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ON TO VICTORY!

Once again "THE SOCIALIST" is late but this time it is not because of financial stringency. Job printing came in upon us the latter part of the month to such an extent that we were absolutely swamped. But we are all happy, nevertheless, for it means that with another month of work like the one just passed we can send out the word to you that we are out of the woods for good, and from that time on it will only be a matter of building the paper up and making it the best in the country.

We are solving our financial problem through the job printing department, but we must not forget that the readers are of no use unless they are enough.

The deft a Prelatina and was proud of it. He might have been and we want you to reciprocate by giving us a bigger and better paper from now on and we want you to reciprocate by giving us a bigger and better audience.

Next week we will publish in full Karl Kautsky's brilliant pamphlet on the "Historical Achievement of day or sight and event of any call from the control of any of the paper. This shere the host present of day or sight and for any call from the paper and better audience.

Next week we will publish in full Karl Kautsky's brilliant pamphlet on the "Historical Achievement of day or sight and for any call from the paper is becoming popular, and we shall lington 8, haacortes 9, Rodyn 13, Cle Elum 14, Ellens burg 15, North Yakima 16, Sunnyside 17, Walla Walla 18 on the road 19, Spokane 20, Colville 21, on the road 22, Davenport 23.

THE WOMAN

By Bessy Fiset

| Date of the paper is becoming popular, and we shall lington 8, haacortes 9, Rodyn 13, Cle Elum 14, Ellens burg 16, North Yakima 16, Sunnyside 17, Walla Walla 18 on the road 19, Spokane 20, Colville 21, on the road 22, Davenport 23.

We want to begin our tenth year with just one easily present of the paper and the beginning of our tenth. There will be a page of his forcial matter—as story of the development of the Socialitis press and of this part of the paper as the page of publishing a manufess, por, unistered, was the fine price of publishing as leading to the same unquested of the paper is the order of the paper is the control the paper is the paper is particular.

We want to begin our tenth year with just one thousand more subscribers than we have now. You will have to get them, because you know just who needs to read the paper is a socialist press and of this part of the paper is a social transfer of the paper is the control the response to give in the paper is the control to response to give in the paper is the paper is the paper of the paper is the paper is the paper is the paper is the paper paper in order to be of any use, must have readers, and

By Beasy Field

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By GUSTAV BANG

Translated from the Danish in "Social Demokraten" by Arthur Jensen

Socialism and Anarchism

The general conception of Anarchism is, that it is more far-reaching in its demands than Socialism, in other words that it is an extremely radical and revolutionary move

that it is an extremely radical and revolutionary move-ment.

That is correct only in as far as its outward appear-ance, its revolutionary sounding phrases and the violent and the property of the property of the property of the residue of a problematic which, holdly and fully con-scious of the mission it is called on to perform in the history of the world, strives forward toward a new and higher social order, which shall release the restrained forces in Capitalist society; but that of a petty bour-gooisle, which feels itself stunted and subdeed by the superior power of organized Capital in society, notes its own doesa advancing further year after year, and, in its hopeless despair, seites, at every possibility, which apparently may previve the old conditions of the age of handlersht, when the petty traders and shopkeepers were such a possibility, and clings to it with the same pas-sionate impulse of self-preservation, as that of a drowning person who grasps at every piece of timber floating to-ward him.

First Difference.

The first and most important difference between Socialism and Anarchism lies in the absolute opposite premises, from which they respectively strive toward the overthrow of existing social conditions. When the product of existing social conditions, and all its practical activity on the fact, that the social structure is constantly changing form in accordance with certain determined historical laws, and therefore inquires into the nature and mode of operation of these laws, observes how they appear in existing society and sees how, with the certainty of a force of nature, they move in the direction of a new society, in which the means of production will be collectively owned as well as collectively used, a so-included of the control of the cont

purely Utopfan in character.

It does not endeavor to investigate the social conditions, which, naturally, will be brought about as an effect
of economic development, but arbitrarily seeks to construct a future society as the ideal, the one which is most
in harmony with human nature.

Historical evolution is the basis of all Socialist favestigation, while the abstract human nature is the basis of
all anarchist thought.

Human Nature Variable.

Anarchism does not comprehend that human nature is a product of historical development. Aside from a small number of the most elementary natural instincts, that whole gigantic composite idea, which we encounter as fluman nature, "is extremely changeable, being wholly de-termined by the social environment, in which man lives, note how differently we think, feel and act in the mod-ern industrial city from what we did in the mediaseral villages, in the ancient Greek trading centers, or- in the prehistoric dwelling place; how different the various interests, passions and desires are which asimate man; how differently we judge about good and evil, henor and disboor.

interests, passions and desires are which animate man; bow differently we judge shoult good and wil, honor and dishoon.

A deed, which under certain social conditions is considered as most honorable and conveys the highest regard to the person who performs it, because it is in harmony with the interests of society, may under different social anisocial character. Among certain present of a young man is not considered worthy of associating with adults, until he as committed a certain number of their interests of society, mediawal chronicle writers had the warriors who on their crusacies to foreign countries murdered peaceable passants, speared bables, disgraced women and tortured clier victims in every imaginable manner; and I wonder how some of our shinks lights in society, for instance the stock gambler, the industrial baron, or the military coller, will be regarded in the eyes of the future. Which we have a subject to the control of the

and then to announce this discovery as a gospel; people will flock around him, will be select by the new flots, because it corresponds with their innate nature, will make the new thoughts a reality and adapt themselves to the new social order—and then the maximum of social welfare and culture will have been reached, never to be exceeded.

Capitalist Human Nature.

Capitalist Human Nature.

But when the Anarchist thus labors with abstract humannature as a basis for his theory and when be endeavors
to discover a new social system which forever and for
all eternity and not alone under certain given historical conditions, will best comply with the inhorn, natural
electric of all mankink he became the pulling to the position, of something general and imperishable, is nother
general nor imperishable, it is nothing but what is bred
by the peculiar surroundings and social conditions of the
class which he himself represents, the petty bourgeoiste—
that petty bourgeoiste, which is being impoverished and
with and reflection isoles back at the independence and
herry it enjoyed in the good old days. When the Asisheducing the competition with conjunction of the class
institute of the petty bourgeoiste, when he inagines that he is pressging a future stage of society, he
is in fact only describing in a glorified and beautiful form
the old conditions prevailing during the age of the guides;
when he regards himself as extremely revolutionary, he
is in fact only an extremely revolutionary, he

Vacillating Bourgeois.

The petly bourgetosie, within which the Anarchist ideas have been generated stands between the great bourgeoids and the proletariat and it has on its character the impression of this intermediate position. Karl Marx in his section revolution and counter-evolution in Germany, has given a splendid analysis of the class character of the petty bourgeoise, an analysis which, in spite of the more than fifty years passed by, still holds good in every resucci.

pictly bourgeoisle, an analysis which, in spite of the more than fitty years passed by, still holds good in every respect.

present an expert bourgeois feeis homelees in existing society, to wangs between the hope of rising into the well satt stated classes and the fear of sinking down into the prolestrate or deeper yet into the almahouse. He becomes vacquaing in his politics, can be loyal to humiliation before a strongly fuedial or monarchial form of government and form one of the strongest pillars of reaction, but on the other hand can be carried off by violent democratic movements, when the quention is to cominat a purely capitals regime. He is a victim of constantly changing and apparently conflicting feelings, without firmness or constant to the constant of the prolestratic in conjunction with the rising class and the next moment taking the opposite position—just because his own social position, being undefined, draws him in opposite directions. He will not find his permanent place in the modern class struggle, until his untenable position gradually becomes clear to him, and be gives up all potitical independence and steps into the political or ganitation of the prolestrats.

Anarchist is Bourgeois

The anarchist idea is one of the convulsions which are the natural effect of the peculiar class position of the petty bourgeosie. It reflects a series of feelings and emotions passing through the mind of the petty bour-

are the natural effect of the peculiar class position of the party bourgoise. It reflects a series of feelings and emotions passing through the mind of the petry bourgoise, he demands the fall into the profestant it is not so much the length of the working our the size of his income, that he reflects on—many a small trader and shop-keeper is chained to his work for a longer period per day and receives a smaller income in the course of a year, that the majority of skilled workmen—as it is the loss of his economic independence. While a wage worker is employed in a shop that belongs to somebody else, dependent on the working rules, compiled to work a cerement of the working rules, compiled to work a cerement of the working rules, compiled to work a cerement of the working rules, compiled to work a cerement of the working rules, compiled to work a cerement of the working rules, compiled to work a cerement of the working rules, compiled to work a cerement of the working rules, compiled to work a cerement of the working rules, compiled to work a cerement of the working rules, compiled to work a cerement of the work of the

2 Proudhon

Various authors have at different times, more or less clearly and consciously, declared some sort of Anarchy the ideal form of society, but the Frenchman, Froudhon, was the first to attract general attention with his Anarchies philosophy. In the early forties. Froudhon is with property of the constitution of Anarchies teachings, the middle close origin is seen plainer than anywhere else middle constitution of the constitut

OPPOSED SOCIALISM.

This is a shrewd agitator's clever phrase, in general of doubtful scientific value, and in the particular connection in which Proudon in his entire activity as an action in which Proudon in his entire activity as an instead of the property of the Statistics of the

DEFENDED SHOPKEEPERS

Being a thoroughbred representative of the pety-bourgeoise, Frondhon sees the social problem through the visual angle of the Parisan reital dealer and shop-keeper; the competition of the factories and department stores against the small shopkeepers and dealers, the neavy interest charged by the banks, the oppressing reat; these are the conditions which are refeteded in his criticism. He does not find the source of social misery control of the social store of the conditions of the criticism. In the condition of the form, through which control of the condition of the critical and are exchanged.

PROUDHON'S ARGUMENT.

PROUDHON'S ARGUMENT.

The value of commodities is determined by the amount of labor required for their production, and if they were would be in the most leastful order, each individual producer, when unjoining of the product of his toni, would be receive the fail equivalent as compensation therefor. But that is not the way it is done. In practical life the price of a commodity is constantly awanging away from its value, a small minority of men is ever enabled, by virtue of their wealth, to loot the rest of the people and cheat them out of a part of the values they have created, and which rightly belongs to them. It is this property in great Capital which thus incessantly gives occared, and which rightly belongs to them. It is this property in great Capital which thus incessantly gives occared, and which is most of the protection. It is seen, how unindamentally different that view is from that of the protection. When attempting to sanalyze the social evils in moders society, Proudhon does not place himself in the factory among the workers, who must siave, exploited by Capital; the conditions prevailing there he regards as only a variety of the general social conditions, the condities arising there, he regards as only a variety of the general social conditions, the condities arising there, he regards as only a variety of the general social on the continuous prevailing there is starting point in the exchange of commodities, in the sloppeners stock of goods, he sees, thinks and Judges its starting portion the deep the social problem—and the same thoughts, which involuntarily force themselves upon the petty bourgeois, which involuntarily force themselves upon the petty bourgeois, which involuntarily force themselves upon the petty bourgeois, which is not a the solution of the entire social problem.

PROUDHON'S IDEAL.

The question is to find a social order, under which commodities can be justly exchanged, so that equal values found and the social problem will be a thing of the past; every producer will get what he earns without desiction in agra-form, and general happiness, liberty and justice will jbrevail. The value of commodities must be "constituted," i. e., made a reality, made the governing law of exchange. With "the constituted value," a harmonious relation between man and man will appear. The individuals will be free producers, independent of one another, exchanging the predicts of their labor with those of other changes, and the social produced, through their creative habor. All fraud and injustice will be things of the past. Reciprovily will rule, that "mutuality," which his the basic principle of neighborty love will become the guiding one; every individual will do unto all others, as he desires that all others should do unto him.

ECONOMIC BARBARISM.

This is the ideal society as imagined by Proudhon. It

is in fact only an idealisation of the present Capitalist society, a transformation in such a way that the interests of the petty bourpools become the underlying interests of the entire social household. While Socialism aris to abolish predection of commodities for sale and replace it with production and commodities for sale and replace it with play of the social wants, Proudhon aims to immortalize commodity production and only regulate it, amputate its asystematic cooperation, brought about by Socialism will conserve and further develop social production with its aystematic cooperation, brought about by Capitalist development, thus multiplying the productivity of human will be a social to the past, separating the slagic individuals from one another, as isolated, economically independent producers, each manufacturing his special kind of product in his own shop; he has a terror of machine production and fercely attacks factory industry, not because of its exploitation of human labor power, but because if deprives the individuals of their freedom legical industries and culture of mankind, but as the reactionary petty bourgeois, sees only the shadows cast by it. Provudhous "Constituted Value," which shall remedy all social injustice and evil, means in fact the absolute a factor in the production on a small scale, means economic barbarten.

ABSOLUTE ANARCHY.

ABSOLUTE ANARCHY.

"The ideal society," thus transforming everybody into absolutely free independent commodity producers, will abollab the state and all its institutions and introduce political Anarchy, the absolute absence of all authority and all government.

Proudhom makes a distinction between the social and the political constitution and places them in sharp anazonism toward one another. The social constitution depends on the qualification of the various economic forms the condition of human progress. The political constitution, on the other hand, rests on authority, operation of the properties of the constitution is actually the properties of the

PURE UTOPIANISM

PURE UTOPIANISM.

The purely utopian character of Prouthon and the entre Amershit descrine, its complete lack of conception of historical development, its complete lack of conception of historical development, in but few instances shown as glaringly as here.

Socialist philosophy also makes a distinction between the political and the social constitution and admits, that conflicts sometimes exist between them, but it does not regard them as absolute contrags; on the contrary, the political forms are only the natural reflections of the predominating mode of production, of the economic conditions, the social constitution, with the mode of production developing to a new ad higher stage, a conflict development of the social and political constitution, as conflict, which is constitution and the appearance of new forms to fill the requirements of the new time. The Americki sees things guite differently. From his viewpoint all human history has hitherto been one great mistake, people have not understood the law of reciprocity, which is the only natural basis of human association, and as a miserable makeshiff they have been forced to resort to the state in all its forms, from the despute monarchy to the democratic republic, in order to hold society to the democratic republic, in order to hold society to the democratic republic, in order to hold society to the state of Anarchy, which is the natural element for human nature.

IGNORES CLASS STRUGGLE.

Proudhon's stopian view of society corresponds pre-cisely with his complete lack of conception in regard to the significance of the class struggle in social evolution. The introduction of Anarchy should not be a result of a proletarian class struggle, but of a peaceful cooperation between all strata of society, between laborer and mani-facture, between the propertiess and the propertied classes. By virtue of its 'justice,' its 'ideal,' and its 'logic,' Anarchism appeals equally to everybody; it ex-logic, the properties of the properties of the 'logic,' and the properties of the properties of the regard to the instance of the properties of the proper-ties of the properties of the properties of the proper-ties of the properties of the properties of the proper-ties of the properties of the properties of the proper-ties of the properties of the properties of the proper-ties of the properties of the properties of the proper-ties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the poly bourgoois, who is not directly involved in the great social struggle between Capital and Labor, but, standing social struggle between Capital and Labor, but, standing with one leg in each camp, thinks himself elevated above the social contrasts.

HIS "PRACTICAL" MEASURE.

On a single occasion has Prouthon given vent to the idea of a measure, which might make the transition to the ideal solety. A "bank of exchappe" is one to be established to issue loans without interest, to any one, for the purpose of founding independent enterprises. The toans were not to be paid in each nor in common ban-notes, but in the form of checkes, which were to have full validity between all members of the bank, and it should not be necessar! members of the bank, and it should not be necessar! to return any part of the losh, until the bunkens had been vorted up to a paying basis. With

ANARCHISM

terial, shelter and personal necessities of life from other producers, and would thus be enabled to create for himself an independent business, that would yield him a livelised. The access to the loans being free to anybody, recardless of his concount conditions, and since there was been considered to the control of the

Later Anarchist Doctrines

BAKUNIN AND KROPOTKIN

In the last article an endeavor was made to present Proushon's economic theories, in as far as it is at all possible to bring order into the chaos of confused, self-possible to bring order into the chaos of confused, self-possible to bring order into the chaos of confused, self-possible to the confused property of the confused property of the confused property of the confused property in the confused property of the c

development.

Times. doctrines are manifold and extremely varied.

The lack of regularity and law, which the Anarchites demand introduced into society, they also practice in their teachings. Each one of their philosophers has his peculiar view to both aim and means, and within each particular view to both aim and means, and within each particular school, a multitude of various offshoots is found.

However, they all aim at the breaking up of preva-lent forms of society, the abolition of present institu-tions and the raring of the old social order, without any planned efforts towards bringing into being anything positively new-under Anarchy bunnan nature will find the best solutions of questions arising in the new form of society.

of society.

They also all agree on their rejection of and contempt for the tactics employed by the Social Democracy,
such as the exercise of the right of suffaces and the industrial and political struggle for various reforms, that
gradually will teach and strengthen the proletariat and
enable it to ultimately strike the decisive blow against
the rolling class—Anarchism will strike the great blow
momentarily, without transition, as the massée gained
over by the influence of oral and written proparanda
will rise and overthrow the ruling powers in society.

BAKUMIN'S ARGUMENT.

Anarchist ideas displayed great activity through the influence of the Russian Bakunin, a man of noble birth, who for many years had taken part in the revolutionary movements in various parts of Europe, until selzed by Proudhon's ideas, which he changed into a new independent system of thought.

His Amarchism has a strong political color; he aims discreted the system of thought.

His Amarchism has a strong political color; he aims guildes appression and tuple the state away souldes appression and the state of the state away to be a strong to the state of the state

will under Alactary of the conduct.

Free groups of Individuals will combine in order to coeperate wholly or partly in the performance of labor coeperate wholly or partly in the performance of labor and the various groups may form federations of a more or less loose character.

But everything will be done under absolute personal freedom, any one will be able to join or leave whichever group he sees fit, no one will have any right to prevent anyboty from doing whatever he pleases, or force him to do anything contrary to his will.

BAKUNIN'S ACTIVITY.

BARURINES ACTIVITY.

At the close of the 60°s and in the beginning of the 70°s. Bakunin, with an enormous agitating power, attempted to spread his ideas—and with reart success. It entire civilized world had began to sitr. Labor parties were formed in various countries, and the "International" was the center from which new impulses constantly went out to the protestariat. But young as the movement yet was, it was also indefinite in its substance; many remnants of bourgoois workers were not as yet fully minds; the masses of workers were not as yet fully mind; the masses of workers were not as yet fully mind; the masses of the country of the coun

geois-radical thought as that expressed in the Anarchism of Bakunin. Bakunin was successful in gathering a considerable following, especially among the workingmen of the Latin countries, and opened then a sharp conflict with the Socialist wing, which mainly stood under the influence of Karl Marx—a conflict, in which he shunned on means, regardies of their nature. These skirnlishes led to the dissolution and complete extinction of the "International" before the middle of the 7%.

It was not so much the actual difference between the socialist and the anarchist interpretation of society, that copies of the second s

KROPOTKIN'S DOCTRINE.

Among those, who during recent decades, have exercised the greatest influence on the Anarchist movement, Kropotkin is the one whose doctrine predominates. It is a further development of the lideas his countryman Baker and the state of the state of the state of the state of the castistic memory of the estimate from so the state as the only condition for the birth of the ideal society; once the state with all its institutions is overthrown, annihind with automatic exactness will find the best and most adequate means, by which to arrange their mutual economic laterourses. Kropotkin has a firm belief in the perfection of human nature, the only question with him is to break the bonds now hindering its free development; "let the people have received to the supply of the necessaries of life will go on with wonderful regularity!"

of the necessaries of life will go on with wonderful regularity!"

The single individuals will have no duties, any one may work as short or as long a time == he pleases at whichever profession or trade he chooses, and any one can take from the common storchouse all the vicessities and luxuries he desires, without offering an thing in return.

COLORED BY MODERNISM.

COLORED BY MODERNISM.

When Kropotkin, however, attempts to further characterize this future society, which he thus imagines will be brought about by the free play of individual forces, he does it in a somewhat different form than the majority of the earlier Anarchists. The social development of the 50-79 cyrars, gone by interestion on the Anarchist of the 50-79 cyrars, gone by interestion on the Anarchist bourgools still pression on the Anarchist hourgools still pression and the force of the f

FROM PROUDHON TO KROPOTKIN.

FROM PROUDHON TO KROPOTKIN.

Proudhon fancied the absolute distintegration of so-cley into its smallest ingredient, the single individuals, who each make their appearance as isolated producers, completely independent of one another; the exchange of commodifies would be the only economic the between man and man within society; be conceived of cooperation in production only as an occasional exception, and man and man within society, be conceived of any other man and man and in construction of railroads, estable and the libs.

Bakunin sees of the picture less plashly, individual and collective enterprise here mingle together, making it impossible to distinguish where one form of production ends and the other begins.

Kropotkin, on the other hand, emphasizes with great force that cooperation is the normal form of production with the highly-developed abovesving and profusible market force that cooperation is the normal form of production with the high-developed abovesving and profusible market of the mode of production under the production under the relative to the mode of production under future social conditions, but he is sharply distinguished from it by his terror of conscious, systematic organization and by his religious-funatic fulls. In the unfailing certainty of buman instinct, where the question is to organize the granted organization of the production under the production granten the production of the prod

all ideas of the commodity-exchange which in the eyes of Proudhon was the particular axis around which all of Proudhon was the particular axis around which all occosional life in an Anarchist form of society should revolve. He regards wealth production as the production of things for the immediate consumption of society, in a purely communistic spirit; but here he is again sharply distinguished from the Socialist interpretation by his contempt for all systematic organization; let everyone the common supply winterer he pleases and briats back what he chooses, and everything will be in the most beautiful order:

STILL BOURGEOIS AND UTOPIAN

In spite of the transformation which Anarchism has thus passed through, the spirit of the petty bourgoois still dominates it as it has done from the very outset, it is not the prelatarian viewpoint which is gradually being approached; it is the utopia of the petty bourgoois still dominates it as it the utopia of the petty bourgoois and the petty bourgoois and remains by little by social evolution. Anarchism is and remains by little by social evolution. Anarchism is and remains for the revolutionary class interests of the working class the rest of the revolutionary class interests of the middle class.

The shopkeeper's property right in and full individual control of the tools of wealth production, are well in harmony with Anarchist thought, for humanity thus attains the secondic independence in question, as the state of the s

The Propaganda by the Deed.

Onclusion.

In the preceding articles we have endeavored to gain a general knowledge of the Anarchist doctrines and their historical devolopment. "The propagands by the deed." however, has contributed far more than any doctrine towards the great and and renown of Anarchism.

Although this method of propagands is employed by within the Anarchist movement strongs a great many within the Anarchist movement of the propagands of the contribution o

it is nevertheless a natural outcome of all Amerikat teachings.

For when the state, with all other caisting social institutions, is the absolute Evil, the devil in the paradise of humanity, so to speak, is it not just to attack it in every way and by every means, thus causing it all the trouble within one's power! And when the highest and only law is the unlimited liberty of the tudividual to act as he pleases, is the individual not justified in displaying his harted and warth against the injustice of society in any way he sees fit! And when he acts with the avowed purpose of combating the existing social order, in order to assist in its destruction and thereby in places and precise the control of the

ARGUMENT FOR THE "DEED."

The doctrine of the isolated individuals act of revolt against society was first formulated in 1859 by Netsjajet, a Russian, and one of Bakunia's agents, who was traversing Russia to secure followers for the Anarchist wing of the "International."

of the "International."

The property of the property of the property of the Anarchists hilberto had seen the universal means of overthrowing existing social conditions; the state, convolving the army, the police and the courts, would as a rule be in a position to suppress a rebellion without any difficulty and quell it in torrests of blood, and a doubly fearful tyramy would be the result. The rulers on the other hand would not be able to defend themselves against the scattered attempts of the single individuals. after having performed his tack, but his grample would bring new fighters to the battlefield; unsuspected and force having performed his tack, but his grample would bring new fighters to the battlefield; unsuspected and the property of the distribution of the property of the distribution of the traveller of the distribution of the property of the distribution of the property of the distribution of the property of the state of the property of the distribution of the property of the distribution of the property of the distribution of the property of the propert

ble and fall.

All thoughts of the Anarchist must be directed towards this goal, his whole life must be consecrated to
the guerilla wardrae against society, he must ascriftce
his own self, renunciate all personal gor, all enjoyment,
alf family life and only think about the revolution. The
revolution was his religion and he worshiped it with as
revolution was the constantiant, the ordenial selfcorrection.

GROWTH OF TERRORISM.

In the beginning this borrible doctrine gained but a small following amongst the Anarchists in Europe. It did not found a school until 1889, and it was in the beginning of, the hindeles, that the great period characterised by jindividual acts of revolt began. It was a natural outgrowth of the development taking place in the different Capitalist countries. About that time the Anarchist movement was fast retrograding, vorbingmen in individual acts of the contribution of the fant-pitch and the contribution of the fant-pitch and the contribution of the fant-pitch was mere trumpery. The isolated assassinations thus became the only means whereby Anarchism could manifest itself.

"The propagands by the deed" reached the height of its flowering during the earlier half of the nineties in Thris-earlier some Anarchist journals, supported by the ord that followers; for here as everywhere was a close connection between the police and extreme reaction on

one side, and the Anarchist camp on the other. In 1892 Ravacho's bomb exploded in a private house, the oblowing year Vallanat three his bomb in the chamber of deputies, the year after Henry committed the same deed in a very popular and much frequented cafe and at about the same time a great number of either wholly or partly unsuccessful attempts were made. In 1894, the propaganda by the deed commenced to take another direction, instead of throwing bombs at random, planiesly, the weapons were being directed against royal personalities and prominent statemen. In 1949 Fresident Carnot of and prominent statemens. In 1949 Fresident Carnot of all causes of the control of the

DECLINE OF TERRORISM.

DECLINE OF TERRORISM.

Since then the individual acts of revolt have become less frequent—the complete fruitiessness of their efforts has gradually cooled the blood of most of the Amarchists and besides their ranks are in a state of fast advancing and besides their ranks are in a state of fast advancing the state of regenerating beausing to state of the state of regenerating beausing to state of the state

GAUSE OF DECLINE.

The cause of the fast waning power of Anarchism lies in social evolution.

The Anarchist teachings germinate only where large remnants of pre-capitalist conditions still provail, where a numerous and impovershed petty bourgeoiste forms the anarchism state of the providing charge statum of the upon the providing charge statum of the upon the providing charge statum of the upon the providing charge state of the considerable provide a contract of the modern protestrat, but is still under the termination of the stage of handlers.

That is the reason for the considerable provide of Anarchism in such countries as Prance, Spain, Italy, Anartia and Russia—these are countries, which only recently have entered on the stage of Capitalism. That is also have entered on the stage of Capitalism That is also have entered on the stage of Capitalism. That is also bourgeoide, as but few other large cities, and it contains besides an extensive Tobhemia' of writers and arists, people who by birth and education belong to the bourgeoide, and to whom the moral views of the prolation arists, people who by birth and education belong to the bourgeoide, and to whom the moral views of the prolation arists, people who by birth and education belong to the bourgeoide, and to whom the moral views of the prolation arists, people who by birth and education belong to the bourgeoide, and to whom the moral views of the prolation arists, people who by birth and education belong to the bourgeoide, and to whom the moral views of the prolation of the consideration and the prolation of the prolation of the consideration and the prolation of the conside

SOCIALISM DISPLACES ANARCHISM

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But gradually, as the development of Capitalism fdvances, as organized industry and modern machinery of
production gain territory, Anarchism more and more loses
in significance. The workers become conscious of their
position in society and turn their backs on all middle
position in society when the working class.

Countries like Italy is in the working class.

Countries like Italy was not a typical of this
transformation. About ten years were transformation. About ten years

archist philosophy dominated the great malority of the
workers who at all occupied their minds with the social
problem. Also in France, Holland and Risats is Anarchism strongly on the wane; only in the most backward

countries, such as in Spain, can it still exercise any

considerable influence.

ANARCHISM AS A FAD.

Only within circles belonging to the bourgeoisle is Anarchism enjoying an increasing growth, especially as a fad among persons of literary and arristic pursuits. The very utopian character of Anarchism, which in the long run deprives it of all footbold within the proletariat, is instrumental in giving it access into the bourgeoist. For this as well as any other class which sees its own of the second of the second control of the second co

nature" as a basis on which to construct the ideal form of society.

Just as the active industrial Capitalist, uses the fraility of human nature in defending the existing social form, which permits him to live on the exploitation of the labor power of others—"man is of nature lazy and extravagant, and were it not for the lash of hunger, were it not for the deep chams between rich and poor, and did not the Capitalist ownership of the means of production stand stands of the control of the same manner the idealists who discontinuous control of the same manner the idealists who discontinuous control of the capitalist ownership of the capitalist ownership of the capitalist and middle classes, but who nevertheless have seen the deformities of the present social order, in the same manner they utilize the absolute perfection of human nature as a weapon against society, and as the basis on which future social life will adjust itself, and explain their action in about this mighter: "Man is of nature equipped with none but good characteristics; it is oppression and tyranny alone which breeds base instincts and vulgar conduct; the entire present social ille is pure idiocy; just give the minute of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the complete freedom of action and all influence of the comple

REAL HUMAN NATURE.

Both of these conceptions of the absolute human nature and both of the diametrically opposed consequences drawn from them, are equally false. Man is of nature neither a wretch nor an angel, he is, on the average, what social surroundings make him. Capitalist society has developed certain characteristics, Socialist society with social surroundings make him. Capitalist society has developed certain characteristics, socialist society with a social surroundings make him. Capitalist society what social surroundings make in social sevolution.

Ideal characteristics of human nature will not create an Anarchist society but a Socialist society will create a higher stage toolety but a Socialist society will create a higher and more ideal human nature.



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Called Gorder at 1:30 by Chairman
Barth, and Minutes of May 9 were read, and
Minutes of May 9 were read, and
after an alteration in that part referation and Steele as dissenting to Martin and Steele as dissentded that Krusor Steele Steele Steele
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Martin stated that his objection was a
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