

Freedom

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STATE CAPITALISM AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The great railway strike in Victoria, which has just ended in a defeat of the strikers, is full of the deepest meaning for the labour movement all over the world. It is a lesson and a warning.

For some time past Australia was described by some enthusiasts as the great field for a Socialist experiment, which was going to convert the world to State Socialism. Nearly all the railways of Victoria belong, as is well-known, to the State, and there is, moreover, a system of old-age pensions, which are paid by the State to its railway employees. Two important points, which we find in the electoral programs of the European Social Democrats, were thus realised in Victoria, and the result, as we see now, is most pitiful. The railway workers of Victoria are even more restricted in their liberties than the workers of any European State.

As soon as Mr. Irvine, the present Prime Minister of Victoria, came to power a few months ago, there was a serious dispute between the railway workers and the State upon the question of wages. The workers lost, and the State, encouraged by its victory, went a step further. It boldly proclaimed the theory that, once the railway workers are functionaries of the State, they must break all their connections with other workers all over the world. They must throw in their lot with the governing classes, and if they have any local grievances against the Government in whose service they are, the only way to ventilate these grievances is to follow the channels of bureaucratic hierarchy and, in the last resort, to appeal to Parliament. The theory of agreement between employer and employee applies no more in their case. They are no more working men: they are functionaries; and, in the expectation of the happy times when all working men will become the functionaries of the future Socialist State, the channels of resistance which are open to other working men are closed to them. All their labour sympathies must disappear; they are "gents" of the Civil Service, to whom the Government was kind enough to assign the dirty, fatiguing, badly paid work on the railways,—keeping the best paid "functions" for themselves. Soldiers if you like, perhaps slaves, but not working men.

Consequently, when the railway workers of Victoria determined to associate themselves as a body with the central organisation of the Trades Unions of Victoria, which is known as the "Trade Hall," the Government interfered. It declared that no such affiliation would be permitted, because the railway workers, if they belonged to the general Trade Union organisation, might go on strike in support of any labour struggle, both within and without the colony. Therefore, if they disobeyed and affiliated themselves nevertheless to the said Trade Hall they would be dismissed at once and would lose all their rights to pension.

This theory was openly expressed the other day by Mr. Dobson, who is acting at London as the Agent-General for Victoria. In an interview with the *Daily News* representative, he said, "We look upon the ten or twelve thousand railway employees as civil servants. They work for the State, are paid by the State, and expect later on to draw pensions from the State. Therefore we maintain that they should keep themselves free from all political cliques, bodies, or organisations." "Free from all labour organisations," was evidently what the said Dobson meant, because every functionary of the State belongs to one or the other political middle class organisation, while he gets his pension from the State. It is working men organisations which State-employed labourers must not join, because they might give support to other labourers, and the State is a machine for the support of the capitalists—not workers.

It is interesting also to note how the Government were sure beforehand of their victory. As they have in Victoria old-age pensions paid by the State, they were quite sure of possessing the most powerful arm to put an end to the strike—much better than the Russian Tsar's or the Italian King's grapeshot.

"You see," Dobson continued, "a very great number of the men are well on in years. They have families, and they are looking forward for their pensions. A lot of these men will stand by the Government in any case."

Alas, the Victorian foxes had calculated quite right. Already on May 18th, the railway strikers, in a vote by ballot, decided by an overwhelming majority to resume work on the Government's terms.

What lesson will the middle classes of Europe draw from this failure of our Australian brothers? They will conclude, of course, that State Socialism is the most effective protection for Capitalism. To sweep a city with bullets, like Milan was swept, is not always safe for the rulers. How much better it is to give such a stick to the workers

that they should beat with it themselves! Old Europe, we hope, will hasten to imitate Australia. Balfour will hasten (if he is not displaced by the ex-Republican "Three acres and a cow") to grant old-age pensions—of course, with a vengeance; just as in the Irish Land Bill—so as to make it a charming instrument for keeping the elder working men on the side of the drones. The French *bourgeois* will adopt, in a hurry, the pension law for the plunder of the workmen and for increasing the moneys handed by the State, which was elaborated last year by the Social Democratic Minister of Trade, M. Millerand, but was stupidly rejected by the over-cautious shop-keepers. And the German Social Democrats will this time, we hope, get a hearty support from all the Philistines, and get through without delay, a truly "Victorian" scheme for the transformation of the working men into "servants of the State"—for menial work, of course.

True, the Executive Council of the British Social Democrats has tried to establish the other day a distinction between "genuine" Social Democracy and State Socialism, such as we have in Australia.

"The Executive Council further calls attention," we read in their resolution "to the fact that the ownership of monopolies under the present Capitalist State in the interest of the commercial classes is entirely opposed to genuine Social Democracy."

Similar declarations were also made from time to time by old Bebel at the German Congresses. But—who cares now among the Social Democrats about such out-of-date declarations of half-a-dozen of Old Mohicans? Nobody in the least! The Old Mohicans know it themselves, and they have cautiously introduced that charming expression—"genuine Social Democracy"—to describe their conception of the stuff, because they very well know that real Social Democracy is now exactly the thing which they condemn in Australia. The State ownership of monopolies, and the State administration of the same, so as *not* to interfere with the fundamental principles of Capitalism, are the first points of the Social Democratic creed all over the world.

See, indeed, the last congresses of the Social Democratic Party in France, Germany and Switzerland. In the Swiss Republic, the program of the party states it quite distinctly: "State ownership of railways" (as in Russia), "of the trade in spirits" (as in Russia), and "of the bank monopoly." Not in the future State, but just now, to-day, in the middle class Capitalistic State. And no Social Democrats, not even the British, have ever condemned that program. In France, an attempt was made at the last Congress to exclude the State Socialist, Millerand, from the party; but the result was that the majority of the Congress was won to his program and approved his policy. As to Germany, the State Socialism policy of Vollmar and Bernstein was twice approved by the Congresses of the party, against the wish of the old ex-Fourierist, Bebel.

Social Democracy *IS* State Socialism—that is, State Capitalism—and this is why it is everywhere a failure. It is the *acceptation, by the exploited workers, of the existing Capitalist State*, an agreement to share power with the present Capitalist rulers, for the duration of a couple of generations, under the fallacious pretext of getting in this way, in the meantime, some concessions in favour of Labour,—which concessions, in reality, are usually won much better otherwise, by a direct pressure on the employers. Social democracy is that: and thirty years ago every revolutionary Socialist predicted that it would necessarily end in such a compromise with Capitalism. "Who goes to Parliament will compromise and pactise," even Liebknecht wrote this, in 1879, when he was yet a revolutionist. And the Old Mohicans, like Bebel, Guesde, and their English friends, must perfectly realise that, although they do not say it publicly.

The day they shelved ("for the time being," as they said then) the revolutionary aspirations which they cherished in their youth, the day they took "the conquest of power in the present middle class State," as their immediate aim—Social Democracy was bound to become the *compromise with Capitalism* which it is now. They may talk still of "genuine" Social Democracy, but they know there is only one Social Democracy,—the one that strives at State Capitalism, and brings about for the worker a loss of all liberty, in exchange for some miserable protection by the State—by the present State, the Capitalist State, the State which, when it owns monopolies, "owns them in the interest of commercial classes," and protects the capitalist by its armies—and can not do otherwise, without ceasing to be what it is. They know that. And so it will be, so long as the revolution, of which it is permitted no more to speak in Social Democratic papers, comes some day, notwithstanding all prohibitions, and totally changes the whole face of affairs.

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NOTES.

THAT STRONG PARTY.

We read on the 1st of May the following telegram in all English papers:

BERLIN.—Official instructions have been issued prohibiting throughout Prussia all workmen's processions on May Day.

The orders were obeyed. There were no such processions. One sees at once from this fact that the Social Democrats are strong in Germany. They would number, according to their own estimates, about 200,000 persons belonging to the Party, they dispose of 2,000,000 votes; but if the Party be only 70,000 to 80,000 strong (which is nearer the truth) this would fully account for the Government treating the workmen in such a cavalier way.

MAY DAY

The Labour Day picnic at the Alexandra Palace on the First of May was a decided failure, and if that enlightened organisation, the Social Democratic Federation, took the hint, they would realise that a picnic is not a demonstration. When the First of May was proposed by the delegates at the Paris Congress, in 1889, it was with the idea that the workers all over the world should cease work on that day in defiance of their exploiters, in order to express their solidarity one with the other all over the world. Music-hall jokes and foot races may be innocent amusement, but we fail to detect anything revolutionary in them; perhaps that is the reason they are linked with beer drinking and talk about the capture of political power. At any rate, they were more popular and much better patronised than the dull electoral speeches by Hyndman, Keir Hardie, and Ben Tillet. Once more—picnics are not demonstrations, and if the "First of May" is to regain its old vigor it must be a *real* labour demonstration and not a sham one, while the speakers and promoters must be imbued with revolutionary ideas manifested in a revolutionary manner, if the workers are to be aroused and enthused to united action. Such dull, spiritless affairs as the one held at the Alexandra Palace this year and those of the two preceding years masquerading as labour demonstrations are not only futile but ridiculous, and the sooner they cease calling them labour demonstrations the better.

"WATCH YOUR LEADERS."

The revolt of the Clyde engineers from the officialdom of their union is a healthy sign, and it will not be without its effect upon the executive of that organisation. It is just three years ago, on the First of May, that Mr. George Barnes, speaking at the Crystal Palace to a crowd of Social Democrats, sneeringly referred to the Trade Unions as being composed of men who were wasting "their time, their money, their energy, and their brains—as far as they had any" (this statement being received with cheers by those present) "to settle this question" (labour question) "by the shortening of the hours of labour and the increase of wages." He remains true to his convictions, and in order to help solve the labour question he votes and uses all his powers as secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers to cause a *reduction* of a shilling a week in the men's wages, and this against the decision of the men affected. Of course, there is the specious plea that it was in the interest of the whole organisation, implying that they would be defeated were they to strike. Oh, that specious plea "the greatest good for the greatest number." That's right, Mr. Barnes; the way to settle the labour question is to reduce the wages of the workers and send you and your kind to Parliament. You would make an admirable labour representative! The executive controlling the funds and withholding strike pay, of course the men were defeated. Nevertheless, the lesson will not be lost, and it will be long before the executive tries the trick again. As Jay Fox said recently, in *Free Society*, "keep on the picket line, brothers, and watch your leaders as well as the capitalist."

THE PASSING OF THE BRAVE.

Only a few weeks ago Clément died, and now three more Communards have followed him through the narrow gates of death—Dr. Victor Jaclard, the architect, Berchtold, in Geneva, and Citoyenne Duvigneau-Sivadon, in Paris—all equally active and alert to the hour they sank into dreamless repose.

Accustomed to the study of architectural proportions, Berchtold's conception of progress was laid on similar lines; he saw Anarchism first in detail, then in its amplitude—and became an Anarchist. Dr. Jaclard, one of the first adherents of the International, during the days of revolt, towards the end of the Empire was with Lafont and Dereuse an assistant of Clemenceau's at the *Mairie* of Montmartre, on the slope known to-day as *le mont sacré*. After March 18th, he became commandant of the battalions of Montmartre; taken prisoner in May, his daring escape from the *Orangerie* at Versailles was for long famous. Upon the amnesty, he returned to France, and up to his death remained an active Socialist.

Mme. Duvigneau-Sivadon was a woman simply, and died at her post as Superintendent in the Broca Hospital. During the Commune she had been a field nurse—one of the brave women who attended to the wounded under fire. On those occasions she often picked up a rifle from beside the dead and fired a shot at the enemy. On her return from exile in New Caledonia, whither she had followed her brother and her husband, and where she found means to assist many while consoling all with her courage and gaiety, she took to hospital nursing, a task which attracted her, and in which she succeeded admirably. Her memory will long be treasured in the hospitals for the devotion she evinced to her work, and the ability which raised her to high positions. Ever active, she founded the Hospital Attendants' Union, and there are many who will never forget her many and unassuming acts of kindness. She had not the happiness of seeing to its end a work on which she had greatly set her heart, but the service she rendered to others is too high for mere praise, and will long be remembered. She was from the first a Freethinker.

LOUISE MICHEL.

June, 1903.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

RUSSIA.—From a comrade we receive the following:—"Your readers have learnt, through the daily papers, the horrors committed in Kishineff by organised rioters against the peaceful Jewish population. The official report of the Minister of the Interior, Von Plehve, states that the massacres were the outcome of systematic anti-Semitic propaganda on the part of the local paper *Bessarabets*; but the report omits to add that the said paper was under the censorship of the Vice-Governor Ustrugoff, so appointed by Plehve himself. The most violent articles in that paper are attributed to Ustrugoff and Davidovitch, another State official, also specially appointed by Plehve. Nor does the report mention that well-intentioned people, complaining of *Bessarabets*, and asking permission to start another paper in order to counteract the anti-Semitic tendencies of the former, received as answer "that for Kishineff" (110,000 inhabitants) "one paper was sufficient." The report is equally silent on the fact that many influential inhabitants warned the authorities in St. Petersburg that riots were imminent, while Plehve, according to English papers, deliberately instructed the Governor not to employ troops in the event of disorders. During two days of organised slaughter and pillage, Plehve took no steps to suppress either, while his agent, Ustrugoff, the Vice-Governor, ordered the local post-office to forward no private telegrams to St. Petersburg. The dreadful crime committed in Kishineff has startled even Russian public opinion, and the indignation in St. Petersburg is so great that the most timid are speaking openly against the criminal attitude of the authorities. Noting this, Plehve decided to sacrifice the Governor of the town, General Raaben, and he has now been recalled. But everyone knows that the real instigator and organiser of these massacres is Von Plehve himself, Minister of the Interior, the man who, twenty years ago, being then chief of the political police, sent organised bands from the north of Russia to provoke anti-Jewish disorders in Odessa, Yekatriuaslow, Chernigow, and other places; the man who, according to the Prussian paper *Ogrobosjdenie*, began his career by denouncing a Polish patriot, in 1863, to whom he owed both education and up-bringing, and who has changed his religion three times for purposes of advancement." Truly a worthy chief to head a band sent on the massacre of unarmed and peaceful Jews! A noble contidant for Tsar Nicholas of Russia!

Our informant continues:—"The Governor of Ufa, Bagdanovitch, who was shot dead on May 19th when walking in the park of that city, the chief town of the province, had been sent there specially by Von Plehve to crush the Zemstvo (local council), but, above all, the working class movement. In every measure instituted against peasants and workers he distinguished himself by cruelty, the culminating point being reached in the massacres at Slatoust, on March 26th, when a peaceful crowd of strikers negotiating with the managers of the Government mines was fired into without provocation by order of the Governor, himself present with Cossacks and other troops, the result being that the ground was covered with dead and wounded; thirty-nine were killed outright, while thirty-eight out of sixty-seven injured carried into the hospital succumbed shortly afterwards. Not content with this wholesale murder, arrests by the hundred followed, the treatment accorded the prisoners being worse even than that attributed to the Turks by Armenians and Macedonians. Is it then astonishing that among the workers of Ufa some were found ready to avenge the fate of their brothers? What else is left to men in a country where free speech and justice are unknown but to take justice into their own hands? Rather is it strange that so much is suffered in silence before the spirit of revenge or resistance is awakened."

Most heartily do we endorse our comrade's concluding remarks. Not Russians (whether Gentile or Jew) only, but the people, the oppressed everywhere, suffer in silence too long before they strike back at their smiter. Governments and tyrants are all at heart cowardly. They will dare any devilry up to a certain point—but there is a step beyond which they will never venture, and that is the object, the obstruction that menaces their own stability. Chamberlain by numerical superiority overwhelmed the Boers, but in so doing he learnt that he was facing men of courage

and determination. What follows? He dares practise no further coercion, more even than was demanded by the so-called vanquished farmers he reluctantly doles out to them for the sake of peace. Ireland in her queer, uncertain way has shown she will not be trampled on, and one by one the rights she seeks drop into her hands. The Finns would compromise with their master—and behold them crushed to the dust, until such time as the fire of revolt set brave hearts to do brave deeds. Hit back, ye oppressed; better to die so than live the servile slave of mongrel bureaucracies, ruthless governments, and unjust despots. The Georgians owning still an unconquered spirit are permitted to carry arms. Why? Because the Russian Government knows that if that right was torn from them they would use as well as carry arms. A year ago a phrase of five words that fell from an English fisherman's lips electrified the land, and led the king himself to invite the speaker to an interview. "Caistor men never turn back." The lifeboat had started on its errand, midway its crew saw they were facing death—they faced it, and two only were washed back to tell the tale. But it was not the simply spoken words, it was the indomitable spirit that lay behind that struck home to every heart. The man or race that shows it will never give in to injustice and oppression is seldom the victim of either. The man or nation that asserts itself face to face with an oppressor always wins admiration, respect, and more or less what it demands. Men would so gladly live at peace one with another, they have no liking for the word *Revenge*. It was the barbarities of Christian authorities that wrung from Shylock the cry—"I am a Jew . . . fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons . . . warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter as a Christian is . . . and if you wrong us shall we not revenge? . . . If a Jew wrong a Christian; what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his suzerainty be by Christian example? Why, revenge. The villainy you teach me, I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction." Whose the guilt of the many Jewish massacres the world has seen? The Christians. Who was behind the Christians? The Church. And behind the Church? The King, the Government, the State. To-day in Russia, as through the centuries, Church and State have combined to set man against man, creed against creed—and the Throne is silent. *The awful guilt of the Russian Government* is the headline by which the London *Star* (May 18th) fearlessly calls attention to its noble condemnation to the crime of Kishineff. Its strong, scathing words cannot be reprinted here, but it concludes, "Perhaps the indignation of other nations may awaken some sense of shame in the Russian bureaucracy, some tremor of regret in the heart of the Tsar." We wish it may, but doubt that either have a heart or conscience in their anatomy.

HOLLAND.

The Social Democrats and Anarchists are arranging a mixed committee for investigating the causes of the late strike collapse, there being considerable talk of treason; each side in the meantime has issued a manifesto. The failure of the strike is most certainly in part due to the Social Democrats not being in favour of the idea of the general strike itself, and however the leaders may try to exculpate themselves, there is a widespread feeling that they did not act entirely in a straightforward manner. The chief factor, however, undoubtedly was that no proper preparations had been made for a strike on the vast scale intended, nor had there been time to make them, seeing that the dockers' strike had only just been settled. Two strikes within a few weeks of each other is enough to try the stamina of any party. As it is, several thousand men are still locked out throughout the country, and every effort is being made for their relief, for which funds are earnestly requested by the *Nationale Arbeids Secretariat* of Amsterdam. Many meetings were held on May Day, and these were full of spirit and enthusiasm, the crowds numbering thousands.

UNITED STATES.

John Most received a most hearty welcome on his release from prison recently. He gives some of his prison reminiscences in *Freiheit*, and proposes to write his memoirs, the first number to appear directly. The Anarchist scare is still rife here as elsewhere. When Roosevelt was passing through Los Angeles lately, an unfortunate man whose name happened to be Czolgosz was arrested, thrown into jail, and kept there until the president left the city. But strange to say, the wisecracks of New York actually admit that the man suspected of the "dynamite on a liner" hoax is not an Anarchist. This is wondrous kind. Still better, "No Italians were implicated." They are careful, however, not to suggest that the bitter commercial rivalry of capitalist rings paves the way to crime of a more or less pronounced type, or that for all the honey words of Depew, Roosevelt, Choate and Co., the great American Republic detests Englishmen very cordially. To divert British trade, by a dynamite scare or otherwise, into other hands would suit more than one of the great shipping circles. Strikes are still the order of every day, and employers are suggesting a National Federation to fight the American Federation of Labour, which last controls some two million workers. In some States drastic legislation, upon the pattern of the Dutch and Australian, is being promulgated for the protection of employers and their communities; yet we read as follows: "Fifteen thousand steel workers marched past Mr. C. M. Schwab, President of the Homestead United States Steel Corporation, the occasion being the dedication of a free industrial school built by Mr. Schwab for the children of the town. Cordial cries of 'Hello, Charlie!' greeted the donor constantly." How many lives had been sacrificed in earning the 125,000 dollars that Mr. Schwab was supposed to have paid for that school? So, standing in the blood and sweat of their fathers, the children of the world learn their A.B.C. Weary with labour, the fathers are too listless to probe the question until hunger gnaws into them—then, startled, they ask—But after all were not these dollars ours?

HOLBACH'S SYSTEM OF NATURE.

In his most interesting work on "Diderot and the Encyclopædists," John Morley devotes one chapter to one of his contemporaries, Holbach, and his chief work, "System of Nature," which appeared in 1770. This book is important as a complete attempt to substitute materialistic philosophy for religion, but perhaps more so for the violent directness and the pertinacity of its assault upon political

government and its vindication of the innate goodness of man, whose deliverance is to be wrought, according to the author, by intellectual and material emancipation hand-in-hand with social co-operation.

If men are bad, Society is at fault!

"Man is bad not because he was born so, but because he is made so. The great and powerful crush with impunity the needy and unfortunate."

And yet there could be so much happiness and goodness among men:

"A society enjoys all the happiness of which it is susceptible, as soon as the greater number of its members are fed, clothed, housed, are able, in a word, without excessive toil, to satisfy the wants that Nature has made a necessity to them. Their imagination is content as soon as they have the assurance that no force can ravish from them the fruits of their industry, and that they labour for themselves. By a sequence of human madness whole nations are forced to labour, to sweat, to water the earth with their tears, merely to keep up the luxury, the fancies, the corruption of a handful of insensates—a few useless creatures. So have religions and political errors changed the universe into a valley of tears."

Again, happiness depends on the relation of man to man:

"It is man who is most necessary to the well-being of man, for no man can be happy alone."

So also does virtue:

"To be virtuous is to place one's interests in what accords with the interests of others. The sentiments of self-love become a hundred times more delicious when we see them shared by all those to whom our destiny binds us. The moment you attempt to find a basis for morals outside of human nature you go wrong; no other is solid and sure. The aid of the so-called sanctions of theology is not only needless but mischievous. As for saying that without God man cannot have any moral sentiments, or, in other words, cannot distinguish between vice and virtue, it is as if one said that without the idea of God, man would not feel the necessity of eating and drinking."

SLAVERY THE OUTCOME OF STATE SOCIALISM.

(From "Man versus the State," by Herbert Spencer.)

The experience of those who are loudest in their advocacy of a new social order under the paternal control of a Government, shows that even in private voluntarily-formed societies, the power of the regulative organisation becomes great, if not irresistible; often, indeed, causing grumbling and restiveness among those controlled. Trades unions, which carry on a kind of industrial war in defence of workers' interests versus employers' interests, find that subordination almost military in its strictness is needful to secure efficient action; for divided councils prove fatal to success. And even in bodies of co-operators, formed for carrying on manufacturing or distributing businesses, and not needing that obedience to leaders which is required where the aims are offensive and defensive, it is still found that the administrative agency gains such supremacy that there arise complaints about the tyranny of organisation. Judge then what must happen when, instead of relatively small combinations, to which men may belong or not as they please, we have a national combination in which each citizen finds himself incorporated, and from which he cannot separate himself without leaving the country. Judge what must under such conditions become the despotism of a graduated and centralised officialism, holding in its hands the resources of the community, and having behind it whatever amount of force it finds requisite to carry out its decrees and maintain what it calls order. Well may Prince Bismarck display leanings towards State-Socialism.

And then after recognising, as they must if they think out their scheme, the power possessed by the regulative agency in the new social system so temptingly pictured, let its advocates ask themselves to what end this power must be used. Not dwelling exclusively, as they habitually do, on the material well-being and the mental gratifications to be provided for them by a beneficent administration, let them dwell a little on the price to be paid. The officials cannot create the needful supplies; they can but distribute among individuals that which the individuals have joined to produce. If the public agency is required to provide for them, it must reciprocally require them to furnish the means. There cannot be, as under our existing system, agreement between employed—this the scheme excludes. There must in place of it be command by local authorities over workers, and acceptance by the workers of that which the authorities assign to them. And this, indeed, is the arrangement distinctly, but as it would seem inadvertently, pointed to by the members of the Democratic Federation. For they propose that production should be carried on by "agricultural and industrial armies under State-control"; apparently not remembering that armies pre-suppose grades of officers, by whom obedience would have to be insisted upon; since otherwise neither order nor efficient work could be ensured. So that each would stand toward the governing agency in the relation of slave to master.

"But the governing agency would be a master which he and others made and constantly kept in check; and one which therefore would not control him or others more than was needful for the benefit of each and all."

To which reply the first rejoinder is that, even if so, each member of the community as an individual would be a slave to the community as a whole. Such a relation has habitually existed in militant communities, even under quasi-popular forms of government. In ancient Greece the accepted principle was that the citizen belonged neither to himself nor to his family, but belonged to his city—the city being with the Greek equivalent to the community. And this doctrine, proper to a state of constant warfare, is a doctrine which Socialism unawares re-

introduces into a state intended to be purely industrial. The services of each will belong to the aggregate of all; and for these services, such returns will be given as the authorities think proper. So that even if the administration is of the beneficent kind intended to be secured, slavery, however mild, must be the outcome of the arrangement.

A second rejoinder is that the administration will presently become not of the intended kind, and that the slavery will not be mild. The Socialist speculation is vitiated by an assumption like that which vitiates the speculations of the "practical" politician. It is assumed that officialism will work as it is intended to work—which it never does. The machinery of Communism, like existing social machinery, has to be framed out of existing human nature; and the defects of existing human nature will generate in the one the same evils as in the other. The love of power, the selfishness, the injustice, the untruthfulness, which often in comparatively short times bring private organisations to disaster, will inevitably, where their effects accumulate from generation to generation, work evils far greater and less remediable; since, vast and complex and possessed of all the resources, the administrative organisation once developed and consolidated, must become irresistible. And if there needs proof that the periodic exercise of electoral power would fail to prevent this, it suffices to instance the French Government, which, purely popular in origin, and subject at short intervals to popular judgment, nevertheless tramples on the freedom of citizens to an extent which the English delegates to the late Trades Unions Congress say "is a disgrace to, and an anomaly in, a Republican nation."

The final result would be a revival of despotism. A disciplined army of civil officials, like an army of military officials, gives supreme power to its head—a power which has often led to usurpation, as in mediæval Europe and still more in Japan—nay, has thus so led among our neighbours, within our own times.

LITERARY NOTES.

Swords and Plowshares, by Ernest Crosby. Grant Richards. London, 1903. 6s. net

This collection of poems written in the spirit of Carpenter and Whitman has for its main theme the denunciation of war, bloodshed, and tyranny, and the glorification of peace and its new ideals. War, says the poet, is ever unjustifiable. It is incompatible with Christianity—the proud boast of so-called civilised nations!—or with true patriotism, which sees in the world its home, and in all men its fellow citizens.

"Humanity is no air to be strummed on one note or one instrument."

But rather—

"Let us with a world-wide flag, Find freedom in the work of love."

Again, war does not, as is commonly supposed, bring out the best qualities of men:—

"Oh, if they only knew, there is a higher extasy, a deeper thrill, an inexhaustible courage and contempt of death."

On the contrary, it degenerates men and causes even of the noblest.

"Ah! they did not know, those Titanic lovers, that violence, however employed, drives out all liberty and love in the end."

But true peace is conscious strength, and far from being insipid; and life without violence, would be like the fulfilment of a glorious dream:—

"The dream of a warm, throbbing, one-hearted empire of brothers!

And will such a life be insipid when war has ceased for ever?

Be not afraid.

Do lovers find life insipid?

Is there no hero-stuff in lovers?"

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