# nmunist Manifesto

(Continued from last week)

are horrified at our intending to do with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due its non-existence in the hands of those tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with nding to do away with a form of property the necessary condition for whose existence is, the non-existence of any property for immense majority of society.

one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely that is just what we intend.

rom the moment when labor can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, a social power capable of being monopolized, i.e., from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes. must, therefore, confess that by "individ you mean no other person than the ois, than the middle-class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept of the way, and made impossible.

mmunism deprives no man of the power opriate the products of society: all does is to deprive him of the power gate the labor of others by means of propriation.

been objected, that upon the abolition ate property all work will cease, laziness will overtake us.

this, bourgeois society ought e gone to the dogs through those of its members who ing, and those who acquire ork. The whole of this other expression of the re can no longer be any e is no longer any cap-

against the Communand appropriating ma- the same way, been unistic modes of pro- intellectual pro- urgeois, the disap- is the disappear- he disappearance entical with the

ich he laments, a mere train-

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wanting stop the children by their parents? To plead guilty.

ll say, we destroy the most hallows, when we replace home ed- al.

ation! Is not that also so- ned by the social conditions ducate, by the intervention, of society by means of Communists have not in- on of society in educa- to alter the character nd to rescue education ruling class.

ap about the family hallowed co-relation omes all the more the action of Modies among the pro- , and their children rticles of commerce

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mere in- ars that the to be exploited n come to no e lot of being all to the wo-

that the real ith the status production. ore ridiculous our bourgeois hich, they pre- ially establish- mmunists have ity of women; ime immemorial, with having the ir proletarians at ak of common pros- pleasure in seducing

s in reality a system d thus, at the most, might possibly be re- they desire to intro- hypocritically con- community of wo- lf-evident, that the stem of production olition of the com- rom that system, public and private. further reproached countries and nation-

no country. We can- they have not got. first of all acquire rise to be the lead- st constitute itself , itself national,

though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences, and antagonisms between peoples, are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The charges against Communism made from a religious, a philosophical, and generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuitition to comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes in character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society, they do but express the fact, that within the old society, the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its last throes, the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the 18th century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death-battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience, merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.

"Undoubtedly," it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change."

"There are, besides, eternal truths, such as Freedom, Justice, etc., that are common to all states of society. But Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion, and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience."

What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, viz., the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety of displays, moves within certain common forms, or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property-relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

But let us have done with the bourgeois objections to Communism.

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy, to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of population over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labor in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc., etc.,

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

## III.

## SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST LITERATURE.

### 1. Reactionary Socialism.

#### a. Feudal Socialism.

Owing to their historical position, it became the vocation of the aristocracies of France and England to write pamphlets against modern bourgeois society. In the French revolution of July, 1830, and in the English reform agitation, these aristocracies again succumbed to the hateful upstart. Thenceforth, a serious political contest was altogether out of the question. A literary battle alone remained possible. But even in the domain of literature the old cries of the restoration period* had become impossible.

In order to arouse sympathy, the aristocracy were obliged to lose sight, apparently, of their own interests, and to formulate their indictment against the bourgeoisie in the interest of the exploited working class alone. Thus the aristocracy took their revenge by singing lampoons on their new master, and whispering in his ears sinister prophecies of coming catastrophe.

In this way arose feudal socialism; half lamentation, half lampoon; half echo of the past, half menace of the future; at times, by its bitter, witty and incisive criticism, striking the bourgeoisie to the very hearts' core, but always ludicrous in its effect, through total incapacity to comprehend the march of modern history.

The aristocracy, in order to rally the people to them waved the proletarian alms-bag in front for a banner. But the people, so often as it joined them, saw on their hindquarters the old feudal coats of arms, and deserted with loud and irreverent laughter.

One section of the French Legitimists, and "Young England," exhibited this spectacle.

In pointing out that their mode of exploitation was different to that of the bourgeoisie, the feudalists forgot that they exploited under circumstances and conditions that were quite different, and that are now antiquated. In showing that, under their rule, the modern proletariat never existed, they forgot that the modern bourgeoisie is the necessary offspring of their own form of society.

For the rest, so little do they conceal the reactionary character of their criticism, that their chief accusation against the bourgeoisie amounts to this, that under the bourgeois regime a class is being developed, which is destined to cut up root and branch the old order of society.

What they upbraid the bourgeoisie with is not so much that it creates a proletariat, as that it creates a revolutionary proletariat.

In political practice, therefore, they join in all coercive measures against the working class; and in ordinary life, despite their high falutin phrases, they stoop to pick up the golden apples dropped from the tree of industry, and to barter truth, love and honor for traffic in wool, beetroot-sugar and potato spirit.**

As the parson has ever gone hand in hand with the landlord, so has Clerical Socialism with Feudal Socialism.

Nothing is easier than to give Christian ascetism a Socialist tinge. Has not Christianity declaimed against private property, against marriage, against the State? Has it not preached in the place of these, charity, and poverty, celibacy, and mortification of the flesh, monastic life and Mother Church? Christian Socialism is but the Holy Water with which the priest consecrates the heartburnings of the aristocrat.

#### b. Petty Bourgeois Socialism.

The feudal aristocracy was not the only class that was ruined by the bourgeoisie, not the only class whose conditions of existence pined and perished in the atmosphere of modern bourgeois society. The medieval burgesses and the small peasant bourgeoisie, were the precursors of the modern bourgeoisie. In those countries which are but little developed, industrially and commercially, these two classes still vegetate side by side with the rising bourgeoisie.

In countries where modern civilization has become fully developed, a new class of petty bourgeoisie has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie, and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society. The individual members of this class, however, are being constantly hurled down into the proletariat by the action of competition, and, as modern industry develops, they even see the moment approaching when they will completely disappear as an independent section of modern society, to be replaced, in manufactures, agriculture and commerce, by overlookers, bailiffs and shopmen.

In countries like France, where the peasants constitute far more than half of the population, it was natural that writers who sided with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, should use, in their criticism of the bourgeoisie regime, the standard of the peasant and petty bourgeois, and from the standpoint of these intermediate classes should take up the cudgels for the working-class. Thus arose petty bourgeois Socialism. Sismondi was the head of this school, not only in France, but also in England.

This school of Socialism dissected with great acuteness the contradictions in the conditions of modern production. It laid bare the hypocritical apologies of economists. It proved, incontrovertibly, the disastrous effects of machinery and division of labor; the concentration of capital and land in a few hands; overproduction and crises; it pointed out the inevitable ruin of the petty bourgeois and peasant, the misery of the proletariat, the anarchy in production, the crying inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the industrial war of extermination between nations, the dissolution of old moral bonds, of the old family relations, of the old nationalities.

In its positive aims, however, this form of Socialism aspires either to restoring the old means of production and exchange, and with them the old property relations, and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange, within the frame work of the old property relations that have been, and were bound to be, exploded by those means. In either case, it is both reactionary and Utopian.

Its last words are: corporate guilds for manufacture; patriarchal relations in agriculture.

Ultimately, when stubborn historical facts had dispersed all intoxicating effects of self-deception, this form of Socialism ended in a miserable fit of blues.

#### German or "True" Socialism.

The Socialist and Communist literature of France, a literature that originated under the pressure of a bourgeoisie in power, and that was the expression of the struggle against this power, was introduced into Germany at a time when the bourgeoisie, in that country, had just begun its contest with feudal absolutism.

German philosophers, would-be philosophers, and beaux esprits, eagerly seized on this literature, only forgetting, that when these writings immigrated from France into Germany, French social conditions had not immigrated along with them. In contact with German social conditions, this French literature lost all its immediate practical significance, and assumed a purely literary aspect. Thus, to the German philosophers of the Eighteenth century, the demands of the first French Revolution were nothing more than the demands of "Practical Reason" in general, and the utterance of the will of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie signified in their eyes the laws of pure Will, of Will as it was bound to be, of true human Will generally.

The work of the German literati consisted solely in bringing the new French ideas into harmony with their ancient phisosophical conscience, or rather, in annexing the French ideas without deserting their own philosophic point of view.

This annexation took place in the same way in which a foreign language is appropriated, namely by translation.

It is well known how the monks wrote silly lives of Catholic Saints over the manuscripts on which classical works of ancient heathendom had been writen. The German literati reversed this process with the profane French literature. They wrote their philosophical nonsence beneath the French original. For instance, beneath the French criticism of the economic functions of money, they wrote "Alienation of Humanity," and beneath the French criticism of the bourgeois State they wrote, "Dethronement of the Category of the General," and so forth.

The introduction of these philosophical phrases at the back of the French historical criticisms they dubbed "Philosophy of Action," "True Socialism," "German Science of Socialism," "Philosophical Foundation of Socialism," and so on.

The French Socialist and Communist literature was thus completely emasculated. And, since it ceased in the hands of the German to express the struggle of one class with the other he felt conscious of having overcome "French one-sidedness" and of representing, not true requirements, but the requirements of Truth, not the interests of the proletariat, but the interests of Human Nature, of Man in general, who belongs to no class, has no reality, who exists only in the misty realm of philosophical phantasy.

This German Socialism, which took its schoolboy task so seriously and solemnly, and extolled its poor stock-in-trade in such mountebank fashion, meanwhile gradually lost its pedantic innocence.

The fight of the German, and, especially, of the Prussian bourgeoisie, against feudal aristocracy and absolute monarchy, in other words, the liberal movement, became more earnest.

By this, the long-wished-for opportunity was offered to "True Socialism" of confronting the political movement with the Socialist demands, of hurling the traditional anathemas against liberalism, against representative government, against bourgeois competition, bourgeois freedom of the press, bourgeois legislation, bourgeois liberty and equality, and of preaching to the masses that they had nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by this bourgeois movement. German Socialism forgot, in the nick of time, that the French criticism, whose silly echo it was, presupposed the existence of modern bourgeois society, with its corresponding economic conditions of existence, and the political constitution adapted thereto, the very things whose attainment was the object of the pending struggle in Germany.

To the absolute governments, with their following of parsons, professors, country squires and officials, it served as a welcome scarecrow against the threatening bourgeoisie.

It was a sweet finish after the bitter pills of floggings and bullets, with which these same governments, just at that time, dosed the German working-class risings.

While this "True" Socialism thus served the governments as a weapon for fighting the German bourgeoisie, it, at the same time, directly represented a reactionary interest, the interest of the German Philistines. In Germany the petty bourgeoisie class, a relic of the 16th century, and since then constantly cropping up again under various forms, is the real social basis of the existing state of things.

To preserve this class, is to preserve the existing state of things in Germany. The industrial and political supremacy of the bourgeoisie threatens it with certain destruction; on the one hand, from the concentration of capital; on the other, from the rise of a revolutionary proletariat. "True" Socialism appeared to kill these two birds with one stone. It spread like an epidemic.

The robe of speculative cobwebs, embroidered with flowers of rhetoric, steeped in the dew of sickly sentiment, this transcendental robe in which the German Socialists wrapped their sorry "eternal truths," all skin and bone, served to wonderfully increase the sale of their goods amongst such a public.

And on its part, German Socialism recognized, more and more, its own calling as the bombastic representative of the petty bourgeois Philistine.

It proclaimed the German nation to be the model nation, and the German petty Philistine to be the typical man. To every villainous meanness of this model man it gave a hidden, higher, socialistic interpretation, the exact contrary of its true character. It went to the extreme length of directly opposing the "brutally destructive" tendency of Communism, and of proclaiming its supreme and impartial contempt of all class struggles. With very few exceptions, all the so-called Socialist and Communist publications that now (1847) circulate in Germany belong to the domain of this foul and enervating literature.

*Not the English Restoration 1660 to 1689, but the French Restoration 1814 to 1830.

**This applies chiefly to Germany, where the landed aristocracy and squierarchy have large portions of their estates cultivated for their own account by stewards, and are, moreover, extensive beet-root-sugar manufacturers and distillers of potato spirits. The wealthier British aristocracy are, as yet, rather above that; but they, too, know how to make up for declining rents by lending their names to floaters of more or less shady joint-stock companies.

(To be continued).

## Ontario Provincial Executive

The Ontario Comrades have formed a Provincial Executive Committee of which Comrade P. C. Young, 82 Wroxeter Avenue, Toronto, is the Secretary. The formation of this Executive will relieve Comrade H. Martin, secretary of the Dominion Executive of much labor. We have the promise of Comrade Martin to contribute articles to Cotton's upon the scientific aspects of Socialism.

The organized provinces now are, British Columbia, Manitoba and Ontario. Alberta, Saskatchewan and Quebec should soon fall in line with a Provincial Executive.

## NEARING HIS FINISH

By R. W. NORTHEY.

Some of the comrades have been rather disheartened of late because the circulation of our able little paper has been of such slow growth. There are reasons for this—many of them—which I will not go into just now. But do you notice how the competitive system, or capitalism as we have it today, is being drawn deeper and deeper down into the mire of its own creation? It is nearing its finish, and we Socialists needn't do a thing to it. Like the swimming pig, it is cutting its own throat. Marx was a true prophet when he said that capitalism would dig its own grave. It is doing it now all over the civilized world.

Like every system that has preceded it, the free competitive system carried the seeds of its own dissolution from its very inception.

What proof have we that Capitalism is tottering to its fall? The proofs are many and world wide to any intelligent discerner who understands. First let us look at that old mother land of ours—England. The race of men are not yet extinct there. They used to be treated as cattle. They have now gained sufficient knowledge through actual personal experience to stand up straight on their hind legs and no longer grovel on all fours. Like the old war horse they scent the battle afar off, and are putting a fear in the hearts of the plutes, aristocrats and royalties that was never there before. Why? Because the experience of the past has taught them to unite to win! Without that experience this knowledge would not have been theirs. It was slow work to get them to understand, but they know now, and the upper classes are frantically calling on the government to provide more troops for their safeguarding, to pass a conscription law so that the common workingmen shall be compelled to serve in the army. Poor, deluded aristocrats. Their time to step down is at hand, but only a few of them realize it yet. The passing of a conscription act would sound the death knell of capitalism in England.

Down in Cornwall the clayworkers are on strike for living wages. The present pay averaged between 18 shillings and 21 shillings a week, and the pay day is monthly. They ask for a minimum of 25 shillings a week, a weekly pay day, and recognition of their union. The bosses, aghast with astonishment at such impudence from common, laboring Cousin Jacks, refuse all three demands. Of course, as usual, some invertebrates (scabs) stayed at work, and the strikers picketed the clay works, Picketing is legal in England, but the sycophant police, imported from Bristol and Glamorgan (Wales), so brutally clubbed the pickets that six strikers and one woman had to be taken to the hospital. Several labor members of parliament are demanding a government inquiry into the matter. Another nail in the coffin of the almost defunct robbery system.

Over in Dublin, the capital city of Ireland, where nearly every industry is at a standstill through labor strikes, the police were so brutal in their handling of the people that two of the workers, named Nolan and Byrne, were clubbed to death, and scores beaten so badly that many of them were taken to the hospital. Over 50,000 attended the funeral of the murdered men, but the police kept out of sight, and there was not the least sign of disturbance. It is safe to say that had there been no police on the scene at the time of the riot there would have been no trouble. It is also safe to say that the brutality of the Dublin police has made hundreds of Socialists in the Emerald Isle.

In Johannesburg, South Africa, a few weeks ago, over 200 strikers were killed and wounded by British troops, and the end is not yet. Thousands of workers in South Africa have now experienced the heartless and brutal working of the plute-capitalist system, and are ready to join hands with the far-seeing revolutionary Socialists for its overthrow.

In New York 250 wealthy firms of that wealthy city have petitioned the U.S. government to station extra troops at Governor's Island, about a mile out in the bay, so as to be on the spot to protect Wall street and the commercial district in the event of an expected looting by a revolutionary mob of discontented workers. The New York plutes also see the handwriting on the wall.

Coming home to British Columbia, I need not recapitulate the great mistake of the big little man who is acting as premier while "our Dick" is off on a pleasure jaunt to London. Had Bowser any particle of common sense in that nut of his he would never have ordered out the militia to foment trouble at the Vancouver Island coal mines. But, like many puppets of capitalism, he failed to rise to the occasion and strike out a new line of procedure. He just followed precedent, like they all do, and in his ignorance dealt capitalism the hardest blow it has ever had in this province. We look for a vastly increased Socialist vote at the next election.

And not only in British dominions and the U.S. are they digging the grave of old King Capitalism. In every country we see the same scenes being enacted — clubbing and shooting down the workers by the myrmidons of puppet governments at the instigation of panic-stricken owners of mines, mills, factories, and other things which the workers must use to live. Verily those whom the gods intend to destroy are first made mad. Old Moneybags Capitalism, after a short but cruelly unjust reign, is surely nearing his finish.

Well, well, a British M. P. says dear little dirty old Montreal has worse slums than anywhere in England. The "upper class" citizens of Montreal probably thought their slums were not so bad, if they gave them a thought at all, but along comes this Britisher and says Montreal has them all beaten for filth, overcrowding, poverty, disease, crime and degradation. If a young country like Canada can produce conditions in a few years which took the old country hundreds of years to produce, it goes to show that we are travelling too fast a pace with the capitalist grey hound. In the mad rush for profits Canadians do not stop to realize they are in a class all their own. It used to be our neighbors to the south who held the crown for dollar chasing, but no more, no more. We have them all stopped. We are the present champions of the money mad maniacs. We have just the cutest money trust, the foxiest railway magnates, the nerviest express companies, the smoothest politicians, the most lovely manufacturers' association, the most bountiful harvests and mergers and cold storage plants of the whole blamed fraternity of nations—and what always goes with the above—the nicest, dirtiest, lowest slum districts of the whole lot, even nicer, and dirtier and lower than those of dear ole Lunnon.

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