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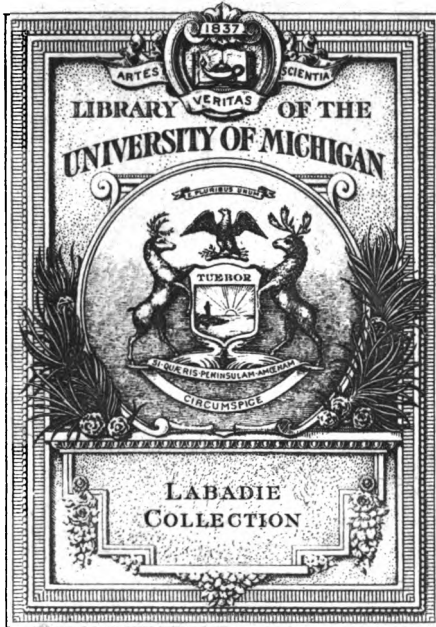
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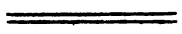
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... PAGES ...

OF

Socialist History



**TEACHINGS AND ACTS
OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY**

BY

W. TCHERKESOFF



NEW YORK, 1902

Published by C. B. COOPER, 114 Fourth Ave.

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OF
SOCIALIST HISTORY

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Teachings and Acts of Social Democracy

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This book was given to me by
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PREFATORY NOTE.

The reader should be made aware that the chapters in this book were not written altogether consecutively. Most of them appeared serially in the *London Freedom* and in *Les Temps Nouveaux*, Paris.

When it was resolved to collect them in the present volume, the author made certain additions and emendations, among these Chapter XIV, which, beginning with the words, "Scarcely five years have passed since the publication of this work," might puzzle the reader, lacking this explanation. The final chapter, the "Open Letter to Herr Liebkecht," appeared some years before the latter's death.

3-21-53

INTRODUCTION.

The enemies of the people, of their intellectual and social emancipation, are united in a supreme effort to impede, if not once for all to crush, the progress and development of the common welfare.

The Clergy with the Nobility, once almost annihilated by the populace during the great French Revolution, are again as numerous and powerful as before.

The sovereigns with their ministers, the plutocracy and the military, once so profoundly humiliated by the people during the revolutions of 1848, have once more recovered their self-confidence, their power and brutality.

What is the cause of this change? Why, at the beginning of the twentieth century, are the people more oppressed and humiliated than at the end of the eighteenth?

The answer is obviously clear and simple.

Because, during the last thirty years there has not been in existence any effective opposition to contend with this newly-arisen Despotism and Oppression.

Because, all the advanced and progressive political parties are in perpetual conflict among themselves, so that the governments, the aristocracy, and the money-mongers have forgotten the salutary lessons of the great Revolution and of the year 1848.

Because, the political and social reformers of today, instead of urging resistance and revolution, are preaching to the people the doctrine of petty reforms and submission.

Because, every individual or popular revolutionary attempt is immediately discredited and censured by these same reformers, more fiercely even than was ever done before by any moderate supporters of the existing order.

Such are the facts. And great is the responsibility attached to the disciples of these pacific reformers, among whom certainly the first place belongs to Marx and Engels, together with their followers, now so numerous thruout Europe. Their teachings and tactics, their legal—always legal—action, their violent hatred of revolutionists, have disheartened all honest and vigorous fighters.

It is time to examine the scientific, philosophical, and Socialistic doctrines of these teachers. Let us see whether their much-vaunted doctrines of non-activity, of a predestined Social Democracy founded on fatalism, have any historical and political justification.

London.

PAGES OF SOCIALIST HISTORY.

I.

TWO HISTORIC DATES.

(Apropos of the Zürich Congress, 1893.)

The Socialist world has been much surprised by the attitude of the legalist majority at the recent so-called International Congress. But no one has raised the question, which it would be interesting to have answered: Was the action of the majority simply a blunder committed by the delegates, or was it a logical result of what has been preached for some years under the name of "scientific Socialism,"—a startling confirmation of the policy of legal tactics, of paltry reforms, and of purely parliamentary combination? Luckily for us, Engels himself has given us the answer.

"It is just fifty years," said he, at the last sitting of the Congress, "since Marx and I first took up arms. It was in Paris, in 1843, in a review, entitled the "Franco-German Annals" ("Annales franco-allemandes"). Socialism at that time was represented only by small sects. . . . This year marks yet another anniversary: that of the Socialist Congress, held twenty years ago, *whereat we agreed upon the plan of campaign pursued up to the present without change and without swerving*. It was in 1873.* . . . We met together; we agreed upon a line of conduct; and you see where we are today. . . . Let us remain firmly united in our general line of conduct, and victory will be ours.†

This is very clear, is it not? It is evident that the Socialist world was surprised solely owing to its ignorance concerning the line of conduct; and that the chief of "scientific Socialism" glorifies himself precisely upon this position, foreseen fifty years ago and adhered to for thirty. Let us now see what new thing Marx and Engels introduced into the concept of Socialism, and what the character of the 1873 Congress was.

* The Congress of 1873 was of no importance whatever in the Socialist movement. But that of 1872 at The Hague, where Marx and Engels triumphed, was really of great historical importance. These gentlemen hunted Federalists from the International, and by this act killed the great Association. We shall therefore only speak of the 1872 Congress, which left its mark on history.

† *Journal des Economistes*, No. 9, p. 328, l. 893.

We know from history that in France at this time—from 1839 to 1848—a wide revolutionary movement with a very Socialistic tendency was in existence. Socialist publications flooded the country. P. Leroux, V. Considerant, Proudhon, G. Sand, Auguste Comte, Lamennais, Barbès, and Blanqui, but especially Louis Blanc, preached Socialist doctrines, of various kinds, which have been well absorbed by the working masses. Louis Blanc's was the most popular. It was on account of his scheme for the "Organization of Labor" that the people carried him in triumph as member of the provisional government, February 24, 1848. In his paper, "Revue du Progrès" ("Review of Progress"), started in 1839, Blanc began to publish his system of State Socialism, a perfectly new doctrine at his period. He said that the social problem would be solved only by a democratic State: that the people should, above all, grasp the political power, and take legislative authority into their own hands; *but that the political struggle should be subordinated to the economic and social emancipation of the people; the latter is the end, the former a simple means to it.* Once the State is captured, all privileges will be abolished, as well as all capitalistic social organization; which will be replaced by an organization of national workshops, and by free loans to autonomous associations. Organized workshops, "loans to the poor" being set on foot, the State had no further right to meddle with the autonomous life of the associations, which should organize themselves upon the Communist basis, having for its motto: *From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.* This is, in a few words, the doctrine of Louis Blanc. It is seen that the Social Democracy of today—but let Mr. Engels himself tell us what they preached at the same time as Blanc.

Just a few months before the revolution of February 24, 1848, the German Communist League published the famous "Communist Manifesto," drawn up by Marx and Engels. The practical methods recommended to the people were formulated as follows:—*

1. The expropriation of the land, and employment of rent for the expenses of the State.
2. A progressive and very heavy tax on incomes.
3. The abolition of the right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the wealth of emigrants and rebels.
5. Confiscation of credit in the hands of government by means of a State bank and *an exclusive monopoly.*
6. Centralization of the means of transport in the hands of the State.
7. Augmentation of the number of State factories and of the in-

* I quote from the text of the first edition, 1847.

struments of production; cultivation and improvement of the land according to a general plan (provision).

8. Work compulsory for all; the organization of a labor army, for agriculture especially.

With this Marx and Engels began their Socialistic and revolutionary propaganda. Let impartial persons judge by whom the wider humanitarian and social ideas were conceived, by Louis Blanc with his motto, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs," with autonomous groups, or by Marx and Engels with their "exclusive monopoly," "the cultivation of the land according to a general scheme," "the organization of a labor army, for agriculture especially?" And what has Mr. Engels to brag of? Why should humanity glorify an occasion of reaction? I can understand celebrating the anniversary of the publication of Robert Owen's manifesto in 1813, since he proclaimed Socialist ideas, humanitarian and broad in many ways. But to celebrate the date of the appearance of Mr. Engels on the political horizon, with his reactionary ideas and his too often unlucky tactics! . . . So often productive of evil, if I may be pardoned for saying so.

Let us look at the other glorious date, 1873, when a plan of action was resolved upon which ended at Zürich in declarations in support of the present system of government, based upon capitalist exploitation and a militarism unknown in times past.

I must own I am rather surprised at the choice of the last Congress of the International. The real glory of Marx lies in the establishing and drawing up of the preamble and general statutes of the great Association; that is to say, from 1864 to 1869, up to the Congress of Bâle—the moment of Marx's highest power. As far as I know, the Congress of 1873 left bitter memories with Marx, who saw plainly that it meant a death sentence against his centralized State party. As a matter of fact, from that moment the party of Marx in the International had no further existence, and up to 1881 the congresses were held only by the federalist followers of Bakunin, known as Anarchists. But if Marx was not pleased with the result of the Congress of 1873, Engels, on the contrary, was triumphant, for he had intended for a long time back to provoke a division in the International. Steeped in the reactionary ideas we have quoted above, Engels took a vow of implacable hatred against the Bakuninists, especially the members of the Socialistic International Alliance. The Federalists were supreme in the International in Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, and Italy. Engels, as a member of the General Council of the International and as correspondent for Spain, wrote on July 25, 1872, to the Federal Council in Spain a monstrous letter, in which he demanded "a list of all members of the Alliance," and concluded with these words, "failing to receive a

categorical and satisfactory answer by return of post, the General Council will feel itself compelled to denounce you publicly," etc. ("Mémoire de la fédération Jurassienne," p. 250). Mr. Engels wrote this letter without asking the opinion of the other members of the Council. When Jung and Marx heard of this ridiculous threat, the Council took no further notice of this famous letter.

I have not room to give the details of the intrigues carried on by Engels, Lafargue, Outine, and so many others against the Federalists, and especially against Bakunin and James Guillaume. Suffice it to say, that these intrigues brought about the schism in the International at the Congress of 1873, of evil memory. Little is generally known as to the method of summoning this Congress. But we know that Marx and Engels ordered Sorge, the delegate of the German section in New York, to bring as many blank credentials as possible. Sorge, in fact, brought a large number. They were distributed right and left to the partisans of Marx and Engels. But the crowning sham was that these gentlemen brought with them, as members of the Council General of the International, men who had no part whatever in any section, and even Maltman Barry, of the "Standard," well known as the intimate friend of Engels. With a majority thus composed, they banished Bakunin, Guillaume, and with them the Federations of Jura, Spain, Italy, Belgium, and England. Only the Germans and a few isolated groups from different countries remained with Marx, Engels and Barry.* All the active and revolutionary elements rallied round the Federalist followers of Bakunin, and it was they who up to 1881 continued to summon the Congress of the International.

What glorious occasions does the name of Engels call up! What wonder that the majority of "legalists," sprung from so noble an origin, made at Zürich compacts with the governments, assaulted the Independents, and proclaimed war.

* It is useful to mention that Jung had refused to be present at this Congress. "Marx and Engels urgently invited me to the Congress . . . I refused . . . the next day they called again . . . Engels said to me: 'You are the only man who can save the Association.' I answered that I could go to The Hague only on condition that Marx and he should not go." We see that even among their own adherents, their influence was considered fatal.

II.

DICTATORSHIP AND SCIENTIFIC PRETENSIONS.

To give a clearer idea of the behavior of Marx and Engels as inspirers of the General Council of the International, we must see what their attitude was during the Commune of Paris. On April 3, 1871, the General Council of the International in London wrote to Paris: "Citizens, considering the state of affairs, members of the Paris bureau are invited to address daily reports to the Central Bureau of London."

Fancy, asking men engaged in battle to write reports! And wherefore reports?

On April 9: "We await results to give you our instructions."

At least Bismarck and Emperor William, who pretended to command, were present on the field of battle! But Marx and Engels, who directed the general committee, preferred remaining in security, with their feet on the fender, and giving instructions. And such instructions!

April 4: "Do not create useless agitation in the provinces."

April 9: "Henceforth let the Republicans act, and do not compromise yourselves." Or else, "The struggle has begun in earnest. We reckon on you to sustain it."

But the culminating point of absurdity was that these men, greedy of power, even wanted to control the movements of each militant Socialist. Thus:

March 23: "Keep Gobert in Lyons, Henscot with you, and send Estein to Marseilles." March 24: "Send Cluseret to Paris." (A fine present, indeed.)

March 20: "In face of the difficulties that impede the departure of citizens Assi and Mortier for Lyons, we delegate citizen Landeck to Marseilles and Lyons with full powers."

According to the statutes of the International, the functions of the General Committee were purely administrative. The Committee was only to be a central bureau for the correspondence of the different national organizations, and was not to interfere with the internal affairs of each country. Nevertheless, under the direction of Marx and Engels, it gradually arrogated to itself other rights, such as direction of workers' organizations; and its mania for dictatorship reached its height when it sent orders like those we have just mentioned. Full powers of Marseilles and Lyons to an unknown celebrity! (And what tact! Two Germans delegating an individual with a German name to direct French Socialists, while the emperor, German princes, and Bismarck were in Versailles!)

As early as 1870, intelligent members of the International, Guillaume

and Bakunin, had already perceived the growth of this ridiculous and dangerous tendency of men to become international dictators. Their influence formed a contrary current, which gradually made headway. Protests more and more numerous and violent arose. Thence dates the hatred of the Marxist clique towards the Federalists, especially towards Guillaume and Bakunin. This clique made use of all the energy and all the authority it could seize upon; it did not stop at threats. We saw how it made use of a majority at the Hague Congress in 1872, and their pamphlet "L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste", that appeared at that time, is a unique example of calumnies and absurdities.

After the split in the International, the two parties adopted very different tactics. While the Federalists laid more and more stress upon the revolutionary, economic struggle, the partisans of a centralized State set up, in 1873, a program of legal and parliamentary action, and were drawn by political excitement and the electoral struggle more and more into the paths of moderation and compromise.* The lengths to which Social Democracy carried the spirit of conciliation between Socialist demands and the existing social order, at the Congress of Gotha, is a matter of common notoriety. And it is by no means astonishing that the old qualification of "Revolutionary Socialist" became embarrassing to all these diplomatic and legalitarian gentlemen. A new adjective was needed, better suited to their new ideas of Socialism and their distinguished position as would-be lawmakers.

The desired term was found: for the expression "revolutionary" they substituted "scientific," as distinguishing them from such ignoramuses as St. Simon, Owen, Proudhon, and Tchernyshevsky. Unfortunately, the adjective "scientific" is somewhat ambiguous, the defenders of the iniquities of capitalist organization being extremely fond of prating in the name of "science," while in Germany the men who cry "peace, peace, where there is no peace," also call themselves "scientific Socialists"—Socialists of the chair. To be distinguished from these doctrinaires was absolutely necessary; therefore a legend must be created treating the "science" of the Social Democrats as something quite peculiar, exclusively their own, and based on special discoveries made by these parliamentarians. Instead of simply saying that the colossal development of European culture obliges us to effect a radical change in the existing capitalist organization, and that science, *in its broadest*

* In 1894 at the Frankfurt Congress a delegate said: "The medicine of Socialism must be administered in small doses." An honest scientific man said lately to one of our friends: "What do you want, the Radical program is more advanced than that of Socialism!" And it is so, indeed.

sense, as developed by the researches of numberless independent thinkers, tends to condemn individualistic methods of production and consumption, they preferred to attribute to themselves a special "science" of their own. But they forget that party science—if such a thing can indeed exist—can be accepted as authoritative only by the members of that party; while the unanimous claims of all branches of human knowledge act with irresistible pressure upon all open-minded persons.

Do the doctrines of official Social Democracy really contain laws and principles unknown to science in general and to Socialists of the "ignorant" schools? According to the assertions of the "thinkers" it appears as if they did.

"The laws of capitalist production discovered by Marx," we read in Engels's Biography ("Neue Zeit," Vol. IX., No. 8), "are as stable as those of Newton and Kepler relating to the movements of the solar system."

"It is to Marx," says Mr. Engels, "that we owe two great 'discoveries': First, the revelation of the secret of capitalist production by the explanation of surplus value; second, the materialist conception of history." (Engels, "Development of Scientific Socialism.")

"In 1845, we [Marx and Engels] decided to devote ourselves to the research necessary to work out the materialistic explanation of history discovered by Marx." ("Ludwig Feuerbach"; preface by Engels.)

In a controversy with Dühring, Engels says: "If Dühring means that the whole economic system of our time . . . is the result of the class war and of oppression, . . . then he repeats truths which have become commonplaces since the appearance of the 'Communist Manifesto'" (drawn up by Marx and Engels).

Telling the story of their youthful evolution, Engels naïvely acknowledges: "The remarkable thing was that it was not we alone who discovered materialist dialectics." ("Ludwig Feuerbach.") In any case, they also rediscovered the dialectical method. . . . But the disciples of these two thinkers go much further. They declare that their masters were the first to apply the dialectical method to historical, economic, and sociological researches and studies, thanks to which they have found out the law of capitalistic concentration—a sort of economic fatalism. They it is, also, who have created the party of Social Democracy, "the most revolutionary history has known." It is necessary, we are told, to study carefully Engel's pamphlet "Ludwig Feuerbach," as "it is the completest exposition of the philosophy of these two thinkers." (Plekhanoff's preface.) Mankind must seriously consider their earliest and crudest ideas, for "these are the first steps of scientific Socialism." ("Neue Zeit," biography of Engels.)

Every time I read these exaggerated passages, it strikes me that the reputation of Marx, and of Engels himself, would by no means suffer, if these overzealous laudations were avoided. How can it be seriously maintained that sociological laws as exact as those of attraction and gravitation have been yet discovered, and that it is to Marx that we owe these "discoveries" ?

Had nobody before them suspected the existence of these laws? Nobody, Social Democrats affirm. "Germany," says Bebel, "has undertaken the part of guide in the gigantic struggle of the future. It is even destined to play the part by its development and geographical position. It is not mere chance that Germans have discovered the dynamics of the development of present society and have laid the scientific basis of Socialism. Among these Germans, the first place belongs to Marx and Engels: after them comes Lassalle as organizer of the working masses." ("Woman," conclusion.) This admirable quotation of a complete Social Democratic character, by its boastfulness, teaches us at least on what Marx and Engels based their pretensions to a universal dictatorship. Germany is the head of humanity. They themselves are two shining lights of their country, consequently they are above ignorant humanity.

III.

DIALECTIC METHOD.

But is it true that humanity ignored either dialectics or the idea of surplus value? Vico, Volney, and the Encyclopedists, Augustin, Thierry, Buckle, A. Blanqui, Quetelet, and so many others,—have not they had some idea of the influence of economic factors on the history of humanity? Did not T. Rogers write his great work, “Six Centuries of Work and Wages,” and as a summary his volume, “Economic Interpretation of History”? And if truths, investigated by independent men of the science of thinkers, who aspire neither to a dictatorship nor to papacy, really existed before the coming of Marx and Engels upon the scene, then how shall we qualify the authors of these quotations? All these Bebels, Bernsteins, Kautskys, Plekhanoffs, Engels, etc., did they write the passages quoted in simple ignorance, or under the influence of motives completely foreign to scientific research?

From the preceding quotations we know that humanity has to thank Marx and Engels for:

1. The application of dialectics to sociological research;
2. The discovery of surplus value ignored by science before them;
3. The materialistic explanation of history;
4. And to crown the edifice, the law of the concentration of capital, “The expropriation of the greater number of capitalists by the few,” (See “Capital,” p. 342).

I must begin by apologizing to the workers, especially the International Socialists, for my voluntary and non-attractive excursion into the domain of legends and so-called “scientific pretensions.” But we cannot shirk this task. When in the name of scientific Socialism we hear men preach the adoration of the all-powerful State, authority, order, discipline, subordination, and other qualities honored in barracks; when we see men ridicule the idea of emancipation, deliverance, and solidarity as a utopia, and every exponent of humanitarian and Socialist ideas is taxed with ignorance, we are compelled to examine the matter thoroly and to see where truth lies.

Science, that great science of Naturalism with its system of Evolution,

of Transformism, and monistic Materialism so repugnant to Engels,* was created and developed by the inductive method, and all great scientific minds ignored and even condemned dialectics. I defy Social Democrats to name a single man of science in our century, who has made use of dialectics in his scientific researches, unless it be by German metaphysics.

Did Lamarck, Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire, Lyell, Darwin, Hæckel, Helmholtz, Huxley, and others, elaborate the great evolutionist philosophy by means of the dialectic method? Did Quetelet and J. S. Mill, Morgan and Buckle, Maine and Tylor, H. Spencer, Guyau and Bain, generalize sociology, logic, ethics, and modern philosophy, otherwise than by induction? Whoever knows a little of the history of the development of modern science must recognize that all great minds have repudiated the dialectical method. Even the German metaphysicians are not so blindly in favor of this "art to chat without restraint." For instance, Dr. F. Ueberweg ("System of Logic") says: "Zenon, the Eleatic, was the first to find in its strict form the art of managing philosophical dialog, especially the art of indirect proof. Hence, Aristotle calls him the founder of dialectic" (p. 22, § 11). Another, the greatest authority for Marx and Engels, Hegel himself, the founder of the "universal metaphysical empire," the greatest master of dialectics, in his "Logic," speaking of the understanding, says: "In point of form, logical doctrine . . . three sides: the abstract side or that of understanding; the dialectical, or that of negative reason; the speculative, or that of positive reason. These three sides do not make three parts of logic, but are stages or moments in every logical entity (p. 143). Dialectic, as seen in its application to philosophical theories . . . becomes scepticism. Often indeed there is nothing more than a subjective seesaw of arguments pro and con, where the absence of sterling thought is disguised by subtlety" (p. 147, G. Hegel, "Logic," translation by W. Wallace, second ed., 1892).

"The sophists elaborated the dialectic art, but often misapplied it to the purposes of subjective caprice" (Ueberweg, p. 25, § 12).

"The Greeks, subtle disputers, undertook those thorny controversies in which dialectical ability takes the place of the power to reason" (Bonald). So speak the metaphysicians on their own and favored "philosophical dialog," "negative reason, scepticism, seesaw of arguments pro and con, art of sophists." Yet F. Engels teaches poor German workers that this is the true scientific method. Let us see of what opinion on this subject are the honest people of inductive science and synthetic philosophy.

* In his pamphlet, "Ludwig Feuerbach," he calls the materialism of natural sciences "vulgar" in opposition to his own.

“The dialectic method of generalization of these philosophers [metaphysicians],” says Professor W. Wundt, “on which they have based the infallibility of their doctrines, appears to us like an artificial and repulsive envelope that distracts all ideas.” As regards Hegel and his metaphysics, Mr. Wundt says: “Hegel is a true philosopher of the Restoration. He is convinced that the individual must serve . . . the State, with perfect submission to a unique will.) In an absolute form, he glorifies bureaucratic Constitutionalism. The general idea of his philosophy of history is subordinate to, and serves at the same time to uphold the philosophic tendencies of the epoch of the Restoration.”*

No more favorable to the metaphysical method is the opinion of H. T. Buckle: “Now,” says he, “the first remark to make on this is, that the metaphysical method is one by which no discovery has ever yet been made in any branch of knowledge (p. 146). . . . Investigating the nature of the human mind according to the metaphysical scheme, there are two methods of proceeding, both of which are equally obvious, and yet both of which lead to entirely different results. According to the first method, the inquirer begins by examining his sensations. According to the other method, he begins by examining his ideas (p. 147). But in metaphysics it will invariably be found, that if two men of equal ability employ different methods in the study of the mind, the conclusions which they obtain will also be different.” (“History of Civilization in England,” Vol. I., p. 140.)

Let us also remember here the immortal definition of metaphysics made by Voltaire: (“When two philosophers are discussing without understanding each other, they create metaphysics; when they no longer understand themselves, they create high-metaphysics.”) (“Quand deux philosophes discutent sans se comprendre, ils font de la métaphysique; quand ils ne se comprennent plus, ils font de la haute métaphysique.”)

Another authority, a true glory of Germany and of humanity, Goethe, was not favorable to the method so dear to Engels and his disciples. (See Eckermann’s “Conversations,” third part.) Goethe’s scientific mind evidently could not admire the famous method by which reasons for and against are proved with equal ease. He understood that there was but one method of research, the scientific—inductive—method. A hypothesis is made, it is verified by induction, and becomes a theory, when the rational cause of the relations established by induction has been demonstrated by deduction. He saw that this dialectical method is not new. Engels himself says somewhere that Descartes and Spinoza, Rousseau and Diderot, and Hegel’s contemporary, Charles Fourier,

* W. Wundt, “Relation of the Philosophy of Our Century and of Life,” lecture delivered at the University of Leipsic, 1889 (we quote from the Russian translation).

made admirable use of it. All these philosophers, especially the last, sacrificed their work for researches in the domain of social philosophy and Socialism. How is it, then, that Marx and Engels and the German workman, Dietzgen, have been obliged to discover it over again? And did it happen that the same dialectics rendered Descartes, Spinoza, and Hegel metaphysicians; Rousseau, Diderot, and Fourier utopians, and only Marx and Engels scientific? Let the deputies, philosophers, and other publicists of Socialism, explain it to us ignorants.

IV.

SURPLUS VALUE AND UTOPIANISM.

Armed with a dialectical method rejected by science, these pupils of the reactionary and metaphysical school of Hegel have discovered surplus value.

What is surplus value?

"It was," says Engels, "demonstrated to us (by Marx) that the fundamental form of capitalistic production and exploitation of the worker is the appropriation of unpaid work; that is to say, the worker receives less for his work than the master receives in selling the product." Let us see if it is true that Socialists, and political economy, before the appearance of "Capital," in 1867, were unaware that the wealth of the bourgeoisie is due to unremunerated work.

Already in the last century we find exact definitions of the share retained by the master from the worker's wage.

"The physiocrats," says H. Denis ("History of Socialist Systems"), "pointed out very clearly the share kept by the employer, the owner, and all exploiters. They called it, as did Adam Smith, the *net product*. This great founder of political economy demonstrates incomparably better than Marx that *all wealth is produced by labor*, and he has never approved, from the moral point of view, that the producer be deprived of his net product."

At the beginning of this century, S. de Sismondi, in his celebrated work, "New Principles of Political Economy," demonstrated that, if the cost of production is deducted from the exchange value of a product, there remains a surplus appropriated by the capitalist. This surplus of work, Sismondi calls *extra value*. Translated into German, it would be the Mehrwerth of Marx, that is to say the surplus value of the French text of "Capital." Sismondi's work appeared in 1819, that is to say a year before Engels's birth. Sismondi, altho a man of advanced and liberal opinions, was not a Socialist, and this definition of surplus value was made by him as a result of purely scientific researches.

But how superior was the conception of surplus value and of the true cause of the people's misery by Socialists of Sismondi's time! And especially by Robert Owen and his friend William Thompson. . . . The humbugs of scientific Socialism repeat after Engels that Robert Owen was a utopian, a sort of inspired dreamer. It is completely false. First of all, in Thomas More himself, that classical utopian and author of

"Utopia," there is nothing fantastic. One of the most remarkable men of his time, an intimate friend of Erasmus of Rotterdam, a man of positive genius, T. More was the first to indicate that in a society based on the principle of exploitation and private property, there is hardly a fifth of the population that works usefully, and that if humanity knew how to organize itself on the principle of solidarity, a six-hour working day would be more than sufficient to create well-being and abundance. Men of good faith have long since recognized that his work is the first monument of modern Socialism.

Less of dreamer, if it is possible, was Robert Owen (1771-1858), founder of the Socialism of the worker's movement of our century. He was the first to conceive that, as human knowledge is the result of impressions produced on the nerves by exterior surroundings,* and as there are no innate or preconceived ideas, man's character must also be the result of the influences of the surroundings, and especially the social conditions in which the individual is born and bred.

"Therefore," he says, "it is not the man who is responsible, but society and exterior conditions. The present social system must be changed to alleviate the sufferings of humanity." And during his long life he worked at the change of economic conditions. In his factory at New Lanark, his workmen led an existence which, even in our own times, would be considered happy. He founded the first Kindergarten, and helped Bell and Lancaster in their earliest endeavors, as he did Fulton with his steamer. He called the attention and woke the compassion of Ricardo, of Bentham, and many others, with reference to the slavery of children and women in the factories, and brought about, in 1802, the earliest labor legislation. In 1815, when workmen toiled fourteen, sixteen, and eighteen hours a day, he organized a ten-hour committee, which, aided by men of feeling like Oastler, Lord Ashley, and others, ended by succeeding, in 1847, in getting a vote for a ten-hour day. (This law is not yet voted in Germany, where scientific Socialism flourishes.)

Atheist, Communist, and Federalist, Robert Owen propagated the idea that society *itself* must organize production, consumption, and integral education. It was he who, in 1836, founded the Society of all Classes and all Nations (that forerunner of the International) in the meetings of which the word Socialism (but not "scientific") was made use of for the first time. As a means of propaganda he also organized cooperative societies and free exchange markets with labor checks. "The source of wealth is labor," he said to workers, December 5, 1833, "and

* Locke, Condillac, the Encyclopedists, Bichat, Magendie, Claude Bernard, and others.

wealth will remain in the workers' possession when they shall come to a mutual understanding for the purpose." He displayed a superhuman activity in order to create that understanding, especially in trade unions. In 1833, he demanded "eight hours work and the fixing of a minimum wage." (The same year he organized the General Union of the Productive Classes. In a few weeks the membership went up to 500,000, among whom there were rural workers and groups of women. This allowed him in 1834 to create the federation of all trades, called Grand National Trade Union. And truly great was the movement. "The extension of the trade unionist movement in 1830 and 1834, as far as we know, surpassed even the movement of 1871-75."*)

This organizer, this man incomparable in modesty, in devotion to the emancipation of the disinherited, this positive mind, they try to pass off as a dreamer!—and who has acted thus? Men who call themselves Socialists, who repeat a few formulæ, a few isolated demands, insignificant fragments of his broad Socialist conceptions, of his noble career as an agitator.

Another "utopian" known to Marx, an "Owenist," W. Thompson, in his work, "Social Science, Inquiry, etc.," (1824) developed surplus value in a striking manner. After having proved that "wealth is created by the worker's labor" (pp. 3-4), he asks, why not give him the whole produce of his labor, without any of these deductions?" (p. 32). Because, he answers, under the form of "rent," profit, etc., his "surplus is taken from him." Then he puts the question: "Is the abstraction voluntary, or is it forced." "Brute force," he answers, "has always been used to extort, by means of terror, a reluctant produce from the arms of wretchedness." All history proclaims this truth, and it might be illustrated from thousands of pages. The same reason that would justify the taking away of a portion of the produce of labor without the laborer's consent, would justify the taking of any other portion (pp. 34-35). "Without force can be no monopoly" (p. 106). As long as a class of mere capitalists exists, society must remain in a diseased state" (p. 449). In his work, "Labor Rewarded" (1826), Thompson enumerates different proposed reforms, and says they are all palliatives, including the assurance of a pension for workers; even trade unionism, according to him, is not a solution of the social problem. As a friend and disciple of Owen, he preaches autonomous Communism. One can see his fundamental idea from his advocacy of "free labor, entire use of its products [for the producers] and voluntary exchange" (p. 253).

It was not very difficult to discover surplus value in 1845, when it

* S. Webb, "History of Trades Unionism," 1894, p. 314.

had been so clearly demonstrated by Thompson in 1824, especially when Thompson's work was known and quoted by Marx in "Capital." In that fashion, indeed, I will undertake to discover the law of gravitation or the periodic law of chemistry, or the mechanical equivalent of heat. And then, always imitating Marx and Engels, I shall claim my right to universal dictatorship. As long as Charcot or Maudsley do not invite me to exercise my dictatorship in Charenton or Bethlehem!

To conclude, I must quote Proudhon's opinion, who is treated by Marx and his very scientific disciples as an ignorant sophist. So much the worse for Marx, if this "ignoramus" himself formulated in 1845, with his habitual frankness, "the excess" or surplus value of production. In his "Economic Contradictions" we read: "In economic science, we repeat, according to Adam Smith, the point of view from which all values are compared—is labor (p. 86). In the sense of political economy, the principle that all work leaves a surplus is no other than the consecration of the constitutional right to rob our neighbor, which we all have acquired by the Revolution" (page 91).

Proudhon is right when he says that, in reality, it is the right to rob our neighbor; for better value, for extra value, labor excess, surplus, Mehrwerth, signify the same thing: the part of the value of the product of work appropriated by the bourgeoisie. Whatever name is given to that part of value which is the source of capitalistic accumulation, its seizure is always in reality a theft. All the wisdom, all pretended laws of capitalism, are summed up as follows:

1. To buy the strength and skill of the workers below their value;
2. To buy produce at the lowest possible price from the producer;
3. To resell the same produce to the same producer at the highest possible price.

For a long time, the people have understood the nature of Commerce and Capitalism; for, in the days of antiquity, the wise men of Greece chose Mercury, the god of thieves, as patron of Commerce.

These two chapters are perhaps long and tiresome to read, but, I repeat, it is obligatory for us Anarchists, to make clear to ourselves the so-called science of those who aspire to universal dictatorship. We know now, what to think of the discovery of surplus value. As to dialectics, so admirably cultivated by sophists in the days of Socrates (see "Georgias" by Plato), we willingly recognize that Marx and Engels made use of them in all their metaphysical speculation.

And it is just because they made this use of it that their researches have ended, as we are about to demonstrate, in formidable errors.

V.

THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL.

I must beg my readers to pardon the following figures and my dry method of treatment. There is a deep seated error in some of our Socialist arguments, and, I think, it may be well worth while to spend a few minutes in looking into the matter.

Every historical epoch, every political party, has been stained by some erroneous, and often mischievous, idea, which was, nevertheless, at that time, admitted by all the world as undoubted fact, and accepted by men of capacity and talent, as well as by the commonplace persons who merely swallow the opinions of their neighbors. And when it has happened that a false appreciation has been set forth and formulated in "scientific" or "philosophic" style, its injurious domination has extended over generations.

Now we, Socialists, without distinction of party or school, all share in just such an error. I speak of the law of the concentration of capital, formulated by Marx, and repeated by Socialist writers or speakers the world over. Go into a Socialist meeting, take up the first Socialist publication you see, and you will hear or read that capital, according to the scientific law of its being, tends to concentrate in the hands of a smaller and smaller number of capitalists, that large fortunes are created at the expense of smaller fortunes, and that great capitals are increased by the extinction of little ones. This widespread formula lies at the root of the parliamentary tactics of State Socialists. From this point of view, the solution of the Social question, conceived by the great founders of modern Socialism as a complete regeneration of the individual, as well as of society, both economically and morally—becomes delightfully simple and easy. No need for an economic struggle day by day between exploiter and exploited; no need to begin here and now endeavoring to practice brotherly relations between man and man; nothing of the sort. It is enough that the workers should vote for members of parliament who call themselves Socialists, that the number of these M. P.'s should increase to the extent of a majority in the House, that they should decree State Collectivism or Communism, and all exploiters will peaceably submit to the decision of parliament. The capitalists will have no choice but unresisting submission, for, according to the law of the concentration of capital, their numbers will be reduced to an infinitesimal proportion of the nation.

What a fine and easy prospect! Just think: without effort or suffering on our part, the inevitable law of the concentration of capital is preparing for us a future of bliss. It is so attractive to face the frightful difficulties of a complicated problem thru rose-tinted spectacles, especially when we

are soothed by the genuine conviction that modern science and philosophy have taught us the consoling truth. And this so-called "law," as set forth by Marx, is coated with all the appearance of philosophy and science.

"The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces capitalist private property. This is the first negation of individual private property, as founded on the labor of the proprietor. But capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of nature, its own negation. It is the negation of negation. . . . This expropriation [of many capitalists by few] is accomplished by the action of the imminent laws of capitalist production itself, by the centralization of capital. . . . Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation." ("Capital," Vol. II., pp. 788-9, English ed.)

Yes, poverty grows, but not among the middle classes, not among the small capitalists; rather among the workers, the producers.

It is thirty-five years since the publication of "Capital"; full fifty years have gone by since Marx formulated that law which must act "as the metamorphoses in nature." It is, therefore, highly probable that the law should be exemplified by at least some few economic phenomena. During this period production and exchange have received an unheard of impetus, private fortunes amounting to millions have been accumulated, colossal companies have developed their resources; according to the law the number of small capitalists ought to have diminished; at least *no increase ought to have taken place in their numbers*. Let us see what English statistics have to say in this matter. I limit myself to England, because this country is famed, above all things, as a land of capitalist production; because Marx himself based all his dialectical speculations on the analysis of English economic life. The figures I quote are well known.

The national wealth of this country has increased since the beginning of the century as follows:—

ESTIMATED IN MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING.

	1812	1840	1860	1888
Houses	255	280	350	414
Railways	—	21	348	865
Shipping.....	15	23	44	134
Merchandise	50	70	190	344
Furniture.....	130	370	580	1,212
	450	764	1,162	2,969

These figures very clearly indicate the true source whence great fortunes spring. Taking the sum total of wealth, without counting the value of houses, we see that the modest sum of £195,000,000 in 1812 is transformed in 1888 into £2,555,000,000; or, in other words, the national wealth in our days is 13.1 greater than in those of our grandfathers, and is possessed by 158,600 rich families, and 730,500 middle-class families, out of the 37,888,153 inhabitants of the United Kingdom. A like progress in the increase of wealth is to be observed in all civilized countries.

In France, according to the tables of Fournier de Flux and Yves Guyot, the estimated figures are:—

ESTIMATED IN MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING.

	1826	1840	1873	1888
Houses	510	720	1,158	1,704
Railways.....	—	10	270	532
Shipping.....	7	7	12	15
Merchandise	19	23	120	155
Furniture.....	255	360	675	852

For the better understanding of the method of distribution, we will consult the statistics of probate, legacy, and succession duties, according to the English official returns in the years 1886-89. It appears that there were at that time:—

Class.	No. of Households.	Average per Death.	Aggregate in Millions of Pounds Sterling.
Millionaires	700	£855,000	599
Very rich	9,650	£190,000	1,834
Rich.....	148,250	£26,500	3,928
Middle.....	730,500	£3,200	2,336
Struggling	2,008,000	£340	680
Poor.....	3,916,000	—	—

This is a summary of distribution in our own days. Let us see how the figures vary since 1845-50, when Marx's law was formulated.

In 1841—50	average per death.....	£99.
“ 1861—70	“ “ “	£160.
“ 1871—80	“ “ “	£210.
“ 1881—85	“ “ “	£235.

Counting the average of increase at £5 a year, it appears that in the present year each subject of her majesty might dispose of about £280, or

each working family of £1,540, And people would try to persuade us that the England of today would not be capable of realizing comfort for all its children! But to return to our figures; according to the same official returns, there were in

1840 fortunes over £5,000.....	1,989
1877 " " "	4,478
1840 " of from £100 to £5,000....	17,936
1877 " " " " "	36,438

From 1876, the increase of probate, legacy, and succession duties, and that of the income tax took place as follows:—

In the years	Probate, etc.	Income tax.
1876—77	£5,860,781	£ 5,280,000
1880—81	6,657,393	10,650,000
1884—85	7,720,195	12,000,000
1888—89	6,557,886	12,700,000
1890—91	7,443,290	13,250,000
1892—93	9,637,872	13,925,000

It must not be forgotten that estates under £100 escape the probate court. As wealth increases, there is nothing strange in the fact that the revenue of the State increases also. But what changes may be observed in the numbers of those from whom the duties and taxes are levied? Who are the spoilt children of our modern culture? It seems the middle classes as a whole.

In 1840 there were only 5.4 per cent of the whole population who annually paid £20 and more as income tax. In 1880 the proportion had risen to 14.5 per cent. Since 1850 the increase in the number of taxpayers earning more than £200 per annum only was:—

In the year	Total No. assessed.	No. per 10,000 inhabitants
1850	65,389	23
1860	85,530	30
1870	130,375	42
1880	210,430	63
1886	250,000	70

It will be seen that in thirty-six years the number of taxpayers with a yearly income above £200 has tripled. It remains to be seen if this increase has not been brought about for the benefit of the rich by the poverty of the petty capitalists. To avoid any pretext for objections, I will confine

myself exclusively to the results of commerce and banking, as summed up by Schedule D of the income tax. Let us compare the figures for two different years, twenty years apart, so that the influence of the so-called law may be able to show itself. Let us take the numbers of taxpayers in 1868-69 and in 1889. One item only, that of 92,593, is not for 1869, but for 1875-76. Here are the tables:—

Income in £	Number of Taxpayers.		Increase per cent.
	1868-69	1889	
From £150—200...	92,593	162,714	77.7
300...	57,650	106,761	
400...	24,854	45,133	
500...	12,421	18,462	
	187,518	333,070	145,552
600...	9,528	11,964	30.0
700...	5,485	7,423	
800...	3,410	4,671	
900...	3,059	3,961	
	21,482	28,019	6,537
1,000...	1,222	1,831	33.6
2,000...	8,959	11,850	
3,000...	2,666	3,562	
4,000...	1,320	1,692	
	14,167	18,935	4,768
5,000—10,000...	1,360	1,859	35.0
10,000—50,000...	740	969	
50,000 and over...	52	79	
	2,152	2,907	755

The results of this table do not seem somehow to accord with our so-called law. Just the opposite.

The numbers neither of potentates of capital nor of smaller capitalists are diminished. The number of the latter increases far more rapidly than that of the potentates. (While the increase in the numbers of the rich is 30 per cent, that in the lower ranks of the middle class is 77 per cent. While the preachers of inaction were soothing the people with the idea that the number of exploiters was gradually diminishing, those numbers have in reality tripled between 1840 and our own times. Where, then, has the action of this metaphysical German law of the exploitation of the greater

number of capitalists by the smaller managed to hide itself? How does it happen that a law, acting with the absolute certainty of the metamorphoses of nature, shows itself in real life by results of exactly the opposite sort? Simply because no such law exists. We have been saddled with this absurdity by German metaphysics, the injurious influence of which, especially among Russians, has been as great in morals and in art as in Socialism, whither it was imported by Marx and Engels.

For forty years a more than Mahometan neo-fatalism has been taught to the workers of the civilized world! Not only by ambitious pretenders like Guesde and the new German aristocrats known as "Socialist" deputies, but by valuable and courageous men; men of genius like W. Morris, and of ability and education like H. M. Hyndman.

It is difficult to estimate the evil which this imaginary law has worked in modern Socialism. Thanks to it, Marx and Engels, in the "Communist Manifesto," laid down the dictum that the emancipation of the working classes must be brought about by a class war, this war being a political struggle. It underlies all Social Democratic tactics. Thanks to it, we are hampered by such absolute nonsense as that the social question is merely a matter of political reform. Finally, it gave the aforesaid new German aristocracy the effrontery to present the following to the International Labor Congress at Zürich as a *Socialist* resolution:—

"The struggle against class domination and exploitation must be a political one, having the conquest of political power for its end."

This is totally false. The power of the ruling class is based on the wealth produced by the people, which is appropriated by the said classes. Consequently, to free themselves from this domination, the people must refuse to yield up the fruit of their toil to their masters. It is not by a political, but by an economic struggle; not ballot-boxes, but by strikes; not by a decision of parliament, but by a well organized and triumphant general strike that the people can inaugurate a new era; the era of economic and social equality, of solidarity, enlightened, not by metaphysics, but by thoro and truly scientific instruction.

We have seen that, despite the imaginary law of Marxist metaphysicians, the number of exploiters increases. Consequently, the number of upholders of the existing order, with its advantages of misery and ignorance, instead of decreasing in proportion to the "constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital," is growing. It was, in fact, tripled between 1850 and 1889, while the population was growing at the rate of less than 40 per cent. This result has been obtained from the official figures of Blue Books; but if we consult the works of well known specialists, like Mulhall or Giffen, who take a somewhat longer period of time, our results will be still more striking. Let us dwell awhile upon the standard works

of these authors, for their figures are taken from the very date when Engels and Marx began preaching economic fatalism, social reform by an all powerful State, and political legalism in economic affairs.*

From Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics" and "Fifty Years of National Progress," and R. Giffen's "Essays on Finance," it appears:—

First, that the number of property owners dying was, in

Year	Number of Probates.	Amount of Property.	Amount per Estate.
1833	25,368	£54,887,255	£2,160
1882	55,359	£140,860,854	£2,500
Increase	29,991	£85,473,599	£340

"We have the fact that these classes (capitalist) are themselves increasing. They may be only a minority of the nation, tho I think a considerable minority, as 55,000 estates passing in a year represent from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 persons as possessing property *subject to probate duty*." (Giffen, p. 396.)

Second, income tax was paid—

Year	From £150 to £500.	From £1,000 and over.
1843	By 87,946 men.	By 7,923 men.
1889	" 333,970 "	" 21,842 "
Increase	270 per cent.	Only 228 per cent.

(Id.)

Third, since 1840, the growth of the possessing classes has, according to Mulhall ("Fifty Years of National Progress," p. 24), been four times as quick as that of the population as a whole. It is admitted that in 1840, 97,675 men died owning less than £100, while in 1877 this number had already fallen to 92,447, and yet the population had increased more than 26 per cent (Id.).

* The Marxists pretend that their master first gave a materialistic explanation of history. We shall afterwards see how the ideas of Vico, of Locke, of St. Simon, of Quetelet, of Buckle, and of T. Rogers were attributed to Marx. Here I wish merely to point out the tremendous contradiction involved in saying that economic struggle and development are the dominant factors in human life, and therefore that the workers, to obtain their economic and social emancipation, must above all else, devote themselves to political and legal contests.

Fourth, reckoning the number of shops and stores—

Year	Numbers.	Rent.
1875	295,000	£14,300,000
1886	366,000	£18,900,000
Increase in } 11 years. }	71,000	£4,600,000

(Mulhall's "Dictionary.")

It appears that Whitely, Maple, Shoolbred, the Army and Navy, and Civil Service Stores, etc., have in no wise diminished the numbers of parasitic shopkeepers, those petty capitalists whom John S. Mill described so repulsively, and over whose fate Guesde and other Marxist orators so often weep; for, according to the fancied law, they are being devoured by the big shops.

Fifth, in the typically capitalistic operations of banking the like increase in the number of property owners is to be observed.

"There are (1886) 140 joint stock banks in the United Kingdom, with an aggregate paid-up capital and reserve of £100,000,000, held by 90,000 shareholders. . . . This does not include 47 colonial banks." (Mulhall's "Fifty Years of National Progress," p. 66.)

No matter from which side we approach the question, the number of exploiters always and everywhere augments. It is something more than simple to continue repeating the absurd statement that the number of owners of capital being reduced by an inevitable law to an infinitesimal minority, the middle classes will gently submit to expropriation voted by parliament. If, in 1848, they reddened the streets of Paris in their struggle against the Socialistic demands of the victorious people, we may be sure beforehand of their conduct in future, for their numbers have tripled. The Bloody Week of 1871 is not too favorable an augury for optimists and parliamentarians.

VI.

THE CAPITALISTS ASSOCIATE AND DO NOT DEVOUR EACH OTHER.

“In showing by figures that since 1845 the number of capitalists has tripled, you are giving an argument to the defender of Capitalism, to the entire bourgeoisie, who are trying to prove that the capitalist mode of production has the effect of augmenting the general well-being and of diminishing the misery among the workers.” This is the objection which is made to me sometimes by men very sincerely devoted to the social revolution.

They may reassure themselves; the same statistics pronounce the condemnation of Capitalism much more surely, much more severely, than the pretended law of concentration. I know well that the defenders of the iniquities of the capitalist system try to prove that our accusations against the State and exploitation are destitute of the least foundation or the least reason. An economist and statistician of renown, R. Giffen, has already used against us this growth in the number of exploiters. “Fifty-five thousand properties inherited per year,” he says, “represent one and a half to two millions of individuals who possess a property subject to income tax (*i. e.* of value greater than £100.)” Giffen believed that by his proof of the increase in the rich, he was showing diminution in the number of the poor. He forgot only the increase in the figure of the population.

Indeed, if we admit that since 1845 up till now the number of the rich in England has not only doubled, as R. Giffen tells us, but has quadrupled, bringing their number to four millions, the number of the disinherited presents itself before us much greater than in the times of our fathers.

In England we find:

	1841—45	1894
Population	26,500,000	38,700,000
Possessors..... less than	1,000,000	4,000,000*
Poor	25,500,000	34,700,000

* According to Giffen two millions only.

By these figures we see that neither the supposed law of concentration, “expropriation of the larger number of capitalists by the few,” nor the

affirmation of the defenders of the bourgeoisie is confirmed. Contrary to the fatalist law of Marx, the number of capitalists (especially of small capitalists) has tripled itself; contrary to the affirmation of the bourgeois scientists, misery has increased.

It is very interesting to notice how class prejudices with Giffen, and those of metaphysics and dialectics with Marx, have led the two scientists to conclusions completely opposed to each other and equally erroneous. If Robert Owen, Oastler, Dickens, Kingsley, and so many others have had good reason for pleading the cause of the poor and for condemning the social and political order of the England of their time, how much more William Morris, Tom Mann, John Turner, and others have had it in advocating a struggle for the destruction of that enslaving organization which triples the number of the parasites and oppressors, and which maintains in servitude a population of which the number has been increased by nearly ten millions!

To free itself, the people have no need for other arguments than the misery and the cries of those 34,700,000 disinherited. They must understand only that no dialectical fantasies, no increase in the number of the rich, no paltry reforms of the parliamentarians, will bring them anything but an aggravation of suffering and humiliation. Revolution only, not reforms,* can put an end to the increase in the number of their exploiters, an end to their suffering as slaves of the State and of capital.

“But,” it will be said, “you cannot deny that capitals, as much social as private, agglomerate.” Yes, they agglomerate, and even concentrate, if you like. Only, this concentration has nothing in common with the “expropriation of the large number of capitalists by the small,” of which Marx made a law. Instead of an expropriation, it is a flowing together, an association of capitalists, with a view to procuring the greatest possible profit for those participating in the company, in the enterprise. If a financial company is not a Panama—and we know hundreds of companies which take care of the interests of their shareholders—the participants, instead of being expropriated, are enriched. Take no matter what financial or industrial company, it is organized to prosper the fortunes of its shareholders.

M. H. points out to me that in that case it may happen that “the men who were formerly employers may become simply stockholders.” Well, what then? Are stockholders people who have been expropriated? Or,

* The scientific reformers of the school of Engels boast about the benefits of a progressive income tax. In reality this tax is nothing else than a division of spoil between the thieves and the State, their defender. “Give me a share of what you steal from the people, and I will guarantee you, with the help of the army and the administration, the product of your theft,” says the State.

is not rather the position of stockholder the ideal form of capitalist possession? A stockholder is a privileged person, a typical representative of social parasitism. A noble lived upon his lands, cultivated by his peasants; an industrial employer lives upon the labor of his workmen; a stockholder lives upon the activity of the nation, and often of many nations. Are we to reckon "simple stockholders" among the expropriated? A proprietor, tired with the cares of administration, sells his property, and with the sum realized buys the shares of a shipping company, of a railway company, etc., or invests in State bonds, which guarantee him a revenue of four per cent. Are we to place him among the disinherited or among the privileged parasites? Precisely the number of these stockholders and parasites is increasing in our time. In order that the true character of affluence of concentration of capital in modern industry and commerce may be understood, I give here the analysis of some enterprises based upon that principle.

First. In commerce. There exists in London a firm in the fur trade. It is a commission firm, which has done business with every country in the world. It sells the skins and the furs of the polar regions, as well as those of Africa, Asia, and Central Australia. It counts its creditors and its agents by hundreds, and the number of the furs sold each year is valued in millions (7,800,000 francs in 1895). Its quarterly public sales (January, March, June, and October) attract buyers from every country in Europe. A remarkable fact is that the buyers of the highest quality are in the Russian fur trade, who come to London from the country par excellence of fur hunting and manufacture, to make the most important purchases.

As you see, the firm is a typical company; commerce has been concentrated to the highest degree. Well, has it caused the ruin of many firms in the fur trade? No, their number has increased since this firm was founded. Has it ruined the manufacturers of furs or the collectors of them? No, it is upon their prosperity, upon their increasing number, that the prosperity of this very firm itself rests. It does all that is possible to diminish the cost of transport, of preservation, of storage, and of sale. Its customers know this well, so their number is always increasing. The firm prospers, its customers become rich *at the expense of the producers*. In this special case, at the expense of hunters and fishers. We need not believe that these are paid less than before; their remuneration has risen, and the prices of furs have fallen, yet the firm realizes large profits.

Where does this profit come from? The explanation is very simple. The commission on each article has been diminished, but the number of articles, coming from every quarter of the world, is some hundreds of times greater. If forty or fifty years ago the firm selling 100,000 francs worth of furs per annum, with a commission of ten per cent, realized 10,000 francs, nowadays with a commission of one per cent merely, the firm will receive

78,000 francs per annum. In diminishing as much as possible the profit on each article, on each consumer, on each producer, but in handling as many articles as possible, in attracting the greatest number of consumers, in exploiting instead of ten or a hundred producers, one thousand or ten thousand of them—there you have the true source of the fabulous fortunes of these times.

In industry, in finance, in the public services, everywhere, we see the effect of this method.

Second. The public services. Fifty years ago the postal service, in England, as everywhere else, was used only by the rich; the service was dear, the revenue of the State insignificant. But once the post was made cheap, the people also began to take advantage of it, and the annual revenues of the State have increased, so that in 1896 the English postoffice had 355,000,000 of francs gross revenue, 105,000,000 of net profit. Each customer is much less exploited, but the number of customers is so infinitely greater; in 1837 the post delivered 109,000,000 letters, and in 1896, 3,000,000,000 letters.

It is especially in the revenues of the railway companies that we can see the action of this tendency to the exploitation of the great masses.

In 1837 there were 2,000 miles of railway, which carried 20,000,000 travelers; in 1896, there were 21,000 miles, and 930,000,000 travelers carried. To obtain a profit of 93,000,000 francs in 1837, it was necessary that each traveler should pay 4.45 francs more than the cost of exploitation. With an over-payment of 20 centimes (2 pence, or 4 cents) only—that is to say, twenty times less than in 1837—a sum of double the amount is obtained, 186,000,000 francs. If the railways were able to create 93 millionaires yearly, now they increase the annual number to 186. In reality, the difference between the profits of these two years (1837 and 1896) is much greater, the number of capitalists who live as annuitants possessing railway bonds, is also considerably greater, altho the wages of the employes have been increased and the cost of traveling diminished. Thanks to the progress accomplished by modern technics, the same phenomenon is observed in navigation. Above all the inventions in typography, which have given fabulous development to the daily press and to the book trade, give us evidence that the concentration, “the expropriation of the greater number of capitalists by the few,” has not taken place in real life. Everybody knows that the number of booksellers is increasing, that the great newspapers are enriching their proprietors, but very few people understand the true reason of these things. The journals existing were in

	England.	United States.	France.	Germany.	Entire World.
1840	439	1,210	776	305	4,016
1891	1,840	15,392	4,100	5,500	38,036

These 38,036 journals had an incredible issue:

England	issued monthly	150 millions.
United States	“ “	230 “
France	“ “	120 “
Germany	“ “	140 “

The proprietors are almost ten times more numerous, the writers receive higher remuneration, the composers and all employes receive better wages, the price of the journals has diminished, and yet we know many journals which bring more profit than gold mines. A clever publisher, a fashionable writer, an artist, a popular musician, thanks to the number of copies of a cheap edition, become rich. For instance, already in 1893, an English paper, the “Daily News,” said that the young composer Mascagni was already twice a millionaire. Sixty years ago the great Beethoven was dying of hunger in a garret. Now there are millions of people who play the melodies of “Cavalleria Rusticana,” while since the appearance of the sonatas and symphonies of the great musical genius, some few thousands of connoisseurs have bought—and at the end of how many years!—the divine pages.

The young and “sympathetic” Mascagni, Zola, Hugo, the publishers of the journals, the postoffice, the universal commercial firm, none of them needed to kill many capitalists to enrich themselves. Outside the sharks of the budget and the stock exchange, outside the patented robbers, the bourgeoisie, in general, enrich themselves in associating, helping each other so as to exploit enlightened humanity better; the modern annual production is fourteen times greater than in 1811. Consequently, to believe that capitalism will destroy its own defenders without the producers needing to put an end to the juggling with all modern progress for the benefit of the exploiters, constitutes not only an error and a stupidity, but the crime of high treason towards humanity and modern culture.

What takes place in commerce and in the public services, in the book trade and in the daily press, takes place also in finance and in industry. If capitals are associated in some undertaking, it is not to deprive the capitalists associated of their capital, nor is it in order that “one capitalist should kill off many others.” On the contrary, they unite in order to exploit the producers better, in order to realize a larger share of profit for each participant. We have seen also that the number of the proprietors, of parasitical annuitants has increased, and even tripled, in the last fifty years.

As regards finance and banking, I will confine myself to citing the statistics for the United States. My reason for this is that, as everybody knows, with the Americans banking and financial enterprises start up and disappear like mushrooms: besides, private fortunes, difficult to calculate,

are created there more rapidly than in Europe. If the so-called "inevitable" law of the "greater number of capitalists by the few" were to show its effects, the United States would present the most favorable conditions. Yet the number of banks and the amount of their capitals are growing without cessation.

Here are the figures; they are eloquent:

Years	Number of Banks.	Capitals in Pounds Sterling.	Deposits in Pounds Sterling.
1801	33	7,000,000	
1830	330	30,200,000	11,600,000
1860	1,526	87,000,000	52,800,000
1876	6,611	149,000,000	132,000,000
1889	6,721	180,000,000	759,000,000

The metaphysicians will tell you that this increase is due to European immigration. Certainly the immigration was enormous, but the greater part of the immigrants were poor devils of workers. This immense accumulation of capital is due, as in all the branches of contemporary social activity, to the progress of the inductive sciences, to their discoveries and marvelous inventions, in no way to Capitalism. (The latter confines itself to seizing upon them, just as they are seized upon also by Militarism, by Clericalism, and by all the privileged who group themselves round the State) supreme instrument for the oppression and exploitation of the people.

It is not correct, as stated by M. H., that these banks concentrate "the smallest savings." The economies of the poor people are accumulated in the "savings banks." Their number and their capitals increase as rapidly as those of the financial banks.

In the savings banks of all the European States the increase, in round figures, was:—

Years	Capitals in Pounds Sterling.	Number of Depositors.
1850	52,700,000	2,748,000
1870	127,100,000	10,428,000
1889	648,800,000	19,875,000

But is it necessary that I should continue to tax the patience of my readers by figures and statistics? Every workman, every peasant, every man of common sense knows well the solidarity of the exploiters as a class, that they help each other so they may the better plunder the people, and

that the number of social parasites, instead of diminishing, increases. Only the sophists of the school of Engels, blinded by dialectics, that envelope artificial and repulsive which "denatures every idea," those profoundly learned representatives of "scientific Socialism," in a word, the parliamentary soothsayers, are going to keep on preaching that the number of capitalists is always diminishing, and that one fine day the great men, Liebknecht, Marx-Aveling, Guesde, Chauvin, and so many other scientific celebrities are going to decree the collectivist expropriation. Then, of course, the Williams, the Victorias, the popes and kings, will submit without any opposition, because the middle class, the nobility, the clergy, will have disappeared in accordance with the law of concentration; and the crowned heads will have remaining to defend them only a miserable handful of the "potentates of capital." Well, let the scientific Socialists remain faithful to their prejudices, dialectical and metaphysical. It is not to convince them that I write these pages. Their belief *is as scientific* as the conviction of the learned ulemas and the Turkish old women as to the morality of European women.

In order to finish with this fatalist and fundamental law of the Social Democratic creed, let us look if this concentration does not show itself in the principal industry of humanity—in agriculture. To believe Engels and his school, not only concentration, "the expropriation of the greater number by the few," should take place in the possession of the soil, but Socialism, without the peasants losing their land, could not develop itself in any country. In order to prove this metaphysical discovery, have the savants of this school or their master made any researches? What good are researches? We possess the method of dialectics. We can solve every question, without any research, by means of the "philosophical dialog" so much used by the sophists. According to this miraculous dialog, it is necessary in order that Socialism should develop, that the majority of the Russian peasants, for instance, should lose their lands, and become beggars, forced to enter the factories of the capitalists. Otherwise than by exclusion of the peasants from the land, Socialism can never be developed.

So the disciples of Engels, above all in Russia, preach in full solidarity with the capitalists and Russian reactionaries, like the famous Katkoff, that the government, in the name of progress, should aid the exploiters to ruin the people. To have arrived at preaching such abominations, a man must have—no! a man must have lost all human sentiment; he must have become a doctrinaire dialectician.

Upon what is Engels basing himself to arrive at this monstrosity? Upon the modern history of England, we are assured. But in England the landlords have stolen the land from the people by violence and by fraud, legalized afterwards. Nevertheless, in the last quarter century, without

counting three or four odd thousands of English farmers in Australia, in New Zealand, in South Africa, and in Canada (all English countries), in England itself, the number of small proprietors increases. Yes, it increases in spite of the agricultural crisis which the country is going thru. It is not the place here to discuss whence comes that agricultural crisis and the growth in the number of possessors. Let us note only the fact which reveals itself as follows:—

Surface of Possessions.	Number of Possessors		Increase.
	In 1885.	In 1889.	
From $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 acre.....	23,512	28,652	
“ 1 “ 5 acres.....	135,736	144,185	
“ 5 “ 20 “.....	148,806	151,372	
“ 20 “ 50 “.....	84,149	85,213	
Total.....	392,203	409,422	17,219

(“Statesman’s Year Book,” 1895, pp. 69—71.)

(These figures are cited solely to demonstrate that the number of possessors does not diminish.)

It is to be noted that the half (8449) of the growth concerns possessions of the type of small farms (1 to 5 acres), so that England gives still a solemn contradiction to the “scientific” base. And France? The French figures are not more favorable to the apostles of the expropriation of the peasants. In that country there were:—

In 1826.....	1,300,000	proprietors	of land.
In 1835.....	1,400,000	“	“ “
In 1851.....	1,500,000	“	“ “
In 1861.....	1,700,000	“	“ “
In 1871.....	1,700,000	“	“ “
In 1885.....	1,825,000	“	“ “

The figures are not very exact. However, they indicate the growth of the number of proprietors.

Not only is the number of capitalists not diminished, but Capitalism draws to itself millions of support by corruption, by State distinctions, and by that element most powerful of all, the inventions of modern science. In seizing, for itself only, human progress, it becomes every day more powerful. To put an end to that growing power, to put to *the service of all the progress created by all*, the people must understand that it is not a fatalist law, imagined thru dialectics, which is going to deliver them from slavery, but they themselves by a struggle differently efficacious to the voting-paper dropped into a box once in four years.

VII.

THE STATE AND SOCIAL ECONOMY.

If the fatalist law had turned many Socialists from the economic struggle, and driven the masses exclusively into electoral agitation, that would have been an evil, but only a partial one. For example, in Germany, where the Social Democratic party boasts so remarkable a success, the conditions of labor are far worse not only than in England, where the masses continue the purely economic contest, but worse than in France.* But this evil has remained partial, for the majority of workers have instinctively kept to the economic battlefield of the strike. But if in our times we are witnesses of an injurious and miserable development of the all powerful State, centralizing everything, paralyzing the productive energy and the intellectual life of nations, enchaining European humanity and eating up whole nations by its millions of functionaries, its prodigious standing armies, and if the masses of the people are submitting to the Despotism of the State, the police and any sort of authority, a great part of the responsibility, if not the whole, falls upon the metaphysical, authoritarian, Social Democratic, German school.

Before the doctrines of Social Democracy had so fully developed, all independent spirits, among the middle classes and the people alike, attempted by every means to lessen and curtail in every possible way the influence of the State in social life, the number of its officials, and its financial powers. Under the influence of the revolution in North America and the formation of the United States, the ideas of autonomy and federation began to gain sympathy in the popular mind. Before 1848, both Liberal politicians and Socialists were partisans of the complete autonomy of productive groups. Even Louis Blanc, the admirer of the Jacobins and the Convention, with their motto, "The Republic one and indivisible," recognized in his project for the "Organization of Labor" that, "organized workshops and loans to the poor being set on foot, the State has no further right to meddle with the autonomous life of the association." But Social Democracy began to preach that all must be sacrificed to the State, that it must be allowed to absorb and centralise everything; for, thanks to economic destiny, one fine day, instead of Hohenzollerns and Bismarcks, there would be Liebknecht, Engels, and Bebel organizing a terrestrial paradise

* It is very interesting to compare the results of the Socialist, or rather the labor, movement in various countries. A comrade wishing to undertake such a work will find curious and interesting information in the Blue Books for 1893 (Consular Reports).

by means of their industrial and agricultural armies.† All ideas of autonomy were treated as ridiculous, Federalism was persecuted in the International, and Liebknecht, with comically reactionary arrogance, declared, "I am the enemy of all Federal republics," *

We are already sufficiently acquainted with their fundamental economic theory. Let us see if their love for the State has turned out any better than their economic Fatalism. In the following analysis I limit myself exclusively to France, with its centralized and all powerful State.

It is well known to every one that every event in social and organic life is the result of an expenditure of energy, a use of matter. If the expenditure exceeds the advantage of an enterprise, sensible men give up the enterprise. The same thing occurs in social life: a hurtful institution is in the end always rejected. In our fathers' days, when Marxian metaphysic, with its fantastic laws and hypotheses, had not yet invaded Socialism, everyone rebelled against the useless expenses of the State, against the crushing burden of taxation. And what did the State take that our worthy fathers and grandfathers should thus rebel?

GROWTH OF THE EXPENSES OF THE STATE IN POUNDS STERLING.

	1750	1810	1850	1889	Increase from 1750-1889
France.....	14,200,000	40,000,000	51,000,000	121,800,000	9 times
Germany.....	7,000,000	11,500,000	23,800,000	154,700,000	22 "
Russia.....	1,600,000	11,000,000	39,900,000	88,800,000	55 "
Italy.....	1,500,000	4,600,000	12,000,000	72,000,000	48 "

They were ignorant fellows, those men of the Great Revolution, to rebel against the charges of the State. "Scientific Socialism" teaches the people that they must joyfully put up with expenditure 22 and 48 and 55 times greater than formerly. But I, an ignorant Anarchist, I approve the revolt of our grandfathers, and I grow indignant over the completely ruined condition of the people in Russia, where State expenses have increased 55 times, over the misery of Italy, where the expenditure is 48 times as great as before, and over Germany, where Social Democracy flourishes and the workers toil 13, 15, and often 18 hours a day for wages amounting to 1s. 6d. (36 cents).

† It appears that these gentlemen are seriously preparing for the command of the industrial army. Bebel, according to his own expressions, attended the last Social Democratic Congress at Vienna, not as a mere delegate, but like a general, a crowned head come to review troops.

* "... dass ich Gegner jeder Föderativ-Republik bin." ("Volksstaat," March, 1872, p. 2. "Memoire de la Fédération Jurassienne," p. 284.)

But we shall be told that, if the expenses of the State are increased, it is the people themselves who profit thereby. Indeed? Let us look into that.

The French budget for 1892 shows us that the State took 3,780,077,-692 francs that year. From this enormous sum,

	Francs
The bourgeoisie received as interest on the "public debt".....	1,284,191,374
The same bourgeoisie, for the administration of finance and collection of taxes for the government.....	1,193,494,440
The same bourgeoisie, for the army commissariat, at least one-third of the military expenses, amounting to.....	285,142,000
Total allowance to bourgeoisie.....	2,762,827,814
If we add the military expenses, destined to protect the same bourgeoisie.....	570,282,000
Remains the modest sum of.....	446,967,878
for education, post office, and public works, which also are largely for the benefit of the bourgeoisie.	

To the State budget must be added 500,000,000 francs for the municipal budgets, a third of which is also distributed among the rulers and exploiters, and we arrive at the fact that the State, so loved and favored by the Marxian metaphysicians, every year deprives the French people of three and a half milliards for the advantage of the bourgeoisie! It is a pretty sum to distribute. It forms a third of all of which the bourgeoisie deprives the people by direct exploitation. For, according to the calculations of Leroy Beaulieu, the annual revenue of all France is equal to 25 millions of francs, which are divided about as follows:—

	Francs
To the State, returned.....	4,000,000
To the bourgeoisie, counting the nine millions of producers who gain for their employers 250 francs per day.....	8,212,000,000
For the national consumption, counting 50 centimes per day per head	7,300,000,000
The costs of production.....	5,488,000,000

Three milliards and a half given by the State, eight milliards and 212 millions extracted under the protection of the same State, altogether 11,712,000,000 francs that the exploiters in France can divide between them each year.

And now, reader, do you understand why the number of capitalists increases without the millionaires eating up the smaller bourgeois? With this enormous sum, 11,712 millionaires (in francs) might be created a year, and 23,434 capitalists possessing 500,000 francs; or, as actually happens, the sum may be divided rather more generally, and the whole bourgeoisie, who rule us and make the laws for their own advantage, thus prosper and multiply.

But you see that the empire has fallen. The people, placing their

hope in the republic, that beloved Marianne, would relieve them of their crushing burdens, would diminish national Parasitism. They flattered themselves in vain with such hopes. The republican State showed itself even more wasteful. You may judge by these figures:—

Years	Salaries (Million francs)	Pensions (Million francs)
1855	241	30
1870	296	30
1880	440	47
1893	517	81

and the number of functionaries has increased 806,000 individuals.

You must not think this malady peculiar to French republicans. In Russia, Germany, Italy, everywhere, the growth of Parasitism is as rapid. It is the same in the United States, where functionaries' pensions are a great burden, and ever go on increasing. If we examine the expenses of administration of the national debt and of pensions, we find for the year 1892:—

Administration	\$100,000,000
Interest of public debt.	23,000,000
Pensions.	125,000,000
Total	\$248,000,000

The entire budget is \$409,000,000; to put it in another way, more than half of the expenditure goes to those who produce nothing. And we hear men extol the State and think they can ever reform it! (Kinder-Glauben!)

But have you noticed that the State not only plays the part of protector of capitalist exploitation, but itself directly accomplishes a third of this exploitation? And the people are told that they must leave to the State the absolute monopoly of economic affairs.

What would you say, reader, if I advised that for the solution of the social question full power should be allowed to the exploiters to ruin the people, and that this misery or dishonor imposed upon the people by the exploiters should be submitted to joyfully? Or what would you think of my sincerity if I advised you to acquiesce in your slavery because one fine day all the wealth accumulated and wasted by your oppressors might, thanks to a miracle worked by a fantastic law, become the possession of your great-grandchildren?

But thus stands the case of those gentlemen who preach to you the benefits of the State, without considering its exploiting action in the economy of social life.

VIII.

THE METHODS OF ENGELS'S SCHOOL.

Whatever may be the branch of the economic activity of humanity that one studies, not according to dialectics, but with the aid of induction, the only method of the positive sciences, the logic of the facts and figures gives an absolute denial to that metaphysical aberration which one wished to impose on humanity as a law "which presides at the metamorphosis of nature." To give expression to such enormities could only be the work of men completely destitute of the most elementary notions concerning the laws of the "metamorphosis of nature." Accomplished dialecticians, with the help of their absurd triad, they arrived at a fatalist absurdity.

However, Marx before all was a revolutionist. By that formula he wished to supply an additional argument to the revolutionary Socialists. "Attack energetically this abominable order of capitalist exploitation, which is condemned even by the inevitable laws of progress themselves," said he. During long years it served well for the propaganda. Indeed, it was because of this that nobody among us Anarchists pronounced against his erroneous formula. The cause of the error is dialectic, and not the bad faith of Marx. It is not for me, for instance, a revolutionist, to undertake a campaign against a fundamental base of revolutionary conceptions, above all against a man of the value of Marx.

But with his pretended law there has happened that which Engels wished to express in his metaphysical phraseology in saying that "each phenomenon of nature must become soon or late its own negation." Conceived as the supreme argument of a revolutionary philosophy, this law of concentration has become the fundamental basis of the Social Democrat reaction, and of an anti-human and contra-revolutionary propaganda. The Marxists—for what motive let the reader decide himself—have taken this formula to the letter. They commenced to preach that a supreme law demands that humanity should pass thru three obligatory phases of evolution: primitive individual possession, capitalist possession based upon the expropriation of the peasants and of the artisans, and, lastly, collective possession, result of the law of concentration. No nation, no party can escape this triad of metaphysics. So all the revolutionary Socialists, every man of action, have been treated as stupid dreamers, trying to set aside the laws of social evolution. (Their polemics against the heroic revolutionaries of Russia, against Cafiero and Malatesta, against Reclus and Kropotkin, against all the revolutionists and Anarchists,) are the proof

of that. The disciples of a revolutionary master have become reactionary; their attacks against these men have surpassed those of the monarchists and Bonapartists.

This reactionary evolution commenced in the time of Marx, and first of all with us in Russia, where the peasants not only are not expropriated, but where they possess the land in community, a pre-historic form of possession, according to Engels. When, from 1874 to 1878, the heroic struggle was carried on by the Russian Socialists in favor of the social enfranchisement of the people, some cowards, calling themselves also Socialists, commenced, basing themselves on the triad and upon the authority of Marx, to carry on a contra-revolutionary propaganda. They said that before acting it was necessary that the Russian people should lose their commune and their land that they should pass thru a period of ruin and thru the misery which would give occasion to general expropriation.

On learning that in his name people were preaching such monstrosities, Marx declared publicly that the triad in question is not obligatory for every nation, and then later (1882) he proclaimed even that the Russian revolutionaries formed the advance guard of the European social revolution. It was in vain that he protested. He died soon after, and the reactionary cowards, guided and encouraged by Engels, recommenced their miserable work in favor of the ruin of the people* and their attacks upon the Russian revolutionists.**

Not less harmful for the movement has become that other formula of Marx, "every class-struggle is a political struggle," to which his disciples have added, "and in countries with a parliamentary regime, a legal and electoral struggle." The author thought he was giving yet another revolutionary motto to the wage workers, for the entire formula is that "every economic struggle is a class struggle, every class struggle is a political struggle." Little by little his disciples modified the text. If in a formula $a = b$ and $b = c$, it is evident, said they, that a is also equal to c ; consequently one can keep, without changing their value, only the first and last members of the formula and read it, "every economic struggle is a political struggle," to which is added that "every political struggle is a legal and parliamentary struggle."

Again Marx protested in his letter to the Congress at Erfurt, but the letter was hidden, and under the old ticket "Revolutionary Socialism" the Social Democrats commenced the propaganda "that every economic struggle is a parliamentary struggle."

* Struvé, already quoted.

** Plekhanoff.

Old fighter, sincere revolutionist, Marx shook his lion head and repeated indignantly: "If that is Marxism, I am not a Marxist." Yes, he was no Marxist in the present sense.

How has it happened that the second revolutionary formula led also to a reaction? To whom or to what are we to attribute the blame? Always to that cursed dialectics, which, "repulsive, denatures every idea" (Wundt). Accustomed to dialectical speculations, young and little versed in political economy and Socialist literature, Engels and Marx thought that the formula rendered correctly the fundamental idea, the general principle of the Socialists and of modern historians, teaching that *every political struggle, religious or of classes, all political revolutions are at bottom a permanent struggle of economic interests.*

Long before that, the philosophers and the economists (Locke, Adam Smith, etc.), had indicated that the fundamental impulsion of human activity resided in economic interests, in the satisfaction of organic needs; this general idea, under the influence of the events of the great Revolution, took a more correct form of expression. A. Buonarrotti tells us that Babeuf and "Les Egaux" ("The Equals"), struck by the misery of the people under the first republic, with its motto of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," conceived that without economic equality all political rights will remain a dead letter. It is necessary to change the economic conditions in order to better the national life, said the English Socialists in the beginning of this century. It is necessary to organize production, it is necessary to direct things, taught St. Simon. All the struggles of classes and of parties in history based themselves upon economic interests, wrote A. Blanqui in 1825.* Towards 1845 this conception of the revolutionary movement had become general among Socialists and among enlightened people. The logical conclusion drawn from it by the revolutionary Socialists of the time was that henceforth "the purely political class struggle, which changes in no way the economic conditions of the people, must give way to an economic struggle." It was that which Auguste Blanqui expressed so admirably in his proclamation of 1848.

The divergence of the conception is striking, as one sees.

The revolutionary Socialists said, "every political class struggle is at bottom, and must be, economic." Marx and Engels, while keeping the words, have changed their place and proclaimed that "every class struggle is a political struggle." The consequences were not long in appearing.

In England, the Socialists inaugurated the trade unionist and co-operative movements and struggled always on economic ground; they have organized on the basis of economic solidarity millions of workers; they

* See the preface of his "*Histoire d'économie politique.*"

obtained in 1847 the ten hour day; they gained by strikes innumerable and often colossal a wage much higher than that paid on the continent; they are on the eve of an eight hour day, for in all the public establishments it is already adopted, and their cooperative societies *are ready today even to organize Socialist consumption* for the whole nation.

In France—may I give my opinion, the opinion of a foreigner, upon the rôle which France has played in the Socialist movement? No one would think that I wished to flatter.—The great Revolution, the Revolution of 1848, the Commune, the International*—yes, the International, that “child born in the workshops of Paris and put to nurse in England”; the great thinkers, the courageous publicists, the heroic combatants.

In Germany? The electoral organizations, the reunions presided over by the police, the working day of twelve, thirteen, and often fourteen hours per day; their fatalist doctrines, discipline, and subordination; the ideal of the future with the State monopoly, and “an army of labor especially for agriculture,” with a system of qualificative wages. Even their representation in parliament is below that of France, because the French radical Socialists, who are much more advanced than all these Kautskys, Auers, Singers, Liebknechts et al., together with the Socialist deputies, form a group triple that of the German Socialist deputies.

And to think that the “leaders” of this movement without practical result and so far behind in its theories and its Socialist principles, have had the foolish ambition of imposing upon the Socialists of the entire world their dictatorship! They have had the audacity to pretend in London before the English and French delegates, that Socialism is nothing else than Parliamentaryism, that political action signifies only electoral agitation. They have forgotten that parliamentary England and parliamentary France have had revolutions, that non-parliamentary Russia develops a Socialist and revolutionary “action” which arouses the admiration of the Socialist world. (They never thought evidently that humanity has had a Blanqui, a Mazzini, a Garibaldi, and a John Brown, and so many others who acted otherwise than in their capacity as electors.)

If they had confined themselves to putting forth political and social doctrines, fatalistic, metaphysical, and legal! But they commenced to calumniate men and parties, inductive science and history. They have pushed their impudence to such a point that Liebknecht has put it in print that Anarchists—guillotined, hanged, put to the torture—are friends

* The makers of legends attribute to Marx the initiative of the foundation of the “International” conceived in 1863 by French and English workmen. The International invited, in 1864, Marx, Mazzini, Bakunin, and other refugees to join them. The glory of Marx was in putting himself at its disposition and drawing up its statutes.

of the bourgeoisie; another celebrity of the party who signed sometimes the initials E. M. A. treated Kampfmeyer, Werner, Landauer, and their friends as men sold to the secret police and unworthy of being compared with dogs—the author did not wish to dishonor these noble animals by such a comparison

The worst of their exploits was that which took place in Russia. During the public manifestations against the tortures practised upon the political prisoners (the affair of Mlle. Vetroff), the Social Democrats put out at Kiev a proclamation *against the manifestation*. They invited the educated people and the scientific workmen not to mix themselves up with the crowd, because the ignorant people could not understand that before acting it was necessary to possess the Social Democratic science. In other words, the people did not understand that in the interests of their own well-being it was necessary that they should lose their land and become a flock of disciplined beggars. A pupil of Engels, named Beltoff, went to such impudence that he dared to treat as “vile and abject,” etc., the honest men who defended eighty millions of Russian peasants against the capitalist and the oppressor; and his infamous epithets were addressed so that they could be applied specially to our great martyr Tchernychevsky, whom Marx admired so much and for whom especially he learned Russian.

So many hatreds, so many reactionary pretensions, so many Socialist and scientific twistings and dissemblings, whence come they? As I have tried to show, it was Engels who maintained them; but the germs of all these venomous plants are to be found also in the works of the master.

IX.

MARX VS. J. S. MILL, ADAM SMITH, AND OTHERS.

The germs of hate and disloyalty manifested on all occasions by the Marxists, are to be found, I have said, in the writings of the master. And truly, it would be difficult to single out, in the whole of European literature, another of the value of Marx so hateful and disloyal toward the Socialists of other schools, as well as toward independent thinkers.

His unliterary-like attacks against Proudhon are well enough known! His implacable hatred against Bakunin led him to acts scarcely commendable, for it was Marx's paper that launched the libel, repeated by Liebknecht and others, that Bakunin, chained down in the subterranean prisons of Olmutz in Austria, after the revolution of Dresden, was an agent and spy of the czar.* It was Marx, also, who drew up the pamphlet—of melancholy celebrity—"L'Alliance Internationale", that heap of lies and calumnies collected by a Russian Marxist, named Outine, who soon after implored the czar's pardon. In this pamphlet, which their shame has withheld from circulation, Bakunin was treated as a common swindler, and his friends of the Jurassian Federation as charlatans.

Certainly, it may be urged as an excuse that, in a polemic, ill-chosen accusations and epithets are sometimes cast. We grant that. Only, note well, the Social Democratic writers have made a veritable specialty of this mode of discussion. It might be added also that Proudhon was the first to emit the Anarchist idea, that Bakunin, James Guillaume, and the Jurassians propagated it in the International, and that against the Anarchists as against all those who attack the State, it is permissible for every Social Democrat to launch all sorts of accusations. But to what can be attributed the hateful attacks of Marx against the brilliant, profound, and ingenious Russian Revolutionary publicist, A. Herzen? Marx knew well that Herzen was the true initiator of the Socialist and Revolutionary movement in Russia. He knew that Herzen published at his own expense an entire Revolutionary library in the Russian language, that he maintained Proudhon's paper, and the political refugees of all nationalities. He knew also that Bakunin, treated by him and his disciples as a spy, had translated his "Communist Manifesto" into Russian, which Herzen published at his own expense in 1862; but, despite all that, he accused him of defending slavery, called him the rich *feuillettoniste* of the knout, and his most unjust and

* Mazzini, Kossuth, and Herzen obliged him to retract this infamy. The Social Democratic reptiles, however, have not ceased repeating it.

vulgar attacks were not published in an ephemeral, flying leaflet, but in his life work, in "Capital."

Perhaps his bitterness toward Herzen was owing to the latter's not having bequeathed his large fortune to the Socialist movement. In that case, Marx should have been still more severe toward his *alter ego*, F. Engels, who not only did not repudiate his personal fortune, but until 1869 retained his partnership in a Manchester manufactory, directly exploiting the workers, accumulating the "surplus value," the unearned increment. Marx was unable to treat Herzen, a revolutionist, and rich by birth, as an adversary, and heap unlimited praise on his intimate friend. Now, there had to be another motive. The origin of that hatred must be sought in the materialistic philosophy of Herzen; not in the Materialism of the petty bourgeoisie and shopkeepers, preached by Engels and the Social Democrats, but in that of Bacon and Locke, and of the Encyclopedists, as well as of the contemporary inductive sciences; in other words, in that Materialism which Engels treated as vulgar, and which denies every hypothesis of a God, challenges all priests, and rejects the Supernaturalism of Hegel, Marx, and Engels, etc.

Marx knew that it was Herzen that gave Hegelism its death blow in Russia before 1845; that Bakunin, and above all, the great Russian literary critic, Zielinsky, freed themselves from the reactionary metaphysics and baneful dialectics, thanks to the influence of Herzen. The proof that it was really for his inductive and material philosophy that Marx attacked Herzen, can be found in his attacks on the brilliant professor of geology and zoology, Charles Vogt, the intimate friend of Herzen and Bakunin.

It may be said, it is true, that Marx and Engels did not spare Vogt, because, having been a revolutionary in 1848, he became later a moderate politician. But Vogt was not the only one who became moderate, or even reactionary. Among others, their friend and collaborator, the poet Freiligrath, became not only moderate, but sang the glory of Bismarck and William in 1870, without Marx occupying himself about him. It was not for his political moderation that he attacked him. The brilliant materialist professor treated God with as much seriousness as he did the German supernatural philosophy, so dear to Marx and his disciples.* Add to this that Vogt, friend of Herzen and Bakunin, again in 1849 dared to invoke Anarchy, and you have the true motives of the attacks of which he was the object.

* M. H., like a good Marxist, ridicules the materialism of Vogt, of Büchner, and others. Probably M. H. knows nothing of "Man and His Place in Nature," the "Letters on Physiology," "Love," and other works by these authors; otherwise he would know well that the principles and ideas of Lamarck, Darwin, Helmholtz, etc., are therein developed with a literary talent much superior to that of Marx.

It is chiefly the polemic between Marx and J. S. Mill which reveals to us in their fulness his literary methods.

Everybody is acquainted with the noble character, the broad humanitarian sympathies and ideas of the English philosopher. He was one of the most ardent champions of individual liberty, the rights of the minority, the emancipation of woman, the liberation of the working class, and the liberation of human thought from all metaphysics. His works, "System of Inductive Logic," "On Liberty," "On Positivism," on the "Philosophy of Hamilton," "On Woman," etc., etc., but chiefly the first two, are classed among the sublimest creations of the human mind. George Brand has devoted his best study to him. H. T. Buckle said that modern science would award the laurel wreath to the author of the "System of Inductive Logic."

Marx, dialectician, who "did the high metaphysician" in the Voltaire sense, detested the author of an inductive logic; he who, in 1848, preached "the organization of the army of labor, especially of agriculture," the State monopoly, the submission of the individual, could only make war *à outrance* against the author of "Liberty," against the champion of individual liberty and the rights of the minority. Some justice must be rendered to Marx. He directs in "Capital" an artistic campaign against the English philosopher. He never tires of ridiculing him. Before all else, he treats Mills as a bourgeois economist, as a defender of the existing order, as an enemy of the proletariat. He serves his readers with quotations calculated to provoke indignation against Mill; but if they are verified after the original English text—who knows? might not one feel indignant against Marx himself? For example, in "Principles of Political Economy" (Vol. I., Book II., Chap. 1, §3, ed. 1865) we read in Mill:

"If a choice had to be made between Communism, with all its chances, and the present state of society, with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property imposed, as consequence, that the product of labor should be appropriated, as we see it today, in inverse ratio to work; when the greatest part is for those who never work) since those whose work is only nominal receive the greatest share, in such wise that by degrees the reward of labor becomes less as labor becomes more rude and disagreeable, so truly, so indeed, that the labor which is the most fatiguing, and therefore the most exhausting, does not assure with certainty the acquisition of the common necessities of life; if between that and Communism, a choice had to be made, all the difficulties, great and small, of Communism, would not weigh more than dust in the balance."

As ordinarily all the great English philosopher's sympathies are with the exploited, not being a Communist, for he believed Communism to be the negation of individual liberty; nevertheless, he declared him-

self for Communism, provided that the misery of the present society would disappear. But how has Marx quoted the above passage? He has omitted its commencement and its conclusion; without the lines in italics, in such a manner that Mill as a bourgeois establishes the abomination of Capitalism, but finds nothing to say against it! * It is beautiful, this "scientific" honesty. Marx knew that such quotations are not allowed; for he, so precise in the indication of the pages and dates of all his quotations, often stupid and taken from a crowd of nobodies and unknown celebrities, he refers the reader on this occasion simply to the "Principles of Political Economy." Go, and seek the mutilated passage in two thick volumes! For many other quotations from the same Mill, Marx refers to no work whatever. I can imagine how faithful they must be.†

If he limited himself only to quote Mill but a little correctly! But he persecutes him as the author of "Inductive Logic"; he envies him for his universal glory. For instance, Marx read in J. Liebig that statement that Mill was the first to point out the favorable influence of husbandry on the fertility of the soil. Note well that Mill was a man of exceptional modesty. He not only did not accuse anyone of plagiarizing his ideas, as did Marx toward Rodbertus and even toward Lassalle, but he rendered himself famous by his tendency to attribute to others all the value of his works. He never claimed the paternity of the observation cited by Liebig. But Marx could not suffer that the least originality should be attributed to Mill. Hence, he undertakes a ridiculous research in order to prove by quotations that before J. S. Mill, Anderson, Malthus, West, James Mill spoke of that influence. Then he finishes:

"It is undeniable that J. S. Mill owes to such mistakes *the authority, in every curious case, which he enjoys.*"‡ What hatred! What black envy! For the benefit of those Marxists who so vaunt their parliamentary politics, I would say that J. S. Mill gained his universal authority by his works, and among others, for his defense of the interests of the working classes, to whom, before Marx, Engels, and others, he pointed out in his letter addressed to the trade unionist and internationalist Odger, the necessity of the parliamentary candidature of the proletariat as a class.

I am not writing an apology for J. S. Mill; if I pause a while on the character of the great English philosopher, it is with the pure aim of exposing the literary procedures of Marx. Still less apology is demanded on behalf of the great founder of political economy, of the "theory of

* See "Capital," French ed., p. 268.

† Professor Brentano had already remarked the incorrectness of his quotations in general.

‡ "Capital," p. 218.

value," on whom will depend all Socialists. I speak of Adam Smith, and of his theory of value based on labor.

We have seen how severe Marx was toward Mill, who had not given the authority for a mere secondary conclusion. Naturally, the reader is disposed to believe that Marx himself will never make a like mistake, and that all the laws and ideas formulated and emitted from him will be registered by him with rigorous exactitude. Let us look closely, and see if he was so correct in his quotations, even on a question so important and fundamental as the theory of value?

In the commencement of his introduction, Marx teaches doctorally that the first chapter of his work, in which he treats the theory of value, is the most important, and so difficult to understand that even men of great capacity, like Lassalle, cannot entirely seize his fundamental idea. This justice must be rendered to him: his exposition of the theory of value is truly difficult to read and understand. His analysis is long, and wants clearness, his examples are encumbering, his quotations somewhat strange—yes, strange; in the first seventeen pages, in which he considers value as the product of human labor, quotations abound from Hegel, Pietro Verri, Trome, from an anonymous author, from Barbon, from the poet Butler, from Locke, and from Marx himself, in the first place, but none of these, save Marx, consider value as the product of labor.

Despite the difficulty, let us endeavor to resume his fundamental ideas on the subject. Let us always take his own expressions.

1. "The utility of a thing gives it a use value" (pp. 1-2).
2. "As use values, merchandise is before all of different quality, as exchange values can only be of a different quantity. The use value of a product once placed aside, it only possesses one more quality, that of being the product of labor" (p. 2).
3. "But the value of products represents purely the labor of man, an expenditure of human force in general" (p. 17).
4. "As the price of the 'value' of a product only represents the work contained in it, it follows that all products in a certain proportion must possess equal values" (p. 17).

Such are the fundamental ideas of "the theory of value" of Marx. Had no one before him the least idea of the rôle of creative labor? Presumably not, for in these seventeen pages, Marx, so prodigious in quotations, and so severe towards J. S. Mill, without doubt, would have mentioned any such author. However, let us see, for example, what Adam Smith says on labor. His great work, published a century before Marx's "Capital," the work which marks a whole epoch in the science and is cited by everybody, commences as follows:

In a country of money power that is purchasable by gold or silver is ~~of~~ always more in value than the commodity for goods

1. "The annual labor of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, and which consist always either in the immediate produce of that labor, or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations" ("Wealth of Nations," p. 1).

2. "The value of any commodity, therefore, to the person who possesses it, and who means not to use or consume it himself, but to exchange it for other commodities, is equal to the quantity of labor which it enables him to purchase or command" (p. 38).

3. "The real price of everything, what everything really costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it" (idem).

4. "What is bought with money or with goods, is purchased by labor" (idem).

5. "Labor, therefore, is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities" (idem).

6. "Labor was the first price, the original purchase-money, that was paid for all things. It was not by gold or by silver, but by labor, that all the wealth of the world was originally purchased; and its value to those who possess it, and who want to exchange it for some new productions, is precisely equal to the quantity of labor which it can enable them to purchase or command" (idem).

7. "Labor alone, therefore, never varying in its own value, is alone the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be estimated and compared. It is their real price" (p. 40).

8. "Labor, therefore, it appears evidently, is the only universal as well as the only accurate measure of value, or the only standard by which we can compare the values of different commodities at all times and all places" (p. 43).

9. "The real value of all the different component parts of price, it must be observed, is measured by the quantity of labor which they can, each of them, purchase or command. Labor measures the value not only of that part of price which resolves itself into labor, but of that which resolves itself into rent, and of that which resolves itself into profit" (p. 53).

Need we continue these quotations? It is really admirable, this theory of value of Marx, so ill conceived by him, and so well expounded by Adam Smith a century before.

Is it possible, may be asked, that Marx, so severe toward J. S. Mill for a slight omission, has copied Adam Smith without mentioning where he has borrowed "his own" theory? In spite of all its monstrosity, the fact exists; in the first seventeen pages, in which he treats the question, Adam

For labor is the only commodity which is not exchanged for its value.

Smith is never mentioned. It is only on page eighteen that he cites the great English philosopher; it may be believed that he does so in order to render homage to his perspicuity and genius. Far from being so, he quotes Smith to war against him. Here is the quotation:—

“Equal quantities of labor must be at all times and in all places of an equal value for the laborer? Without entering into details, it will suffice to point out that A. Smith, after all his theory, gave this logical conclusion: 1. For a laborer eight and ten hours' work, always and everywhere, signifies the same quantity of expended muscular energy and intellectual capacity.”

Marx warred against it, of course; each one has the right to think as he pleases; everyone has the right even to borrow the ideas of others; but no one has the right to appropriate them as his own.

X.

THE ORIGIN OF THE "MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY."

"Principes du Socialisme: Manifeste de la démocratie au dix-neuvième siècle," seconde édition, 1847, Paris, par Victor Considérant.

"Manifesto of the Communist Party," 1848, by Karl Marx and Frederic Engels.

What must be attacked, are the egoistic chiefs and the blind journals which lead and exploit parties, striving to retain these within narrow and exclusive ideas and in a state of hostility, the better to dominate them.—V. Considérant.

I.

The above mentioned proceedings are strange, but Marx's and Engels's conduct toward the great French Fourierist, Victor Considérant, is more astonishing.

In the second chapter we saw that all fundamental Socialist ideas were attributed by Social Democrats, especially by Engels, to Marx and Engels himself. Their German readers were honestly convinced of it, simply because they did not know of the existence of this English and French literature. On the other hand, the Social Democratic chiefs in all countries being engaged in parliamentary intrigues, they are quite content to have nothing to read but two or three pamphlets of Engels and some popular exposition of "Capital," this enabling them to pose before the workers as the true and only representatives of modern science. All was going well, and the glory of Marx as the founder of a social science entirely his own, was spreading thruout the world. Thus it came about that every revolutionary Communist who based his arguments upon the real science of humanity, was immediately dubbed an ignorant bourgeois, and even often treated as an *agent provocateur*. For, said they, outside Marxism neither science nor Socialism exists; all that contemporary Socialism teaches has been formulated and explained by Marx and Engels, and especially in their famous "Manifesto of the Communist Party."

Such was the prejudice, that Kautsky could publish in his journal ("Neue Zeit," Vol. IX., No. 8), and other ignoramus repeat in Russian, French, and other languages, that this "Manifesto" was a true Bible of Socialism. It is just three years since the fiftieth anniversary of this publication was celebrated in all the European languages. In pompous courses all the "scientific" deputies glorified the appearance of "Manifesto," which, according to them, marked a new era in the history of science and even of humanity.

Who could contradict them? Did not Engels write to Dühring (1879) that "if Dühring intends to say that the whole economic system of our days is the result of antagonism between the classes, of oppression . . . then he repeats truths which have become common conclusions since the appearance of the 'Communist Manifesto'?" No one has the right to doubt it; for it is the "great" Engels himself who states it, and with him the "scientific" deputies, including Guesde, Lafargue, Vandervelde, Ferri, and other savants, who affirm that this new revelation, this new Testament, was given to humanity by Marx in the new Bible of the human race, in the famous "Manifesto of the Communist Party."

Let my readers imagine to themselves the condition of a faithful follower of the prophet in the habit of repeating: "God is great and Mahomet is his prophet!" who one fine day discovers on his divan, instead of the sacred Koran, the work of some infidel *giaour*, wherein all that is most sacred in the book of Mahomet is stated with far greater clearness, precision, largeness of view and depth of thought, but above all with an incomparably superior literary talent; while, altho indignant and humiliated, he knows, this stupefied believer, that the work of the infidel *giaour* appeared before the Koran, and that Mahomet, the great prophet of fatalism, had been aware of it.

Similarly with this believer, I felt myself stupefied, indignant, even humiliated, when, about a year ago, I had occasion to read the work of Victor Considérant,* "Principles of Socialism: Manifesto of the Democracy of the Nineteenth Century," written in 1843, second edition published in 1847. There was reason for it. In a pamphlet of 143 pages, Victor Considérant expounds with his habitual clearness all the bases of Marxism, of this "scientific" Socialism that the parliamentarians desire to impose upon the whole world. Properly speaking, the theoretical part, in which Considérant treats of questions of principle, does not exceed the first fifty pages; the remainder is consecrated to the famous prosecution that the government of Louis Philippe brought against the journal of the Fourierists, "La Democratie pacifique," and which the jurors of the Seine quashed. But in these fifty short pages the famous Fourierist, like a true

* Victor Considérant, a distinguished engineer and pupil of the famous Polytechnic of Paris, was one of the most prominent political and social reformers before and during the Second Republic. His name was as popular as those of Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, Proudhon, Blanqui and others. Among his numerous works the most famous is "Destinée Sociale," in 3 vols. His "Manifesto" is a short, popular exposition of his general ideas. His influence was far-reaching, and the great Russian Socialist, Tchernychevsky (whom Marx so much admired), openly acknowledged the influence Considérant had upon him. He died some years ago of an aneurism, and was remembered by every enlightened Frenchman.

master, gives us so many profound, clear, and brilliant generalizations, that even an infinitesimal portion of his ideas contains in entirety all the Marxian laws and theories—including the famous concentration of capital and the whole of the “Manifesto of the Communist Party.” So that the whole theoretical part, that is chapters one and two, which Engels himself says “are on the whole as correct today as ever,” is simply borrowed. This “Manifesto,” this Bible of legal revolutionary democracy, is a very mediocre paraphrase of numerous passages of the “Manifesto” of V. Considérant. Not only have Marx and Engels found the contents of their “Manifesto” in the “Manifesto” of V. Considérant, but the form and the titles of the chapters have also been retained by the imitators.

Paragraph 2 in the second chapter (p. 19) with V. Considérant bears the title: “The Present Situation and ’89; the Bourgeoisie and the Proletarians.”

“The Bourgeois and the Proletarians,” is the title of the first chapter with Marx and Engels.*

V. Considérant examines different Socialist and revolutionary parties under the name of Democracy (the Fourierists are called pacific Democrats) and his paragraphs bear the titles:

“Stagnant Democracy” (p. 35).

“Retrograde Democracy” (p. 41).

“The Socialist Party in the Retrograde Democracy” (p. 44).

The titles with Marx and Engels are:

“Reactionary Socialism” (p. 25).

“Conservative and Bourgeois Socialism” (p. 31).

“Critical Utopian Socialism and Communism” (p. 31).

Would not one think all these titles belonged to the selfsame work? When comparing the contents we shall see that in reality these two manifestoes are identical.

Before commencing the comparison of the texts, we must enlighten the reader with regard to the fidelity of Engels to history. At the commencement of their “Manifesto,” Marx and Engels declare that “already (in 1848) Communism is recognized as a power by all the powers of Europe” (p. 1).

At the Congress of Zürich in 1893, this same Engels said “at this moment (1843-45) Socialism was only represented by small sects. . . .” The small sects or the power? Who is right here—Marx and Engels or Engels alone?

* “Manifesto of the Communist Party,” French ed. of l’Ere Nouvelle, Paris.

II.

In order to proceed with our contention, it is sufficient to follow from the beginning of the text of Marx and Engels's "Manifesto" without any alteration, and to quote the passages from Victor Considérant's "Manifesto" upon the same subject. I regret that the quotations from the latter cannot be longer; for Victor Considérant is really a brilliant exponent.

1. Marx and Engels, p. 8.*—"In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank."

Victor Considérant, p. 1.—"The societies of antiquity had as principle and law Force; as politics War; as aim Conquest; and as an economic system Slavery; that is to say, exploitation of man by man in its most complete, most inhuman, most barbarous form. . . . Slavery was the basis . . . *slavery and the SPIRIT OF CASTE. Such was the character of the antique social order.*"

2. M. and E., p. 8.—" . . . in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, *serfs*; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations."

V. C., p. 1.—"The feudal system was the result of conquest. . . . Its predominant occupation was still war, and especially the *traditional and permanent consecration of primitive privileges* from the conquest. It had as an economic system an exploitation of man by man already a degree less hard and brutal—Serfdom."

3. M. and E., p. 8.—"The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms."

V. C., p. 2.—"The new society has sprouted from feudal society by development of industry, science, labor." ". . . . Notwithstanding the metaphysical liberalism, notwithstanding constitutional equality before the law . . . the actual social order is only an aristocratic order, no longer by principle and law, it is true, but in *practice*" (p. 5). "The classes are perpetuated by birth in their relatively inferior and superior condition . . . only it is no longer law, right, political principle, which place those barriers between the great categories of the French people; it is *the economic organization, the social organization itself*" (p. 6).

The words, "economic, social organization," were *italicized* by V. Considérant because the last passage, like many others, shows that the

* The English edition of the Manifesto contains in the first six pages a self praising preface of Engels, so that the beginning of the Manifesto is on page 8, instead of page 1, as it is in the original German edition.

Socialists of that period understood better than the "scientific" ones of our days the rôle which economic factors play in social development.

4. M. and E., p. 8.—"It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones."

Against this passage, without any indication of the historical and social facts, I should quote the whole of Chapter V, where V. Considérant expounds so clearly this social evolution, under the title "Rapid Development of a New Feudality.—Collective Serfdom of the Workers." but the article would become too long. So I only quote a few passages.

V. C., pp. 6, 7, 8.—"A phenomenon of the greatest importance manifested itself quite clearly today; it is the rapid and powerful development of a NEW FEUDALITY; of an industrial and financial feudality which regularly supersedes the aristocracy of society by annihilation or impoverishment of the intermediate classes. . . . There could result from this nothing but general slavery, collective subjugation of the masses—destitute of capital, tools, education. . . . Absolute liberty without organization is nothing but complete surrender of the disarmed and despoiled masses at the mercy of their armed opponents fully supplied. Civilization, which began by aristocratic feudality, and whose development has liberated the industrial classes from personal or direct servitude, now ends in *industrial feudality* which works out the collective or indirect servitude of the workers."

5. M. and E., p. 8.—"Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat."

V. C., p. 10.—The title of Chapter X: ("Division of society into two classes: a few possessing all; the great majority deprived of all.")

V. C., p. 6.—" . . . On this large social battlefield some are instructed, trained to fight, equipped, armed to the teeth . . . and the others—robbed, naked, ignorant, starved—are obliged to implore for work and low wages from their enemies!")

V. C., p. 26.—"Industrial war has, like military war, its conquerors and its conquered. Industrial feudality constitutes itself, like military feudality, by the fatal triumph and the permanent supremacy of the strong over the weak. *The Proletariat is the modern serfdom.*"

6. M. and E., p. 8.—"The manufacturing system took its place. *The guild masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle class. . . .*"

V. C., p. 4.—"It (the Revolution) has destroyed the *guild masters, the mastership, the old corporations. . . .*" "After the great explosion of '89, after the destruction of the old political system, *after the annihilation of the feudal property, of the industrial system of mastership and guild*

masters . . ." (pp. 6-7). "It has destroyed the *mastership, the guild masters, the corporations, the system of feudal property; it has despoiled the nobility and the clergy, but it has not created any institution . . . It has delivered the whole industrial and social workshop to Anarchy ** and to the *domination of the strong; misery, corruption, fraud, vices, and crimes are ravaging and increasing*" (p. 30).

Here we see the origin of the first page of the famous Manifesto Bible of Social Democracy, of this pretended scientific revelation! As one sees, "the ignorant utopians" knew a little more and, especially, described the formation of classes in our capitalist society a great deal better than these mediocre copyists.

But let us continue our unattractive task. Let us see what Marx and Engels say in the other pages of *their own discoveries* upon this same subject of the classes.

7. M. and E., p. 8.—"Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant Modern Industry; the place of the industrial middle class by industrial millionaires."

V. C., p. 9.—In whatever branch it may be, the great capitals, the great enterprises, are law to the small ones. Steam, machinery, the large factories, have easily triumphed, wherever they appeared, over small and middle-sized workshops. At their approach the old handicrafts and artisans have disappeared, to leave nothing but factories and proletarians. . ."

Let us continue this quotation from Considérant, who expounds so admirably what the plagiarists so shamefully mutilated.

"Besides, we continually see unexpected discoveries springing up, which, suddenly renewing a whole branch of production, carry disturbance into the workshops. After having broken the arms of the workers, thrown on the streets masses of men—at once replaced by machines—these discoveries crush the masters in their turn . . ." (pp. 9-10).

8. M. and E., p. 9.—"The bourgeoisie wherever it has got the upper hand has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. . . . It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom: free trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by political and religious illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation."

V. C., pp. 4, 5.—"It has destroyed the last remains of the feudal system" (p. 7). "After the annihilation of feudal property . . . and the proclamation of *industrial and commercial liberty* . . . (p. 7) the result

* "Anarchy" is used by Victor Considérant in its ordinary bourgeois sense.

is that notwithstanding the metaphysical Liberalism of the new law . . . notwithstanding the constitutional equality of citizens before law . . . (p. 5) the actual social system is as yet nothing but an aristocratic system; on the industrial and social field are only individuals facing each other, with *full liberty* to act on their own strength . . . the odious mechanism of free competition without guarantee breaks down all laws of justice and humanity. . . . So *free competition* . . . has this inhuman and execrable character; that it everywhere and always depreciates wages."

9. M. and E., p. 11.—"They (fetters of feudality) had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder. Into their place stepped *free competition*, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class."

We will speak afterwards about the political domination of the bourgeoisie, and I shall quote Chapter IX. from Victor Considérant under the title "Infeudation of the Government to the New Aristocracy." If this were not mentioned one would believe the following quotations from Marx and Engels upon free competition to be the continuation of that from V. Considérant on the same subject.

As this article was originally written for French readers, to whom Considérant, as a Socialist author, is better known than to the English, it may be wise to give here only the most striking quotations and mention the pages where the reader who wants to compare the others can find them.

III.

M. and E., p. 9.—" . . . Cornerstone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world market, conquered for itself in the modern representative State exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

V. C. p. 10.—"Who seizes all positions, all strategic lines, every basis of operations for commerce and industry? Who invades everything, who becomes master of everything, if it is not high speculation and the large capitals? . . . Would you know how far this fatal feudality is already rooted in the ground and prevailing in the political and social movement? (p. 12.) [Quoting from finance, war and diplomacy, V. Considérant concludes:] Is it not evident after these examples, that it is not the king, not the ministers, not the nation who govern, but already the industrial and financial feudality?"

M. and E., p. 8.—V. C., pp. 10 and 11.

M. and E., p. 11.—V. C., p. 26.

IV.

M. and E., p. 10.—V. C., p. 22.

M. and E., p. 10.—V. C., pp. 22 and 23.

V.

In the first part of the article we already compared Marx and Engels with V. Considérant in the following pages:

M. and E., p. 8.—V. C., pp. 9, 10, 11.

Here we give only one striking quotation, which shows clearly where Marx took his law of concentration of capital, which concludes the first volume of his book, "*Das Kapital*":

M. and E., p. 8.—“ . . . The place of the industrial middle class was taken by industrial millionaires.”

V. C., pp. 10-11.—“Capital invades everywhere, the power of the large capitals is incessantly growing; they attract and absorb, in all branches, the smaller fortunes. Society is rapidly advancing to the formation of an aristocracy as oppressive as vile; which already begins to oppress and crush us, which lies heavy on the people, and which breaks, subdues and enslaves the middle classes themselves every day. . . . This is a social phenomenon which characterizes modern civilization. It follows step by step the course of the commercial and industrial system with its invasion of machines. This incessantly pumps the national wealth into the reservoirs of the new aristocracy, where it is concentrated and creates legions of famished paupers and proletarians. In Great Britain we see, in the highest degree, this phenomenon of the concentration of capital in the hands of a few aristocrats. France and Belgium, the two countries which follow Great Britain closest in this false industrial development, are also the countries where the new feudality is spreading most rapidly.”

VI.

Class struggle, economic crises; the greatest discoveries of Marx and Engels as the Social Democrats tell us. Let us see what their Koran says on the subject:

M. & E., p. 11.—“For many a decade past, the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and its rule.”

Against this passage I could quote many very brilliant statements of V. Considérant. Let us take some of the shortest:

V. C., p. 17-19, p. 18.—“This idea (of revolutionary Communism) which the influence of the rapid development of the Proletariat, of Pauperism, and the new feudality has brought to light in the midst of a society still permeated by the revolutionary spirit, spreads among the workers. . . . *No property! no proprietors! no exploitation of man by man! no heritage the earth for all!*” ⑨

We omit the translation of the following corresponding passages:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| M. & E., p. 11.—V. C., p. 15. | M. & E., p. 11.—V. C., p. 23. |
| M. & E., p. 12.—V. C., p. 19. | M. & E., p. 12.—V. C., p. 8. |
| M. & E., p. 12.—V. C., p. 8. | M. & E., p. 12.—V. C., p. 23. |
| M. & E., p. 12.—V. C., p. 9. | M. & E., p. 13.—V. C., p. 9. |
| M. & E., p. 13.—V. C., p. 8-9. | M. & E., p. 13.—V. C., p. 10. |
| M. & E., p. 14.—V. C., p. 20. | M. & E., p. 14.—V. C., p. 32. |
| M. & E., p. 16.—V. C., p. 20-24. | M. & E., p. 16.—V. C., p. 8. |
| M. & E., p. 16.—V. C., p. 13. | |

Just two more quotations:

M. & E., pp. 20-21.—“What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces above all, are its own grave diggers.”

V. C., pp. 20-21.—“The large capitals concentrating in aristocratic families and multiplying their power by the system of great shareholding societies, become more and more prevalent. At last the development itself of this prevalence . . . must necessarily provoke, sooner or later, a revolutionary struggle on social ground. And if a revolution is made, the conquered are driven away and the conquerors take all. Just what the bourgeoisie has done to the old nobility and the clergy.” “The industrial feudality constitutes itself. The proletariat is the modern serfdom. A similar condition, contrary to all rights of humanity, to all contemporary social spirit could not have developed itself without provoking new revolutions, revolutions no longer political, but social, and directed against property itself, with the cry, ‘To live working or to die fighting; the earth for the workers!’”

M. & E., p. 18.—V. C., p. 45. M. & E., p. 22.—V. C., p. 45.

In his preface to the English edition of the “Communist Manifesto,” Engels says that only the theoretical or first chapter of their “Manifesto” still preserves its value; we can openly declare after having read these 39 passages which correspond so strangely with Victor Considérant’s manifesto, that in this case the only glory which Marx and Engels can claim is the glory of being faithful pupils who repeated in their mother tongue what they had learned from a master.

It is impossible that Marx was unacquainted with the existence of this manifesto of the eminent Fourierist. The manifesto of Victor Considérant, published in 1843, had its second edition in 1847, just

after the famous trial of the Fourierist paper, "La Democratie Pacifique." This trial made a very great sensation in the world and especially among the Socialists of that period. This second edition was in special demand because it contained a full account of the trial. To suppose that Marx, who in his manifesto speaks of Fourierism and Fourierists—only calumniating them, it is true—was unacquainted with the trial and the "Manifesto," would be just as illogical as to believe that a writer who participated in the Dreyfus affair knew nothing of Zola and his trial. Even more than this; Marx, being a young metaphysician, arrived in France without any notion of Socialism or of the labor question. Germany, before the revolution of 1848, was partly plunged in purely political Radicalism (Young Germany), partly in the fatal and reactionary metaphysics of Hegel. Marx and Engels have drawn their social education, their knowledge of the economic and social conditions of the working class, from authors like Considérant, Louis Blanc, Buret, Thompson, Grey, and others, who were either Fourierists, Owenists, or Saint-Simonists.

I defy whoever it may be to deny that Marx knew the works of Victor Considérant, and especially his "Manifesto." And neither should it be said that Marx, in this case, would quote from a Socialist author who has, in common with him, such a number of historical, economic, and social ideas; because this could be said only by one who knows nothing about the literary proceedings of Marx. Has Marx ever mentioned that the term *surplus* has been defined by Simon de Sismondi? Never; yet he knew his works. Or, that William Thompson, whom he quoted against Proudhon, based all his inquiries (1824-29) on the same surplus? Again, no. The same with Adam Smith, from whom he has taken the whole theory of value, changing the word *quantity* into *quantum*, etc.; he quotes from him only a secondary passage in order to combat him. But has he recognized him as the creator of this fundamental theory of Socialist revindications? No, never. And, then, how he mutilated the best passages of Stuart Mill; rendering him ridiculous as a bourgeois whose works a good Socialist must not touch, and from whom he nevertheless drew his theory of the tendency of profits to a minimum.

But this is not all.

Why have neither Marx nor his inseparable collaborator, Engels, ever mentioned Louis Blanc, from whom they have copied their doctrine of the rôle of the State in Communist society? And for what reason does Engels, in his "History of the Development of Scientific Socialism," say not a single word about all the Socialist literature from 1825-32 till 1867—the year of the publication of "Capital"? From this one might conclude that after St. Simon, Fourier, and Robt. Owen, European

humanity did not occupy itself with the social question, and that neither Socialist agitation before the revolution of February 24, 1848, nor this revolution itself, nor the bloody days of June, 1848, had taken place.

I invite you, honest people of all parties, to study attentively the work of these Hegelian twins, and you will see yourselves that the more they borrowed from some Socialist author the less they speak of him.

Especially I appeal to you French and English Socialists, on whom these pretended scientists—whose names you know—endeavor to impose translations of ideas collected from French and English thinkers. You will find still greater unfairness than this simple plagiarism of the work of V. Considérant.

Emboldened by success in their first plagiarism, they began to appropriate economic and social laws and theories which are given as axioms in text books. Who will believe, for example, that the law of wages, this famous law of the minimum, known a century since, could have been claimed by Engels as a discovery made by him? And yet the fact exists.

In an annotation of a German translation of the pamphlet "Misery of Philosophy," 1885, Engels says on pages 26-7 word for word as follows: "The law of the minimum wages necessary for the existence of the producers and for the continuation of their race *has been stated and proved by ME* in '*Umrisse zu einer Kritik der Nationaloekonomie*,' Paris, 1844." These incredible lines are to be found in the foot notes of that text in which Marx in conformity with political economy treats this law as the law of wages of Ricardo. Because it is he who developed in the beginning of the century the formula of the French economist, Turgot, which Lavalaye, in his schoolbook of economics ("*Manuel d'economie politique*"), reproduces in the following terms: "It must be, and so it is in reality, that the wages of the workers in all branches are limited to what is necessary for their living."

How could Engels attribute it to himself? By ignorance, or intentionally? It is evident he knew that in political economies this law is recognized as the law of Ricardo; this is quite clear from the same text of Marx. Lassalle also treats it as the "*iron law of the ECONOMISTS*."

Is it necessary to continue with the list of the appropriations of these founders of Social Democracy, whose "good faith" is glorified by the ignorant? If "Yes," I can quote some more proofs of their "good faith"; for example, their oft-repeated, infamous calumny: that the great revolutionist, Bakunin, was a spy of the czar. But let us end here. I hope that the honest people will understand now why their contemporaries, the men of 1848, who knew the sources of their science,

the value of their "good faith," had such a deep contempt for them. Such was this contempt that even the glorifying biographer of Engels is obliged to speak of it. "The Democracy avoided them," says he; it held them in contempt, we add.

And I should not be astonished if the democratic workers of the present will ratify the opinion of the men of 1848.

XI.

THE MATERIALIST EXPOSITION OF HISTORY.

We already know the value of those "great discoveries" attributed by Engels to Marx and, indirectly, to himself; we know, also, the part played by the State, exploiter and oppressor, so dear to Mr. Engels's disciples. It now remains for us to study the third discovery, that of "the materialist exposition of history." Let us hearken to Engels's definition of it:*

"The materialist conception of history is based on the idea that the production and exchange of things (products and values) form the foundation of every social organization. In every human society the distribution of wealth and the formation of classes or of ranks in society are the result of the method of production and exchange practised by the society."

The idea is true enough in itself, apart from a certain exaggeration of statement. The method of production shows us the state of the culture and civilization of a society or historical period. But that was well known before 1845, and even before the 20th of November, 1820, when Engels was born; only it was then spoken of as the influence of economic factors on history. But the sum of economic factors, which we call "Economism," is not the same thing as Materialism. The mode of production is only *one* factor, or rather one element among many others which serve as the evolutionary generalizations known under the name of materialistic doctrines. A *part* cannot contain the *whole*, and Economism cannot make up the whole doctrine of Materialism. We know many writers who have admitted the influence of conditions and economic relations in the development of humanity, who were not only idealists and metaphysicians, but deists in every sense, and fervent Christians. Guizot, for instance, who traced the history of class antagonism in England during the seventeenth century, was as bigoted as a Trappist monk. Or there is Niebuhr, the founder of the German historical school, of which Mommsen is one of the most brilliant repre-

* All Social Democratic compilers, of every nation, agree in attributing to Engels the exposition of materialism in history, and recognize that Marx only reduced it to a formula. We shall see below that the author of this rather startling exposition is in direct contradiction to Marx. The latter, a revolutionist by conviction, never denied the part played by force and struggle in history, and never affirmed that the inductive sciences are known under the name of metaphysics.

sentatives; at the very beginning of this century he declared that the legends of Titus Livius about the origin of Rome must be set aside, and we must study history according to the economic and social conditions of the Roman people. From this we may date the investigations into the agrarian laws of Licinius Stolo and the Gracchi, and the minute research of Mommsen. But Niebuhr, Mommsen, and all the German school were very far from Materialism.

We shall find the same thing if we go back to the first historian who hinted at the influence of cosmic and economic conditions on the progress and development of humanity, and consult Vico (1668-1774) or his French translator, Michelet, who for his part dwelt at length on economic conditions in his researches into the origin of French law. Adam Smith, another man of genius and the founder of Political Economy, stated the following fundamental formula as early as 1776:

1. Labor is the only source of social wealth.
2. The increase of wealth depends on the economic and social conditions of labor, and the proportion between the number of producers and non-producers.

But this modest philosopher laid no claim to Materialism. A. Blanqui, again, a good citizen and professor, tho less original and profound than Adam Smith, thus formulated in 1825 the part played by economic elements in history: "I was not long in perceiving that between these two sciences of History and Political Economy there existed so many points of contact that it was impossible to study one without the other, or fully to apprehend either separately. One furnishes the facts; the other explains the causes. Step by step I followed the great events of history, and in each I found two parties alone—those who wished to live on their labor, and those who wished to live on the labor of others—patricians and plebeians—slaves and free—Guelfs and Ghibellines, the Red Rose and the White, Cavaliers and Roundheads, the philanthropist and the pauper: all are varieties of the same species.")

Political Economy explains the causes of historic movements, says Blanqui; and his contemporaries, Mignet, Augustin Thierry, etc., say the same. In England, J. S. Mill, in his analysis of the first volume of Michelet's "History of France," classifies the historical schools, and lays it down with his usual clearness that history, like all modern science, is occupied with the causes and social or cosmic laws which govern the development of humanity ("Dissertations and Discussions"). H. T. Buckle, in his admirable attempt to trace the influence of cosmic laws, social conditions, and even food, on history, says: "Of all the results which are produced among a people by their climate, food, and soil, the accumulation of wealth is the earliest and in many respects the most import-

ant." (History of Civilization," Vol. I., p. 40; compare pp. 49, 50, 53, etc.) Professor Rogers, who was a contemporary of Marx and Engels, but who entirely ignores them, besides his great work on "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," has a book on "The Economic Interpretation of History," in which he analyzes the whole history of England from the economic point of view. Have these men of learning of different nationalities the least claim to Materialism? Certainly not. They were men of learning engaged in the search for truth. They followed the methods of scientific research in their study of history, and could give no other name to the result of their labors but the economic exposition of history.

How, then, did it come about that Engels, who wrote specially for workmen, for people crushed by superhuman labor, people who had neither the time nor the means to verify his assertions—how did it come about that Engels used the word Materialism for what the men of science called Economism? Why, instead of saying to the workers: "My friends, science as a whole, as expressed in the researches of all the men of learning in Europe, goes to prove that the happiness and development of the human race is created by your labor, that the welfare of humanity depends on your happiness and conditions favorable to your productive activity (Adam Smith); that, in consequence, the working classes are bound to destroy as soon as possible the organization of the State and the exploiting or the oppressive classes," why, I ask, instead of giving a purely scientific analysis, did he hide the truth from the honest worthy people who took him at his word? And what result is gained by this method, which appears more than strange? Politicians, unscrupulous men, who, owing to their complete ignorance, are incapable of the least intellectual labor, learn by heart two pamphlets by Engels and a popular version of Marx, and then pose as men of science; and if, perchance, the workers in all good faith send them to parliament, they declare, like Guesde, that Socialism has never been represented in parliament before! Just as tho Louis Blanc and Proudhon and others had never existed.

But what a disillusion for honest people when they learned the mystification of which they were made the victims by the *chief* of the "scientific Socialists."

I remember a discussion with a Social Democrat, a young man of good education and wide reading, but unfortunately of late years entirely immersed in the indifferent pamphlets and publications of the party, publications *under censure*, that is to say, by Engels and Auer. In the course of the discussion he read me triumphantly, as something new and entirely "materialistic," a passage from an attack by Engels upon Professor Dühring: "Sprung from the animals, humanity appeared in history in a

half-animal condition. Savages powerless in the face of Nature, without any idea of their own power and capacity, men were poor and miserable as the animals, and as incapable of production." For answer, I took Volney's "Ruins," and read: "In the beginning, man, naked in body and mind, found himself thrown hap-hazard upon the hostile and savage earth. Like other animals, without experience of the past or knowledge of the future, he wandered in the depths of forests, guided and governed only by natural sensations. The pain of hunger drove him to food. The inclemency of the weather made him cover his body with clothing. Drawn by pleasure, he approached a being like himself and propagated his species" (*Les Ruines*, Paris, 7th year of the Republic, 1798). You should have seen that young man's astonishment!

If the words, "sprung from an animal," are not to be found in Volney, the only reason is that Darwin's book did not appear until 1859. Engels, altho he opposes the Materialism of the Naturalists, in order to gain readers, admits the descent of man as established by them. Otherwise one would think that Engels had copied Volney. But are we to suppose that Volney originated those ideas? Not at all. He was an enlightened man of extraordinary literary power, and he diffused the ideas of his time. I have quoted Volney and Blanqui simply to prove that, since the beginning of the century, the economic explanation was not a conception limited to men of exceptional genius, but was a doctrine acknowledged by all enlightened people; and if Engels thought that by adopting ideas, widely admitted long ago by educated people, he was making a discovery and becoming a benefactor to humanity, he was strangely deceived. But that is not the fault of Vico and the encyclopedists, nor of Adam Smith and the English philosophers, nor of Niebuhr and the brilliant German school of history.

Nor is it the fault of science if Engels has mixed everything up,—metaphysics with science, Materialism with Economism,—and like the pretentious person he was, has declared himself opposed to the Materialism of the naturalists, the only scientific Materialism. How did that come to be? I have many reasons for not touching on that question; but the fact remains, and German workmen who have had the misfortune to read Engels's pamphlets are convinced that Hegel's metaphysics is the inductive science, with the systems of transformation, evolution, and Monism; while the inductive science of Bacon and Locke, Lamarck, Darwin, and Helmholtz, is only metaphysics! By metaphysics, science means that senile Scholasticism which preached the absurdity that Nature and the outside world are nothing but a reflection of our innate ideas, and that to know the physical world one must not study Nature, but the facts and phenomena of a supernatural spirit. From this the word

“metaphysics” was derived; for it signifies “after or below physics or Nature.” “Scientific Socialists,” please note!

The mortal blow to this theological and supernatural stupidity was given by Bacon and Locke, by Voltaire and the encyclopedists, and the whole English philosophy. Those various pioneers of modern science proved that our knowledge and ideas are derived from the observation and study of Nature, and that, in consequence, we must study natural phenomena in their manifestation and origin according to the inductive method. But this is what Engels tells the workmen: “Transported into philosophy by Bacon and Locke, this inductive method created the very characteristic narrowness in the ideas of the last two centuries and produced the method of metaphysical reasoning.”*

This assertion of Engels, and his further statement that the doctrines of Evolution and Transformation, that is, the science of the naturalists, are derived from Hegel’s philosophy, are neither more nor less than glaring errors and contradictions to scientific terminology. Marx himself solemnly gives him the lie: “Denounced and overthrown by French Materialism, the metaphysics of the seventeenth century had their revenge and restoration in the speculative German philosophy of the nineteenth. Since Hegel founded his universal metaphysical empire, attacks against theology, similar to those of the eighteenth century, have been renewed and are directed in general against all speculative philosophy and all metaphysics.” (“French Materialism of the Eighteenth Century.”)

Nor is science to blame if Engels, immersed in metaphysical absurdities, believed up to 1842 that the world and Nature, this beautiful, living, and life-giving Nature, were the expression of his own queer ideas. It is, moreover, to his metaphysical belief that everything which he saw or read must be a reflection of his own ideas, that we must attribute his strange mania for claiming the paternity of ideas and systems elaborated by science long before his birth. We cannot otherwise explain his ridiculous pretensions and his not too scientific demonstrations. Must we assume that he did not even suspect the existence of all this historical literature? In that case—well, he must have been a queer “leader” in the science of a scientific party. We must then assume that, even in

* In the Russian press, in which a contest against the Marxists has been going on for the last two years, this unique passage in literary history has already been pointed out, but no one has confronted Engels with Marx. This Russian polemic is very interesting. While the best Russian journalists and all decent people are opposed to Engels, the reactionaries defend him. One of them calls on honest folk to band themselves together as disciples of capitalism. Another, without shame or compunction, declared that Tchernychevsky, that noble martyr under Russian despotism, a man whom Marx much admired, was an abject servant to capitalism.

philosophy, he was devoid of quite elementary knowledge. For instance, he was quite unaware that the chief idea in Feuerbach's atheistic doctrine, namely, that man deified his own human nature in his divinities, was a commonplace among French essayists more than half a century before the publication of Feuerbach's work. In Volney's "Ruins," mentioned above, we read: "Like the world, of which he is a part, man is governed by natural laws, regular in their course, consistent in their effects, unalterable in their essence" (p. 39, French ed.). / "It is not God who made man in his image, but man who has fashioned God in his. He has given God his mind, clad him with his inclinations, and endowed him with his judgments" (p. 85). /

You may say that Engels no doubt knew all this. Be it so. But in that case, why did he show such disingenuousness? Why did he create, without cause, a more than deplorable confusion in the conscience of the workers? With what object did he blind his readers' eyes? Certainly not to the advantage of truth or Socialism.

XII.

MATERIALISM AND SLAVERY

Engels and his very scientific disciples have denounced the Materialism of naturalists as *vulgar*, that is to say, all inductive science itself. Does there, then, exist another kind of Materialism for the use of the elect and privileged? It seems there exists a dialectic Materialism invented by them, and this Materialism has nothing in common with that of naturalists.

Dialectic Materialism! What a monstrosity! and what may we not expect from such a mixture? Dialectic is proper to metaphysics, and has no connection with science, whereas Materialism, in our times, is inductive science itself. It is the general basis of all *positive* knowledge, of all present evolutionist philosophy, and there exists no *science*, save the sophistic medley known by the name of Social Democracy, that is not based on the *vulgar* Materialism of naturalists. I shall remind the sophists of Engels's school what Marx said on this subject in 1845:

“Materialism is the child of England. . . . * The true *founder of the Materialism and inductive science* of modern times is Bacon. For him science consists solely of the natural sciences. . . . Science is experience. . . . Induction, analysis, observation are the principal elements of the rational method. Movement is the inseparable property of matter . . . and the force that creates even animated beings. . . . You cannot separate the idea of movement from matter which engenders it. . . . Man is subject to the same laws as nature.”

Speaking of the influence of materialist and sensationalist English philosophy in France, Marx says: “The need of a positive and anti-metaphysical system was felt in that country. . . . Locke's work appeared at the right time.”

How is it, I ask Engels's disciples again, that Bacon and Locke, the “founders of Materialism, of inductive science and the anti-metaphysical system,” are called by Engels founders of metaphysics? And how do they dare to tell workers that they “created narrowness in the ideas of the last two centuries . . . metaphysical reasoning”? that there exists a Materialism other than that of the natural sciences? And by what right do these pupils of Hegel's metaphysical and reactionary school attribute to themselves the invention of Materialism, while combating the true Materialism of naturalists? How can they tell workers that the

* See his article on French materialism (1845) reproduced by *Die Neue Zeit*.

economic explanation of history (see Chapter XIX.), elaborated by all science, was discovered by them, and that just this discovery is true Materialism?

In spite of their scientific pretensions, I believe that Engels and his disciples have chiefly acted out of ignorance. Let them, therefore, listen to what a great German naturalist says on the Materialism of "vulgar" inductive sciences. Perhaps they will learn that Bacon's and Locke's ideas, adopted by Marx when neither he nor Engels aspired to an international dictatorship, that these ideas enriched and developed, constitute the basis of all contemporary science and philosophy.

"Our conception of Monism, or the unity-philosophy," says Hackel,* "on the contrary, is clear and unambiguous; for an immaterial living spirit is just as unthinkable as a dead, spiritless material; the two are inseparably combined in every atom . . . for according to our monistic conception, energy and matter are inseparable, being only different inalienable manifestations of one single universal being—substance. . . . These fixed groups of primitive atoms are the atoms of the elements—the well-known 'indivisible' atoms of chemistry. . . . Thus, for example, the atom of carbon (the real 'maker' of the organic world) is in all probability a tetrahedron made up of four primitive atoms. . . . After the glowing sphere of the earth had cooled down to a certain degree (according to Laplace's hypothesis), drops of fluid water precipitated themselves on the hardened crust of its surface—the first preliminary condition of organic life. Carbon atoms begin their organism-engendering activity, and unite with the other elements into plasma-combinations capable of growing. . . . The history of descent now leads us on step by step from the oldest Metazoa, the simplest pluricellular animals, up to man. . . . Our human body has been built up slowly and by degrees from a long series of vertebrate ancestors, and this is also true of our soul; as a function of our brain it has gradually been developed in reciprocal action and re-action with this, its bodily organ. What we briefly designate as the "human soul" is only the sum of our feeling, willing, and thinking—the sum of those physiological functions whose elementary organs are constituted by the microscopic ganglion cells of our brain. . . . Comparative psychology teaches us how, hand in hand therewith, the soul itself, as function of the brain, has been developed. The last-named science teaches us also that a primitive form of soul activity is already present even in the lowest animals, the single-celled primitive animals, Infusoria and Rhizopoda. Every scientific man who has long

* "Monism," an address delivered on October 9, 1892, at Altenburg. London, 1895, Black.

observed the life activity of these single-celled Protista, is positively convinced that they also possess a soul; that this 'cell-soul' also consists of a sum of sensations, perceptions, and volitions; the feeling, thinking, and willing of our human soul differ from these only in degree. . . . We now definitely know that the organic world of our earth has been as continuously developed, 'in accordance with eternal iron laws,' as Lyell had in 1830 shown to be the case for the inorganic frame of the earth itself; we know that the innumerable varieties of animals and plants which during the course of millions of years have peopled our planet are all simply branches of one single genealogical tree; we know that the human race itself forms only one of the newest, highest, and most perfect offshoots from the race of the Vertebrates."

Speaking of human morality, Häckel says: " 'Do to others as you would they should do to you.' This natural and highest command had been taught and followed thousands of years before Christ said: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' In the human family this maxim has always been accepted as self-evident; as ethical instinct it was an inheritance derived from our animal ancestors. It had already found a place among the herds of apes and other social mammals."

Animal-man, man produced by organic evolution from the moral and physiological point of view, is the basis of science nowadays. All men of science, even fervent Catholics, like Secchi and Moigno, have adopted the doctrine in about the same terms as Häckel. . . . In fact, nowadays, nobody talks of Materialism as of a doctrine apart. I repeat, Materialism has become synonymous with science. At the time of the Encyclopedists, when science was invaded by theology and metaphysics, or at the beginning of the century, when the doctrine of cataclysms dominated in geology, and Cuvier disowned the doctrine of Lamarck and Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire, at that time the controversy about Materialism was of great importance. But for fifty years, to call yourself Materialist signifies simply not to be an ignoramus that denies science, not to be a theologian, a talmudist, a metaphysician, or a Social Democrat. As for Engels, who was beginning to emancipate himself from the absurdity of metaphysics, under the influence of Feuerbach, scientific doctrines must have appeared a kind of revelation to him. But he had no grounds for attributing to Marx and to himself the invention of these elementary truths of modern science.

And I have my doubts that Engels ever completely emancipated himself from metaphysics. He shows himself neither materialistic nor scientific in his polemics with Dühring, when he entirely denies the influence of force in history, or when he glorifies slavery as a boon to mankind.

"In general," we read in Engels, "private property was not the result of pillage or violence . . . it was brought about by economic causes. Violence plays no part in its creation. . . . The whole history of the origin of private property is based exclusively on economic causes, and to explain it, it is not necessary to refer to violence, to pillage, to the State,* or to any other political intervention. . . . Property must be created by work before it can be appropriated by force. . . . Before slavery became possible, production and inequality of distribution must have already existed."

No violence, no State or forcible intervention. . . . It is production itself that engenders inequality, oppression, slavery. . . . If it is so, what an abomination, a curse to humanity must be production and work, that are only sources of social iniquities!

But what, may I ask, was the theory primitive men depended on? What capital did they need when killing one another to regale themselves on human flesh?

Engels, as a true sophist, triumphantly teaches Dühring that Robinson Crusoe captured Friday, because Robinson was a representative of high culture and was the better armed. "Producers supplied with the better weapons always triumphed over inferior producers," he adds. But Robinson saved Friday from the not very pleasant prospect of being eaten by his noble fellow citizens. These latter had triumphed over Friday before Robinson. Had they triumphed by their superior education or by force? Did Menelik and the Abyssinians beat the Italians because they are more advanced in civilization and in methods of production, or because they were stronger? And did barbarians destroy Græco-Roman civilization because they were more developed, more industrious, and more civilized? No, it was force, brutality, violence, that triumphed.

Where did Engels find his pernicious doctrine that legalizes oppression and slavery? He has many times said that he expressed Marx's ideas. But the latter never denied the part played by force and violence, neither in economical nor in political life. ". . . The unity of great nations has been *created by violence*, and in our times it has become a powerful factor of social production." (Marx, "Civil War in France in 1870-71.")

Who is right,—Marx, admitting, according to history, the part played by violence, or Engels, preaching to workers that they are exploited and oppressed according to their own slavish good will?

And on what does he base himself when he teaches that without slavery, ancient Greece and its arts and sciences could not have been

* Why then wish to conquer the State?

developed; or that slavery at that time was a great step towards progress? If slavery was a progressive factor in history, why did the same Greece fall into a barbarous state under Turkish rule? Slavery flourished in those parts till the beginning of our century. How did it happen that during twenty centuries, the same nation with the same slavery, instead of continuing its incomparable civilization, fell more and more into a savage state?

I know of no such example given in any literature except among the upholders of slavery. The apologists of Despotism and slavery say, at least, that they are the representatives of armed power, and that the people, the rabble, must obey them. But here is the leader of scientific Socialism who tells workers that their fathers submitted voluntarily to the rich, that force was not necessary to bring them to sell themselves and their children, and that they pushed cowardice so far as voluntarily to cede to the rich the right of the first wedding night!

Nobody has ever outraged the proletariat in such a way. To put forward such an assertion, a man must be a confirmed sophist, but no scientist. Poor Science, what stupidities and monstrosities Engels preached in your name!

And they try to impose all this mass of obscurities and brutishness as scientific Socialism on German workers. But the German workmen are too intelligent, too kind, too frank-hearted, to remain under the influence of such a doctrine for long. And we already feel the signs of approaching revolts.

XIII.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CLAIMS.

The centralized and all-powerful State; the rights and needs of individuals subjected to discipline, subordinated to the orders of State functionaries; production organized by the State; citizens enrolled in the *labor army*, especially in that of agriculture ("Communist Manifesto") . . . , such is the queer ideal of the repulsive Socialism that is being imposed on workmen as scientific Socialism. We already know the metaphysical or reactionary philosophy of such a school. Let us now examine its Socialist conceptions, its present claims. Perhaps nowadays, under the influence of general progress in sciences and intellectual culture, Social Democracy modifies the martial conception of the manifesto dated 1848. Let us take the work containing the official program of scientific Social Democracy, by Kautsky: "Basis of Social Democracy."

What does the party profess as regards Socialist production and individual rights in a future society?

In Chapter X., on "Socialism and Liberty," we read: "Socialist production is not compatible with liberty of work; that is to say, with the worker's freedom to work when or how he likes. . . . It is true, under the rule of Capitalism a worker still enjoys liberty up to a certain degree. If he does not quite like a factory, he can find work elsewhere. In a Socialist society (Social Democratic), all the means of production will be concentrated by the State, and the latter will be the only employer; there will be no choice. The workman today enjoys more liberty than he will possess in a Socialist society (Social Democratic).

"It is not Social Democracy that eliminates the right of choosing work and time, but the development (?) of production itself."

Production, but not violence, created all iniquities and oppression in the past, said Engels, and the official work assures us that the same production will create slavery in a Social Democratic society. If it be so, why did the same production in the past create two categories of men; one preaching discipline, subordination, submission and slavery; the other liberty, emancipation, rebellion and solidarity? Why does Social Democracy always preach the doctrines of the first category which history stigmatizes by the name of reaction, obscurantism, and oppression? Altho these two categories resulted from the mode of production, nevertheless humanity accomplished its progressive evolution in always combating both men and institutions of the first category, and in welcoming

both men and institutions of the second. I do not insist on the completely erroneous conception of the exclusive influence of the form of production in history. But even admitting its truth, I do not see why Social Democracy should preach to the oppressed, to the exploited, doctrines of subordination and obscurantism, and strive to ridicule the ideas of emancipation and solidarity preached by Robert Owen and other friends and benefactors of mankind. Do theorists and party leaders find men insufficiently brutalized by Church, State, exploitation, magistrature, Militarism, etc.?

You must not think that the above mentioned passages merely express Kautsky's personal ideas; this ideal of a society subjugated by the State is the fundamental basis of Social Democracy in all countries. Another Social Democrat, Sydney Webb, an Englishman, and far superior to the preceding one, in his pamphlet, "Socialism, True and False," assures his readers that "to dream of an autonomous factory in the future, of a production without rules or discipline . . . is not Socialism." * A third, a Russian this time, Plekhanoff, highly esteemed by Democrats, is so scandalized by the Anarchist assertion that humanity will be able to live in a solidary society, having no other leader than free agreement, that he finds nothing better than to ridicule our principles of solidarity by saying: "In a future society of Anarchists they will guillotine by free agreement." Poor man! Your brain is so encumbered by notions on discipline, order, subordination, executions, and other beauties of a slavish military society, that you cannot even imagine capital punishment abolished by an enlightened humanity.

In the name of what well-being do these dreamers of barracks, army of labor, discipline, and subordination, want to deprive Social Democratic humanity of liberty, initiative, and solidarity? Perhaps they think of realizing a communistic system so perfect, that the individual would willingly submit to all orders and commandments of the State's functionaries. Let us see how Social Democratic legislators pretend to organize the distribution of labor thus disciplined.

The same Kautsky, in Chapter IX. of the same work, "Distribution of Products in the Future State," answering the objections of adversaries of Socialism, declares: "Our adversaries should demonstrate that equal remuneration is an inevitable consequence of Socialism." I think that the adversaries can easily demonstrate to this author and to German Democrats that, outside economic equality or equivalence, there is no Socialism, and that Communism, under the flag of which Engels's pupils

* Webb says it is Anarchy. I am very grateful for this avowal from the author of *History of Trade-Unionism*. Yes, it is we who preach autonomy and solidarity.

pretend to place themselves, accepts as fundamental principle: "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs." But Kautsky continues in the name of German Democracy to teach workmen that in their Social Democratic State:

"All forms of present wages; remuneration by the hour or the piece, special bonuses for extra valuable work, different salaries for different kinds of work . . . all the forms of contemporary wages, a little modified, are perfectly practicable in a Socialist society." Here it is necessary to bring back to truth this philosopher of scientific Socialism. The wage system will be able to flourish in their Social Democratic State, as it works in the present exploiting capitalistic State, but *never* in a *Socialist* society. The author and his friends are completely mistaken in thinking that their Democratic State, organized in military fashion with the wage system as remuneration, even if called *wage of qualification*, has anything in common with Socialism. The latter, according to the conception of its first expounders, asserts the right of individuals to liberty without restriction, to a complete and harmonious development. It disowns the exploitation of man by man, by society, by the State; it disowns, in fact, the wage system—so dear to German Democrats. The wage system is the basis of Capitalism. In admitting it for your State, you confirm, gentlemen, what good men have long since said of you. You have disfigured the fundamental idea of Socialism; you have substituted for emancipation, discipline and subordination; for solidarity, barrack, order, and obligations; for economic equality, privilege; and in that you have betrayed the cause of the people, the claims of suffering humanity. It was not without reason that our friend, Domela Nieuwenhuis, cried out when speaking of you: "Socialism is in danger!" It is for this that you have deserved the praise of an enlightened bourgeoisie.

To speak honestly, a Radical bourgeoisie could not only adopt such a profession of faith of Socialist pretensions with its system of wage qualification, but even observe that the claims of the Social Democratic party, formulated by its chief and founder, Liebknecht, are pretty moderate. In his article, "The Program of Socialism in Germany" ("The Program of German Socialism," Forum Library, New York, April, 1895, p. 28), Liebknecht puts this question, "What do we ask for?" Then he declares, "Absolute liberty of the press, absolute liberty of religion, universal suffrage for all representative bodies and public offices in the State and in the Commune; national education, all schools open to all, the same opportunities of learning and education for all, abolition of standing armies and creation of national militia, so that every citizen is a soldier and every soldier a citizen; an international court of arbitration between

different States, equal rights for men and women, measures for the protection of the working classes (limitation of hours of work, sanitary regulations, etc.)” That there should be no doubt, Liebknecht adds: “They are reforms already accomplished or being realized in advanced countries, and they are in full agreement with Democracy.” With Democracy, yes; but not with Socialism. And then, Democracy and Liberals of *advanced countries* have already realized, or are disposed to realize immediately, Federalism, the referendum, direct legislation, communal autonomy—institutions disowned and fought by Social Democrats. We already know that Marx and Engels, with Maltman Barry (the agent of English Conservatives), excluded Federalists from the International, that Liebknecht declared himself in 1872 (when he was still a revolutionary, which he is no longer today), adversary of any federalist republic; that English Social Democrats—happily their number is insignificant, and, save Hyndman, they are all mediocrities—have combated the referendum and voted for the Conservatives at the last election, against the Gladstonian ministry, which at least had introduced an eight hours’ day in all government factories and establishments, had obtained communal autonomy, and was struggling for home rule and for the abolition of the House of Lords.

Even in France, where the commune tradition is so strong, Social Democrats, without suspecting that they are playing the reactionary game of Hegel’s school, avoid using the words Federalism, Federation. They do not dare to preach the organization of the “army of labor, especially for agriculture.” Neither do they dare, in spite of their dearest aspirations, abolish local federations; but they avoid the word detested by Hegel, Bismarck, Engels, Liebknecht and others, and call their federations “agglomerations.” These *scientists* of “scientific” Socialism ignore that the geological term “agglomeration” signifies accumulation, a heap of divers minerals, and that men and solidary societies unite, make covenants, ally, federate, but do not agglomerate. In speaking of their parliamentary group, they can say that this group and its doctrines form a strange agglomeration of reactionary ideas, that allows Millerand to declare himself in favor of the sacred right of private property; Guesde, for German Collectivism, which we have just analyzed; G. Deville, against revolution; and that all of them together constitute an archaic agglomeration, equally fit for a mineralogical museum and for a parliament of Panamists.

XIV.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ETHICS.

In finishing, I ought to sketch their agitation tactics, their mode of propaganda and their polemics against Socialists in general, and especially against us, Anarchists. But courage fails me to undertake this disagreeable task. And then, what use will it be to know how little by little their tactics of legal action and agitation led them to this strange conception of Socialism, which makes them more reactionary in their claims than French Socialist Radicals or simple English Liberals and Radicals? Also, I do not think it of much use to tell in detail how Liebknecht and his friends tried to make Bakunin pass for a Russian government agent; how the same Liebknecht calumniated Domela Nieuwenhuis, treated as charlatans and *agents provocateurs* men of well-known purity of character, like the noble and generous Cafiero; how at last the same Liebknecht published in his paper that Werner, arrested in Berlin for having a clandestine printing press, was *the same who consulted with Hoedel!* No, I will not; I cannot trouble myself with the exploits of all these noble legislators; in what especially concerns Liebknecht, the epithets of "professional calumniator" and "Anarchist eater," which our German friends bestowed on him, suffice.

But two things in their tactics are too characteristic for me not to mention them here. One is their individual ethics; the other their behavior towards revolutionists of other nationalities.

Faithful to Hegel's reactionary metaphysics, which preached that the individual must submit completely to the authority of the State, and that there is no question of individual rights or needs, the publicists and orators of the party preach to the workers that the individual has no significance in history and in society, and that all those who think that individual liberty and the complete satisfaction of physical and moral needs of the individual will be guaranteed in a future society, are utopians. Consequently, the worker must know that he must submit to the orders . . . of whom? Ah! of those two exceptional men, founders of "scientific" Socialism, who have discovered the law of concentration of capital, surplus value, dialectics, Materialism, Monism, the materialist explanation of history, revolutionary tactics by legal means, Communism, with an "army of labor especially for agriculture," etc., etc. The individual in general is of no account, but Marx and Engels are the two exceptions of mankind. Their heirs are also excep-

tions; the Avelings, the Lafargues, as well as their adopted heirs, Liebknecht, Bebel, Auer, Guesde, Plekhanoff, and others. The ignorant workman, the human flock, composed of insignificant nonentities, must submit to and obey all these "superior beings" . . . This is what is called scientific and Social Democratic equality.

And to think that such monstrosities are uttered in a European society that already possesses J. S. Mill's work, "On Liberty," and that of Guyau, "Morals Without Sanction Or Obligation;" when modern philosophy, according to Professor Wundt, asks of the individual, not submission, but good will.

The crowning point is their behavior towards revolutionary acts in other countries. Their "Communist Manifesto" said that "Communists act everywhere in harmonious agreement with revolutionists." We know their "harmonious agreement" with the revolutionists of the Paris Commune. Let us see how they behaved towards other revolutionists.

In 1875-76, during the Servian-Bulgarian revolution, when all men sympathized with the insurgents, only Social Democratic organs carried on a propaganda harmful to those who fought for liberty, in assuring workers that the revolution was provoked by Russian Despotism and to the latter's profit. They uttered the same infamous falsehood about the unfortunate Armenian nation massacred by the Turkish army, which is organized and commanded by German officers.*

When our Italian friends organized the insurrection of Benevento in 1877, Social Democrats in Berlin cried out that Cafiero, Malatesta, and their friends—among them was the hero of the Russian revolution, Stepniak—were all *agents provocateurs*. The conduct of these amateur policemen in Berlin was so revolting, that a bourgeois paper observed that Liebknecht & Co. could disapprove the action, but that it was hardly honest to dub as criminal and an *agent provocateur* Cafiero, who, renouncing a brilliant career, sacrificed his immense fortune for the social emancipation of the people.

It was especially towards us Russian revolutionists that their behavior was revolting. From 1876 to 1881, at each revolutionary attempt, at each manifestation of the party of that heroic youth that commanded admiration from the civilized world, these international calumniators, with reactionary rage, uttered the most stupid and the most vulgar abuse.

At first, we Russian exiles, escaped from Siberia and prison, protested in the Socialist press against their attacks; but we soon under-

* The "great" Moltke was its organiser, Holz-Pasha and others are its commanders.

stood that what could harm the Russian revolutionary movement was not their attacks, but their sympathy and co-operation. Those among us Russian Socialists who adopted Social Democratic doctrines, and had Engels, Liebknecht & Co.'s sympathy, immediately became adversaries of the revolution and fought against revolutionists. One of these Russians, highly esteemed and protected by Engels's set, N. Outine, distinguished himself by his exploits against revolutionists and ended by imploring the czar's pardon.

Another favorite of Social Democrats, Plekhanoff, who continues Outine's *sad work*, boasted in his report to the Social Democratic congress of 1891, in Brussels, of having had, he and his friends, "to fight for many years against the different factions who held Bakunin's doctrines" (p. 4).

To state it clearly, the report includes, under the name of "Bakunists," Russian Federalist Communists, who were the instigators of the great movement of propaganda among the workmen and peasants (1873-78), inaugurated the heroic struggle of the executive committee, and founded the famous Socialist Revolutionary party, *Zemlia i Volia* (Land and Liberty). Plekhanoff and his friends, followers of Outine, combated all revolutionary parties. "Observe, citizens," thus writes Plekhanoff, "that it is not only Anarchists we mean by Bakunists. The late P. Thatcheff thought himself a partisan of Blanqui (so he was). He combated Anarchists and carried on polemics with Bakunin himself. . . . It is also the same with the party, *The Will of the People*, led by the celebrated 'Executive Committee'" (p. 5).

In other words, Russian Social Democrats, faithful pupils and imitators of Engels, Liebknecht & Co., combated all factions of the Russian Revolutionary party. It is perfectly true; they fought them! And when? When proverbial stupidity and cruelty reigned in Russia under the name of Alexander III.; when Pobiedonoszeff, that Russian Torquemada, when spies, police and executioners hanged, strangled, and transported to Siberian mines women, sublime in their devotion, men, heroic in their struggle for the social emancipation of the Russian people, when the enlightened and peace loving bourgeoisie admired and glorified the martyrs of Russian Despotism; it is then that the disciples of barracks, and of the army of labor, especially for agriculture, combated them. While our great novelist, Turgenieff, was writing in praise of the modesty and devotion of revolutionary young girls—Plekhanoff was combating them; while the same Turgenieff, on his deathbed, recognized "Russian terrorists (the Executive Committee) as men of great character"; while the American writer George Kennan was publishing his admiration for Alexander III.'s victims, Plekhanoff was combating

them; while "Underground Russia"—that gallery so attractive and life-like of portraits of Russian Revolutionists which we owe to the valorous Stepniak's pen—was read everywhere, in all languages, and honest men of all social conditions sympathized with them, and women, the world over, were touched by these portraits, Plekhanoff was combating them; he was always combating, this courageous Russian Social Democrat. . . .

But what is the most revolting and shameful, is that such a report could be presented, read, and approved of, in a congress of men calling themselves Socialists and Revolutionists.

That is to what an extent the propaganda of Legalism, discipline, subordination, had to demoralize Social Democracy, for it to approve of such dirt!

Not one indignant voice was raised to recall to decency that strange revolutionist. On the contrary, the reporter has become a popular man among Social Democrats on account of this report. Like formerly Outline, shortly before he implored the czar's pardon, Plekhanoff, since his apparition on the scene of Social Democracy in the West, has become a favorite with Engels, Liebknecht & Co. This worthy man declares again in the same report:

"We (Plekhanoff and consorts) can congratulate ourselves now of having swept the ground for scientific Socialism" (Report, p. 4). No, it was not Plekhanoff that swept the ground of all revolutionary factions in Russia. If this sweeping of the ground really took place—which is not proved—the entire glory is due to the great fetish of French patriots, to Alexander III., to his hangmen ministers, to his innumerable spies. . . . I believe even that the reporter triumphed too soon, judging from numerous articles published in Russian newspapers and reviews, judging from the hisses young Russians bestowed on Plekhanoff when honest and generous young people learned the contents of his report—it seems, on the whole, that in Russia itself the ground is not swept for "scientific Socialism," and that the Russian Socialist world has more esteem for "utopians" like Tchernychevsky and his disciples . . . than for Engels and Plekhanoff.

Must we blame Russian Socialist society for this preference? According to the definition of Social Democrats, each convinced Socialist, each enlightened friend of humanity, can justly claim the title of an accomplished utopian. In the pamphlet by Plekhanoff, "Anarchism and Socialism," warmly recommended by Mrs. Marx-Aveling, we read in italics:

"Utopian is one who, starting from an abstract principle, seeks for a perfect social organization" (p. 4).

Read that sentence carefully, and you will discover that utopians are men of principle, and that they wish to reorganize present society, based on exploitation, ignorance, and oppression, in order to make out of it a solidary and communistic society, where the individual will have liberty, education, and happiness among his fellow men, likewise, free, enlightened, and happy. I confess to being an utopian. I am even afraid of not being so enough; for I might be suspected of being a man without principles, like Engels and his disciples, and, like them, of being capable of distorting scientific terminology, the conception of Socialism, and, lastly, instead of preaching emancipation and solidarity, of being capable of dishonoring myself so far as to preach the organization of the army of labor, especially of agriculture, discipline, subordination; in a word, Social Democracy. . . .

And you, also, friend and reader, I wish with all my heart that you should always remain a man of principle. Every honest man must have principles, and if this quality belongs to utopians, be a utopian. Say aloud, and repeat without ceasing, that the great utopians—Saint-Simon, Fourier, R. Owen, Tchernychevsky—being men of principle, were at the same time great lovers of humanity; that they sacrificed both fortune and life to the emancipation of suffering humanity, while men without principle, Engels, Singer,* and others, multiplied their fortunes by exploiting workmen. . . . † Let us add that as you are men of Socialist principles, you will never propagate exploitation and qualifying wages, that you will not calumniate anyone, especially men, parties, or nations who struggle for liberty; that, on the contrary, you will sustain always and everywhere the efforts of the disinherited to shake off the yoke of oppression and slavery, and that when events call for action and devotion to your principles, you will know how to bear, like others, long years of persecution and imprisonment, and will be even capable of walking to the scaffold as courageously and peacefully as John Huss, Thomas More, Varlin, and Sophie Perovskaya.

* Among Social-Democratic members of parliament are 7 manufacturers, 2 gentlemen of independent means, 3 traders, etc.

† According to the newspapers, Engels left an enormous fortune, due to his partnership in a Manchester factory.

XV.

SECESSION AND MODERN EVOLUTION.

I.

Scarcely five years have passed since the publication of this work, and what changes have taken place in the Social Democratic world! Who could have foreseen, on the evening before the congress of London, that Social Democracy, so triumphant in Germany, in France, and in Belgium, was so near decomposition, through divisions and quarrels in all its national organizations, as well as in the domain of its so-called scientific theories?

I remember how triumphant the Germans were at the opening of the congress of London. The hall decorated with portraits of Robert Owen and others? No, only by those of Engels and other Germans; the committee composed or imposed by them; the discussions, the translation, the resolutions formulated, proposed by them—all was Social Democratic, metaphysical, legislative. Infatuated by their success, they tried to expel Revolutionists and Anarchists from the congress, but what was their astonishment when the real workers' organizations—the trades unions—opposed this, and their proposition was rejected. That was the first defeat.

Then, in order to paralyze the revolutionists, they introduced as a Socialist formula, their resolution of Zurich (1893), which was purely political and legal, and couched in these terms:

“The struggle against domination and exploitation by the governing class should be political, and have for aim the conquest of political power.”

The same trade unionists and the revolutionists have rejected this formula as a complete contradiction of the declaration of the International, that:

“The economic emancipation of the working classes is the principal aim, to which all political action should be subordinated.”

That was the second defeat.

Seeing the ground trembling beneath their feet, and foreseeing that on the General Strike question they would again be in the minority with their hostile resolutions, they succeeded in putting it off till the final sitting, but the next morning the tables of the English delegates were empty—the trades unions had retired from the congress.

That was the third defeat.

The condition became serious. The Germans perceived that the proletariat, especially in France and in England, without speaking of Spain, was not at all for them. So they proposed that the next congress should be held in Germany, knowing perfectly well that the revolutionists, and especially the Anarchists, could not participate in it there. On the remark that in Germany no free speech existed, and that the Social Democrats held their meetings only by authorization of, in virtue of the presence of the police, Liebknecht solemnly declared that towards 1900 they should have imposed on their government a new law, ensuring the freedom of public meetings. It is known that the Social Democrats have claimed and obtained nothing, and that the congress took place at Paris—and what a congress! Ridiculous as to the questions proposed for discussion, historical for the division and mutual incriminations between the different party sections.

That was the fourth defeat.

II.

But especially the political events in Russia, Italy, and in France, dealt heavy, almost mortal blows to these revolutionary Socialists, as they pretended to be, whilst having in reality neither the honesty nor the courage of simple political Radicals.

Russia, crushed by the atrocious reaction of Alexander III., begins to recover, to awaken towards the end of his reign. The revolutionary youth, this time sustained by the workers, made their first attempts to hold public manifestations. In 1897, when the affair of Mlle. Vetroff * provoked general indignation and protest, and manifestations took place in all university towns, the Social Democrats of Kiev issued a proclamation to the workingmen, beseeching them in the name of scientific Socialism not to participate in political demonstrations. Honest people were dumfounded and indignant; they could not believe that this could be an authentic fact. But they soon found out that a whole movement, so-called Marxian Economism, existed, which denied all revolutionary struggle, and preached that ameliorations in the condition of the wage system may be obtained, even under the Despotism of an autocratic czar. That was quite a revelation, and every honest man in the different parties condemned the economists. In order to save Russian Social Democracy, the best known Marxists, Plekhanoff, Zassoulitch, and others, began to dispute with the economists, and declared themselves in favor of manifestations, proclaiming themselves to be revolutionists.

All friends of political and social enfranchisement of the Russian greeted this declaration with great satisfaction, and also we, tho knowing the polemic of Plekhanoff and others against revolutionists, received with sympathy this unexpected news. But what was our surprise on hearing their definition of the word revolutionary.

In a long preface to a new edition of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" (Geneva, 1900), Plekhanoff gives us not only the definition as his personal, but as the Social Democratic conception. On p. 77 of the introduction, we read, "During the restoration, Guizot and his followers aspired with much energy, and as men who knew what they want, to the establishing of a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but nobody among them had the idea of acquiring this end by violent means or by insurrection. Guizot certainly would have vigorously condemned any de-

* Teacher, arrested for Socialist propaganda and ill-treated, it is even said violated by the attorney for the prosecution in Peter and Paul fortress, where she burned herself.

sign of a possible insurrection. This, however, did not prevent him from being revolutionary. Of quite the same type of revolutionists (only defending another class) do Marx and Engels appear in their manifesto, and such they remained all their lives to their last breath."

I read this, and asked myself, "What does it mean?" If the author wants to say that Guizot, the doctrinaire and reactionary minister of Louis Philippe, developed in his historical works an idea which made prejudices and pernicious creeds tremble, then evolutionists like Lamarck, Darwin, Häckel, and others must be treated like revolutionists, because they have overthrown all creeds and prejudices on which the present political and social order of humanity is based. But these great and very peaceful scientists have never been classified with revolutionists. This name was applied to all those who took part in and preached revolutionary acts. Not only Guizot, but Victor Considérant, from whom as we now know, Marx and Engels copied their manifesto, has never been counted as a revolutionist. Victor Considérant, as well as the Fourierists, are known under the name of "Peaceful Democrats."

So why create confusion? Engels attempted to pass metaphysics for Materialism, dialectics of ancient sophists for the evolutionary science of the nineteenth century; as if this were not sufficient, now another well-known Russian Social Democratic author tries to persuade the Russian people, oppressed and ill-treated every day by armed brutes, that revolution means nothing else but the dry doctrine of a reactionary minister and the condemnation of any revolt.

A strange sort of Revolutionism.

It is true the Russian Marxists attack the Absolutism of their government in their publications printed in Switzerland. We are the first to recognize what service they render the Russian people by that. But it must be mentioned, at the same time, that they attack that section of the Russian press which defends and propagates under a most vigorous censorship the progressive and humanitarian ideas of Tchernychevsky. To attack, from a free country like Switzerland, honest people, muzzled and prosecuted as in Russia, is, to say the least, not generous. But what is worse, they identified themselves with Russian writers, *i. e.* Beltoff, who defend in our time the same philosophical theories which forty years ago Katkoff and his followers preached in opposition to Tchernychevsky.

To such confusion of thought have the Russian Marxists arrived; and they call themselves revolutionists! Those who call themselves Marxian "economists" and Marxian "philosophers" have arrived at Quietism in politics, and at the most absurd and reactionary metaphysics. And the anomaly is that they are all continuously fighting each other in the name of Socialist science, of revolution, and of Materialism.

III.

More decisive is the reaction among the Marxists in Italy. The political reaction, at once so cruel and so mean, of King Humbert and of Crispi, did not fail to awaken the spirit of revolt and conspiracy in the towns, so energetic in the time of Mazzini and Garibaldi. On the other hand, the increasing expenditure of the State, the heavy burden of the taxes, deprived the Italian peasants of the last means of existence.*

At many places the misery was such that it was only astonishing that these famished men did not turn brigands or anthropophagi. There is nothing astonishing in the fact that those starved people, losing their patience, began to revolt, at first here and there, but by and by the spirit of rebellion began to penetrate the Italian rural districts, as well as the proletariat in the towns. Partial insurrections took place everywhere, in the North in the industrial centers, as well as in the South, among the peasants and agricultural population. Everywhere the revolt was suppressed by troops, and the police, aided by its accomplice, the magistracy, arrested, deported, by hundreds, our Anarchist comrades and the revolted peasants, also classified among Anarchists. The more the movement developed, the deeper the spirit of revolt penetrated the population, the less became the number of Marxists among the agitators. We can affirm, without any exaggeration, that the Marxists, led by Turati, Ferri, and others, were withdrawing more and more from the revolutionary elements, and, if they addressed themselves sometimes to the people, it was always to preach to those famished men a parliamentary, legal, and peaceful struggle.† They openly condemned the revolt of Massa-Carrara and all the rebellions of Mollinela, Ancona, and in the province of Romagna. Even in Milan, in May, 1898, when the misery and indignation had driven the masses to a general rising, Turati and his friends strongly urged a peaceful movement.

I am not at all disposed to condemn nor to blame them for their conduct. Far from it. I perfectly understand those persons and parties who are not revolutionary. Many peaceful men like Tolstoy, Considé-

* In Mollinela and generally in Romagna in 1898 a woman earned fifty, sixty, and sixty-five centimes a day, and the bread cost sixty and seventy centimes a kilo. Salt being a monopoly of the State, the people had not the right to use the water of the sea! Do you understand, the water of the seas a State monopoly! Glory to the State!

† The Socialist deputy, De Felice, like our friend Capriani, is not at all Marxist. By conviction revolutionary he put himself at the head of the peasants' movement in Sicily.

rant, Zola, and others, I esteem profoundly. Also against Turati, Ferri, and their friends, I should have nothing to say, if they had not, as Marxists, this strange pretension of being the fiercest revolutionists. Under the influence of the false interpretation of the Socialist and political terminology by Engels, Liebknecht, Plekhanoff, and others, the Italian youth of 1880-1898 have sincerely believed that parliamentary election, legal action, and some partial reforms compose the real revolutionary tactics of scientific Socialism. They have believed, as at present the Russian Marxists believe, that it is sufficient to declare themselves to be partisans of the same vague idealistic future themselves, and that by such an act they are already revolutionary. They have thought that, by using the means adopted by all political parties, and preaching legality, submission, and patience to the downtrodden, they have the right to stand in history side by side with Barbès, Blanqui, or Bakunin.

The events above mentioned did not fail to bring them back to the one conception of the expressions, revolution, revolutionary. The sanguinary days of Milan, the tragedy of Monza, have obliged them to give up popular revolts, as well as individual action. They, too, as Bernstein and his friends in Germany, as Jaurès, Viviani, Jerauld-Richard, and so many in France, declared themselves in favor of social reforms, to be obtained by parliamentary legislation, as practised under the present capitalist and military state. Turati, Ferri, and their friends are decided to support any radical and progressive ministry. Whilst the first proposes that the Marxian deputies should generally support Zanardelli, the second thinks that the Socialists should support him only under certain circumstances. To us the difference seems very small. The two sections may quarrel among themselves as they like, political and social history will classify them among well-intentioned, very humanitarian, peaceful reformers, legislative, but not revolutionary.

IV.

In France, where political and social movements are always so clearly and precisely defined, events unfolded themselves with so much logic that not the slightest doubt remains as to the real character of the revolution in the Marxian party.

When Zola launched his famous letter, "J'accuse," the liberal, progressive, and revolutionary element of France, Clemenceau, Bernard Lazare, and others, in their admirable struggle against Militarism, Jesuits, and royalists, or Bonapartist reaction, all men of character, all revolutionists, threw themselves into the maelstrom of the Dreyfus "affaire." Our Anarchist comrades were the first to attack the reactionary gangs in the streets; the people, the real workers of Paris, did not fail to join the revolutionists. There was only a small minority among the workers who hesitated rather long before proclaiming themselves in favor of the party. That was the Marxist party, that disciplined and central organization, composed mainly of men without the slightest initiative. Their representatives, Guesde, Lafargue, and others, under the pretext that Dreyfus was an officer and a rich bourgeois, but in reality through fear of losing the support of anti-Semites and reactionary Radicals of the type of Rochefort, recommended their followers to abstain from agitation.

This act of political cowardice dealt the Marxists a heavy blow. In Germany or in Austria, where, since 1848, no popular movement has taken place, such Quietism and abstention from agitation might have been preached, but in France, where the political life is so rich, so active, the people are accustomed to defend their opinions, their individual and common rights, by raising barricades, by overthrowing governments. Those among the Marxists who were not too orthodox—Jaurès, Viviani, Jerault-Richard, and others, followed the French tradition, and took part in the agitation. On this began the quarrel and the division. Guesde and Lafargue, men well trained in parliamentarian and Marxian intrigues, used all their influence in the organization to get Jaurès and his friends expelled. The latter, in order to paralyze the intrigues of the Guesdists, took the initiative to organize the proletariat on the autonomist and federalist line, so as to counteract the influence of the central committee on the Marxists, and met with unexpected success; in a few months the Socialist workers had united themselves into district federations, so that, at the annual congress of the party, Jaurès and his friends had a crushing majority. Instead of expelling, it was necessary to speak of obligatory union with the party. Guesde and Lafargue submitted to the

wishes of the party, retaining all their implacable hatred and spite. They took the first occasion to renew the proposition of exclusion, even at the risk of dissolution. That occasion presented itself when Millerand, the friend of Jaurès, accepted a ministerial portfolio in the cabinet of Waldeck-Rousseau-Gallifet.

The Guesdists attacked Jaurès, because the latter, with Viviani and many others, supported Millerand, the minister. To justify himself, Jaurès quoted a very eloquent passage from German Social Democrats, recommending the conquest of public power in municipalities or States. The Germans, preaching the conquest of political power, could not imagine that a Socialist might be invited to share that power with the bourgeoisie, because in their country, thanks to the complete lack of political and revolutionary energy among the masses, the aristocracy, leaning on Militarism, governs and scorns to make the slightest concessions to the workers, disciplined and pacified by the Marxists. Quite different are the conditions in France, where the Socialist and revolutionary Democracy is recognized as a powerful factor in national life. Waldeck-Rousseau, as a good statesman, and to paralyze the royalist and clerical reaction, looked for help to the workers, and invited into his cabinet a legal and constitutional State Socialist, Millerand, the true representative of the Marxian school, the true German Social Democrat of Paris. I remember to have read in the English papers the eulogistic terms with which Liebknecht spoke of the wisdom and courage of the statesman Waldeck-Rousseau, who had dared to invite the "Socialist" Millerand into his ministry. And it was only afterward, on learning that the so-called real French Marxists, together with Valliant and the revolutionists, declared themselves against the participation of Millerand in the ministry, that the Germans became less emphatic in their approval; but in reality they were not opposed—their resolution, called Kautsky's resolution at the congress of Paris in 1901, remains the best proof of it.

From that time the Social Democrats of France began an endless discussion on the expediency of permitting a Socialist to become minister in a capitalistic State, and, if it be desirable, under what conditions? Some agree that a Socialist can accept that office as a personal affair, without compromising the party. Others, the majority, found that a Socialist may enter a truly Republican ministry, and that the party will support such a ministry in its struggle against military and clerical reaction. By an incomprehensible scruple, Guesde, Lafargue, and their friends, just the very men who inaugurated legal and parliamentary tactics in France, who, first of all, began the pursuit for power, declared themselves fiercely against a Socialist minister. They base their protest on Socialist principles, on revolutionary traditions.

That is all very true. Certainly, revolutionary Socialism cannot, may not, compound with a social order, based on exploitation of man by man, by the collectivity, by the State; the revolutionists cannot compound with a government against which they organize a revolution. That is clear. So they must remain faithful to Socialist formulas, they must follow strictly the lines of an independent, frankly revolutionary conduct. But was it not just Guesde and his followers who, in 1880, elaborated the sadly famous "Program Minimum," with the nine-hour day and minimum wages? Was it not they who urged legal, peaceful, and parliamentary politics, with a view to obtain a legislative majority, and to conquer public power, ministry and precedence included? Who can believe their revolutionary sincerity, knowing with what hatred they deprecate each revolutionary act, each Anarchist attempt? What is the cause of their protest? They are probably shocked by the conditions under which power fell to them. Naturally they never guessed that the power would be offered to them together with Gallifet, the slaughterer of Paris workers during the Commune; a gift so offered to the admirers of power and the State, was a bitter irony on the part of Nemesis. To fraternize with Gallifet? "It is odious, cowardly!" was the indignant exclamation of the Parisian worker. In order not to lose their final prestige among the workers, they saw the necessity to protest; only they must recognize that their program, their tactics, the whole history of their movement during the last twenty years prepared their friend and "Comrade" Millerand, his place at the side of Gallifet, in a capitalist ministry. Also, they should acknowledge that, if Millerand betrays Socialism, he remains faithful to their minimum program; if he defends the capitalist order by shooting strikers and persecuting Anarchists, he certainly forsakes the revolution, but acts according to their legal and parliamentary tradition. So that Jaurès, Viviani, Gabriel, Deville, and others, in supporting Millerand, are more logical and faithful to Marxist traditions than Guesde and Lafargue, who condemn him. To have the right to condemn him, they must first repudiate their program, renounce their tactics, and turn revolutionists, and fraternize with us. At present, under the historical circumstances, the illogic of their program has led to results long since foreseen, and often indicated by our friends; when the secession took place, the orthodox Marxists cried betrayal! But by whom are they betrayed? By G. Deville, Jaurès, and Millerand? It is just these men who presented themselves at the congress of London in 1896, without any mandate from a workers' or Socialist organization. Their attempt to participate in the congress only in their quality of Marxian deputies failed, thanks to the Anarchist trades unions and the majority of the French delegates. To break the opposition, especially of the latter.

the Social Democrats proposed to divide France into two sections, the Independent and the Social Democratic. This gave them the means to retain those three gentlemen as delegates of Social Democratic France. The English, especially the delegates of the Independent Labor party and of the trades unions, were indignant, but at that period the Germans and their Socialism were still predominant.

Such was the admiration in Social Democratic circles for these three deputies, even as late as the beginning of 1899, that the English Social Democrats organized a special banquet for Jaurès and Liebkecht in London, and I remember quite well all the ovations and honors with which these two leaders were overwhelmed.

Is it astonishing if I ask what act of betrayal Jaurès, Millerand, and Deville committed, that their former admirers and comrades condemned them? None, absolutely none, of their acts or declarations is in contradiction to any of those which the Social Democrats have preached for the past thirty years.

But Millerand, being minister, and Jaurès, Deville, and others, defending the fact, these incidents opened the eyes of every one. It had been clearly shown to what monstrosities the Social Democratic tactics of Opportunism can lead. The workers began to be ashamed. Thence the definite, irreconcilable secession. And we hail it with joy, as in less than two years the character of the movement has changed. The autonomist and revolutionary spirit was again awakened. The central committee, a faithful copy of that of the Germans, was rendered ridiculous. The federalist movement carried with it a great majority. All the united efforts of the Marxian politicians at the congress of Paris in 1900, ended in nothing; the unity of the party and its committee was buried; French Social Democracy has become nearly a myth.

At present the Socialist movement in France is autonomist, federalist, and revolutionary, and I welcome the revolutionary federalists heartily. I welcome them because they have understood that barracks and prisons, that discipline and order of a central government of Social Democrats, are not consistent with Socialist solidarity and equality, but humiliating to the individual dignity of a free man, and still more humiliating for a society, a nation, a united and enlightened humanity.

The secession of the Socialist party in France is a great historical event. Let the pessimists not think that the movement will weaken by it. On the contrary, never has revolutionary Socialism progressed with such strength as at present. A census indicates that there are now more than 800,000 active Socialists. This number is apportioned among the Federalists (360,000), Revolutionary Socialists, Autonomist Federations, the Communist Alliance, the French Workers' party, and others; with the

exception of the last, the least numerous organization (orthodox Marxists), all the others declare themselves revolutionary federalists, in favor of the general strike and against Militarism. All this is a complete negation of Social Democracy. Until now, Federalism, the general strike, and anti-Militarism have been recognized as Anarchist heresies. The Social Democrats have always denounced them, but the people acclaimed them everywhere. In France the simple Radicals, from Ledru-Rollin to Goblet, Clemenceau, and Pressensé, have been, and still are, more advanced than Liebknecht, Kautsky and Lafargue. The French proletariat, revolutionary and generous as it is, who accomplished the great revolution, the revolution of 1848, and the Commune of 1871, cannot be subjugated by the reaction of Hegelian metaphysics, the hypocrisy of political cowards, who, under pompous formulas, preach Legalism, discipline, and submission.

V.

GERMANY.

Germany also passed thru the same crisis. But there, as always, events develop without any definite character. Much is said, discussed, and written, but very little is done . . . in reality, nothing. Bernstein, who provoked so much debate by his heretic book, whom Kautsky, Liebknecht, and Bebel have so anathematized, remains until now a prominent and a very esteemed member of the party. The fact that Bernstein is tolerated among the German Social Democrats is the best proof for our criticism on their so-called "scientific Socialism." In reality, what did Bernstein develop in his book, published four years after the appearance of our criticism?

That the law of the concentration of capital is an imaginary law ;

That metaphysics and dialectics constitute no science whatever ;

That their "Materialism" in history is a very poor thing, and cannot be distinguished from the philosophy of history, elaborated and adopted by historical science in general ;

That their revolutionary declamations are Platonic, and borrowed from the French revolutionists of 1848, especially from the Blanquists ;

That their tactics are legal and parliamentary, their claims being but for partial reforms, within the so-called labor legislation, as practised by the English parliament and the Federal council in Switzerland, and,

Consequently, the preambles of their program, couched in the Communist and revolutionary terms of 1848, are in flagrant contradiction to the practical part. Such are the theses exposed by Bernstein. Critics did not fail to point out that, whatever was said by him on concentration of capital, Materialism, dialectics, and Blanquism, was said by us before, (See the articles of "Reader," in the "London Daily Chronicle," 1898, and of Domela Nieuwenhuis, in *L'Humanité Nouvelle*, June, 1900), so that I have nothing to say on that question. Only I want to indicate the difference of our conclusions.

Showing that the number of capitalists increases, instead of diminishing, as Marx contended, I said to the proletarians that if they did not put an end to the exploitation and oppression of Capitalism by a revolutionary struggle, no imaginary law will diminish the number of their oppressors. While Bernstein, together with Giffen and Goschen, draws the conclusion that as the number of possessors increases, no reason remains to preach social revolution.

Speaking of the French revolutionary tradition of 1848 (Blan-

quism), I pointed out that the Social Democrats have entirely disfigured the French Socialist conception and revolutionary tactics, that they have betrayed the revolution, while Bernstein proposes to his party to renounce all Socialist and revolutionary formulas, because, he says, "thruout the whole existence of our party, we have never compromised ourselves by any act of that sort, and, consequently, the theoretical portion of the program is in complete contradiction with the practical part, as well as with the legal parliamentary action. As a supreme generalization, he suggests that the party declare themselves simply a party of peaceful, partial, and moderate reformers.

The leaders understood that their sterile phraseology was exposed. They cried out and blasphemed against Bernstein. "Those things are practised, but not confessed!" wrote Auer to him. Others began to combat him; his expulsion from the party was demanded. But what was the stupefaction of the leaders when they learned that a great number, perhaps the majority of the members, were in favor of Bernstein! . . . His expulsion threatened to be followed by a secession. This it was preferred to prevent, and was easy to avoid, as, in reality, no difference existed between the *confessed* Opportunism of Bernstein and the Opportunism practised, but not acknowledged, by the party. So that Bernstein, instead of being expelled, was nominated by the general committee of the party as their candidate for the Reichstag, and elected by a crushing majority in Breslau.

Nor have the Social Democratic critics of Bernstein succeeded better. For instance, Kautsky, the greatest scientist of this party of scientific Socialism, was far from happy in his arguments, and, least of all, in his defense of Marx's concentration of capital. We know at present that the phenomenon of concentration was already, in 1843, formulated by Victor Considérant, and denounced by him as a social evil, which had to be fought with every means. Without mentioning from whom he had borrowed the idea of concentration of capital, Marx proclaimed it, in 1867, as a social blessing to humanity, because, he said, according to its "immanent" law, capital destroys itself; the number of possessors will diminish; "one capitalist kills many capitalists." This fatalistic imagination makes the fundamental justification of Social Democratic Legalism and Opportunism. So it was necessary to show, at any cost, that this law of dialectics is unshakable. But how to do it? English, Belgian, German, and French statistics give a solemn denial to Marx; instead of diminishing, the number of capitalists has been trebled since 1867. That fact is established. Nothing can be said against it.

Then Kautsky and all disciples of Engels had an incredible idea. Instead of proving that the number of small capitalists diminishes,

they began to assert to the workers that if the absolute figures are not compared, but only a portion of the percentage of their increase, then it will be seen that the percentage of increase of the great capitalists is higher than that of the small ones. This trick entirely alters the discussion. Let us take 100 millionaires and 2,000,000 small capitalists; let us suppose that in ten years the number of the first is doubled; that is an increase of 100 per cent.; if in the same period the increase of the small capitalists was only 10 per cent., their number will be, instead of 2,000,000, 2,000,000. So that the increase of 100 per cent. of the millionaires gives only 100 men, but the 10 per cent. of the small capitalists means 200,000.

Does it prove the concentration of capital, the diminution of the number of small capitalists? Quite the reverse. It proves that the number of capitalists is growing, and especially the number of the small capitalists, the most avaricious and the most unscrupulous and ferocious defenders of the existing social slavery.

This more than strange method of demonstration, by manipulating the percentage without mentioning the quantity from which these hundredth parts are obtained, is now greatly favored by Social Democrats. You see, they say to the workers, in one case the increase is equal to 300 per cent., while in the second only 10 per cent. So that in the first it must be thirty times greater.

According to this, 500 per cent. increase in the population of the republic of San Marino will be 500 times higher than 1 per cent. increase of the population of the United States of America. But what is the reality? 500 per cent. of San Marino's population is 47,000, while 1 per cent. of the United States of America is 780,000. Such are the true facts.

Undoubtedly, it was a disciple of Kautsky, the statistician, who wrote, "the mortality among the cobblers in the village is fearfully high; practically it is 100 per cent." In reality, there was in the place one cobbler, and he died.

This astonishing method of scientific demonstration is repeated fourteen times by Kautsky, from whom we quote a few examples:

1. In Germany, in different branches of industry, the number of establishments was:

	In 1882	In 1895	Increase
Employing from 1 to 10 workers (small workshops)..	2,951,531	3,048,270	96,739
Employing from 200 and more (large workshops)....	1,897	3,301	1,422

To us this table shows that the small establishments increased by 96,000. But, according to Kautsky, an increase of 1,422 of the large ones shows, that concentration, otherwise diminution in the number of

small capitalists, exists, because the number of large establishments is nearly doubled.

2. The same with regard to the land. It must be proved that the number of peasants and farms diminishes.

In Prussia was:

Year	Land in farmage (rented)	Land partially rented	Land not rented
1882	829,137	2,322,899	2,953,445
1895	912,959	2,607,210	2,951,107
Increase	83,822	284,331	Diminution.

Here the increase is evident.

But Kautsky, expressing the figures in percentage, and making the subtraction of these percentages (wonderful arithmetic!), obtains that 83,822 makes, after all, only an increase of 7-10 per cent. of 829,137, and not 9 per cent., as it is in reality.

3. The number of taxpayers in Prussia with an income a year:

	In 1876	In 1890	Increase
Of £25 to £100	4,704,757	5,517,828	813,071
Of £100 to £1,000	442,534	582,053	139,519
More than £1,000	8,833	13,583	5,550

The increase in the number of the small and medium fortunes is striking. There is no possibility to conceal it. Then Kautsky leaves aside Marx's "law," and discusses quite another question, namely, that of the increase of "Social Antagonisms." We showed before, with regard to R. Giffen, that if the number of the rich increases by thousands, that of the poor augments by millions, and, consequently, the "Social Antagonisms" are also augmented, without the number of capitalists diminishing, without any concentration of capital, or one capitalist killing others.

In all their attempts to refute Bernstein's Opportunism the orthodox Marxian authors are very unfortunate; they prove nothing, and explain still less. That is quite natural, because there is no difference between Bernstein, Jaurès, Turati, or Vandervelde, on the one side, who openly acknowledge themselves as peaceful and legal reformers, and Kautsky, Auer, Lafargue, and Hyndman, on the other side, who act as such, as Auer himself recognized. Was it not Liebknecht who formulated the above quoted program? Or is it not Hyndman who says (in "Justice," April 5, 1902): "We cannot avoid going into politics; we cannot help working for palliatives"?

For politics, for palliatives, stand also Bernstein, Jaurès, and their followers, and they rendered a true service to the working-class movement by showing that real Social Democracy was never anything but a legal, peaceful, and parliamentary party, aiming for a social transformation by petty reforms and palliatives.

XVI.

LET US BE JUST.

(An Open Letter to Herr Liebknecht.)

Sir:—Your two articles (“Justice,” August 15 and 29, 1896) dealing with the Socialist congress of London are greatly occupied with the Anarchists. From all that you affirm, in your capacity of *connoisseur* of our party, I learn that the Anarchists “have no more right to sit in a Socialist congress than the czar of Russia or Rothschild,” that “there is nothing in common between Anarchism and Socialism,” that in all countries “the Anarchists are petted by the bourgeoisie,” that “they are your enemies,” that “they calumniate you,” . . . therefore you also make an energetic appeal to your friends by saying: “We must combat the enemy! Let us not suffer the enemy to penetrate our army!”

You are indignant . . . and there is reason why, if the Anarchists are such monsters. Only I cannot quite grasp as to whom you address your epithets. In your articles you speak of Stirner and of his pupil, your colleague, Eugen Richter. I assure you, sir, that these personages and their works are foreign to our party. Could you, who know the Anarchists so well, those of the old world as well as of the new, indicate to the public as to which section of the Anarchists is represented in parliament by your colleague Richter? Since when have the Anarchists adopted the pitiful tactics of legalized Parliamentarism? Further, could you inform me in which Anarchist journal your colleague collaborates? At which international congress did he present himself as an Anarchist delegate? Especially should I be greatly indebted to you, sir, if you would point out to me some works of Stirner and of his pupil, your colleague, Richter, wherein are developed the principles of autonomous and revolutionary Communism—i. e., Anarchism.

You will indicate nothing of the kind. Stirner, individualist, and Richter, “destructor of Socialism,” are simply mentioned by you in order to show your friends that the Anarchists are not Socialists. Perhaps for your friends this may be clear, but I fear, sir, that clear-minded people may find your arguments somewhat illogical. According to your method of arguing, I should have the right to say: “Liebknecht and the Social Democrats are ever combating the Communist Anarchists; on the other hand, the latter are also persecuted by Crispi and other governments: ergo, Liebknecht and Crispi, the governmental oppressors and

the Social Democrats are one and the same party.”—This is monstrous! you say. Yes, but no more monstrous than your own “argument”; I simply imitate your method. . . .

You wish to show that the Anarchists are not Socialists? There is quite a simple method; it suffices to compare the formulas, the declarations of principle, of the *true* Socialists and the Anarchists. Do you wish it? Let us take the Communists of the great revolution, the Socialists of 1848, the International Working Men’s Association, and let us compare their declarations of principle with those of the Anarchists; and let us also add your own program.

You know, sir, that the convention, against which Babœuf, Buonarrotti, and the “Equals” have conspired, proclaimed all kinds of *political liberties*, and the national edifices bore the motto: “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.” But the people remained in the same state of misery. What was the cause of this? honest folk asked. “The cause,” said Buonarrotti, “lies in the *inequality of possessions*, . . . in private property.” It was in order to obtain economic equality that the Equals conspired against the convention.

“There is no liberty,” we read in the proclamation of Blanqui, in 1848, “for him who is in want of bread!”

“There is no equality when opulence parades at the side of misery!”

“There is no fraternity when the woman of the people drags herself and her children hungry past the doors of the rich!

“The tyranny of capital is more cruel than that of the sword and the church; one must combat it!

“No more sterile formulas!

“The *economic* emancipation of the working class is the principal aim to which all political movements ought to be subordinated,” was adopted by the first congress of the International, in 1866.

You see, sir, that economic equality, economic emancipation, “to combat the tyranny of capital”—these form the basis of the demands of the Socialists; political rights without economic equality are “sterile formulas” to the revolutionary Socialists. And you, in your capacity of supreme chief of “scientific” Socialism, how do you formulate your demands?

In your article, “The Program of German Socialism” (“Forum Library,” New York, April, 1895, p. 28), you say:

“What do we ask for?

“The absolute liberty of the press, the absolute liberty of religion,

universal suffrage for all representative bodies and public offices in the State and in the commune; national education, all schools open to all, the same opportunities of learning and education for all; abolition of standing armies and creation of a national militia, so that *every citizen* is a soldier and every soldier a citizen; an international court of arbitration between different States; equal rights for men and women; measures for the protection of the working classes (limitation of the hours of work, sanitary regulations, etc.).

“These are reforms already accomplished or on the point of being carried out in advanced countries, and they fully agree with Democracy.”

All these liberties and abolitions are splendid, and it is not we, the Anarchists, who will be against them. It is just in order to secure for humanity the complete enjoyment of liberty that we wish to destroy the State, which is so dear to you. However, in your demands, one does not find a word about “economic equality,” about “economic emancipation,” proclaimed by the Socialists. So that your formula repeats that of the convention, qualified by the Socialists as “sterile formula.”

And the Anarchists?

While your very loyal friends, Will Thorne and Dr. Aveling, busied themselves, with the assistance of the police, to keep the Anarchists out of the congress, the Anarchists held their conference and adopted, among others, the following declaration:

“Considering that the subjection of the working class to the possessing classes is based upon the exploitation and the economic submission of the workers, and that this economic exploitation is the source of all iniquity and of political, moral, and intellectual oppression, this anti-parliamentary and Anarchist conference declares that the principal aim of the labor movement ought to be economic and social emancipation, and that all political activity ought to be subordinated to it;

“Considering that legal and parliamentary action does not exclusively constitute political action, this conference declares itself against all attempts to transform the Socialist movement into a simply electoral and legal movement, which can but divide the workers;

“Considering, finally, that it is only by revolutionary efforts that, in all times, the people have succeeded in ameliorating their economic and social conditions, this conference declares itself in favor of revolutionary political action against the State, which is the incarnation of all economic, political, and social injustice.”

As an honest man, you will admit, sir, that in this resolution the Anarchists repeat the demands set forth by Babœuf, and by the International. Nay, they have even still enlarged the claims of these brave

predecessors. This being the case, why then do you, who know them so well, declare that the Anarchists are enemies of Socialism? I am very desirous to know your reasons.

No less desirous am I to learn from you as to who it is among the Anarchists who calumniated your party, your friends, or yourself? Is it Bakunin, with whom you had at one time an affair of honor? In your articles you only mention Eugen Richter, who is as much an Anarchist as Crispi is a Social Democrat. It remains for us to examine your affair with Bakunin. Perhaps it was he who calumniated you.

In the "Memoir," presented by the Jura Federation of the International Working Men's Association, we read

"With regard to the congress at Bâle (1869), we cannot pass by in silence a personal incident of great importance. Bakunin had learned that Liebknecht, in speaking of him, represented him as an agent of the Russian government. . . . The jury was composed of ten members. . . . De Pæpe, Palix, Sentinon, Fritz Robert, Moritz Hess, Eccarius, and others. The jury declared unanimously that Liebknecht had acted wrongly in repeating infamous *calumnies*. Liebknecht, holding out his hand to Bakunin, declared that he considered him an honest man and a good revolutionist. 'I have been mistaken with regard to you,' said he; 'I have contributed towards spreading *slandorous* accusations, I owe you a reparation of honor'" (p. 84).

As a reparation, you undertook to publish in your journal an article of rectification. "Bakunin," continues the "Memoir," "handed him over an article. What did Liebknecht do? *He never published it!*" (p. 85).

You say, sir, that the Anarchists are calumniating the Social Democrats, that they "throw mud at their heads"; in that case one would have to suppose that in 1869 Liebknecht, the Anarchist, calumniated Bakunin, the Social Democrat! . . . You are an honest and impartial man; would you explain to me this flagrant contradiction? . . .

One final question, sir. What do you mean by the phrase: "In all countries the Anarchists are petted by the bourgeoisie?" Are we "petted" individually by isolated bourgeois, or are we "petted" as a party by the capitalist organization of the State—the protector of the bourgeoisie? It is evident that you speak of us as a party, petted by the bourgeoisie, as an entire class, and by its State. And *you* could write these lines? You, a journalist, and a man of politics?!

Indeed, sir, are you not aware that the prisons and the places of banishment of Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, are filled with Anarchists? That even in England and in the United States there are Anarchists undergoing penal servitude? And in Germany, where the stupid reaction persecutes you and your friends, was it not the Anarchists Landauer, Dr.

Gumplowicz, Grunau, and others, who had to undergo eighteen months and more of solitary confinement? Take, sir, any one among my Anarchist friends, no matter whom, and you will find that they all have been "petted" in prisons and exile; Cipriani, sixteen years; Louise Michel, fourteen years; Borda, five years; Kropotkin, five years; Martin, five years; Merlino, Malato, Faure, Grave, Pouget, Reclus, Malatesta, Nicoll, all, absolutely all, have undergone long years of imprisonment, transportation, exile, . . . and you call this being petted!

Perhaps you did not know this? We will admit it. But you know perfectly well that, during the last twenty years, capital punishment for political offenses has been applied in the civilized countries *only* to Anarchists.

You knew of Reinsdorf's and Caserio's executions, for, if not you personally, at any rate your journal, incited against them the hatred of the government and the bourgeoisie.

You knew very well the executions of Parsons, Spies, and the other Chicago Anarchists, of Vaillant, Pallas, and of Henry. . . .

You knew perfectly well that it is the Anarchist party that is persecuted, martyred. . . .

And yet you could write that the Anarchists are petted by the bourgeoisie?! . . . Let all honest people, let the brave German workers, in whose name you like to speak, let them judge of your literary conduct.



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