUSSIAN LITERATURE. Herschman's Stationery Store. St. Lawrence Main St. No. 405. Montreal, Que.

PERMISSION GRANTED.

Orchard is anxious to die because the other guests of the 32-26 hostelry refuse to associate with him. As he is thus cut off from all human intercourse or association he says "life is not worth living." We hope his wish will be speedily gratified and that his father-confessor, McParland, goes with him. May they pass through the "pearly gates" and do their part in the eternal pow-wow around the "Throne of Grace" by sitting on the "benches" and playing and picking harp or singing psalms forever.

Once we are assured they are safe within the gates we shall take to our eternal job of bobbing around on the red-hot waves of hell, with a light heart. Anyhow, Orchard has our permission to croak right now if he so desires. We are very sorry we cannot offer further assistance.

It is reported that the Y.M.C.A. is to go into the employment and ship-labouring business—in opposition to the Salvation Army. Well, "competition is the life of trade." Besides, owing to the industrial depression, this is about the only business worth going into at present, and together with an open shop wood-yard a bank and a farm colony, the "General" has reached a handsome dividend.

United Hatters of North America



When you are buying a FUR HAT see to it that the Genuine Union Label is sewed in it. If a retailer has loose labels in his possession and offers to put one in a hat for you do not patronize him. Loose labels in retail stores are counterfeit. The genuine Union Label is perforated on four sides, except the surface as a postage stamp. Counterfeits are some times perforated on three edges, and some times only two. John H. Stetson Co., Philadelphia, Pa. JOHN A. MOFFETT, Secretary, Orange, N. J. MARTIN LAWLER, President, 11 Waverly Place, New York.

Tyolaiset Canadassa

Jos tahotte jotain tiedaa Tyovonien puolesta Socialistista Canadassa niin tilaa valkuisia milloin.

"Tyokansa" Box 197, Port Arthur, Ont.

Se on ainoa sanomalehti Tyovonien puolesta Canadassa, joka toimii ainoana uutensa, niin on vilasista saadessa sinun oia hyva. Maksaan ainoaan \$1.50 vuosikotta.



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