

# Freedom

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## NOTES.

### Government in the Making.

The times through which the unfortunate Mexican people are passing are indeed terrible. The downfall and death of Madero have cost them dear, but so also did his administration. All the time, in fact, the people suffer and still suffer, while the great lying international capitalist press write about the virtues of this or that great man whose "strong rule" is doing such wonders for his country. So Madero is being praised by some, Diaz by others, while none will tell us the truth of what has been happening these past days, viz., that all the vile treachery, the ruthless bloodshed, the callous cruelty that is reported to us, is simply an instance, in all its naked hideousness, of the establishment of government. It is an example clear as day of how Governments hold their power, and by what methods they are brought into being. The process may extend over centuries, as had been the case in England, or it may last but a few days, as happened in Mexico. But the fact remains in these as in all cases: *Governments rest on barbarous, unmitigated brute force, and only maintain their power so long as that force is effective.* "Law and order": "The sacredness of human life!" Rubbish. Guarantee the financiers the interest on their loans, and you can have any sort of government you like, from a French Republic to a Russian Autocracy; and human life will be valued as it was in the Lena goldfields, or in the streets of Mexico City. What are the crimes of all the social outcasts compared to the crimes of government?

### The Midland Muddle.

If the directors of the Midland Organisation, told, nothing could go on with order and regularity. But events are proving that this is simply a hypocritical excuse for keeping the workers in slavery. It answered very well in the days of the ancient despots; but, thank goodness, capitalist trickery is now being unmasked on every side. Guard Richardson stuck to the rule, and the company in their defence as good as tell the world that rules are not to come before economy in working the line. Why not then leave it to the intelligence and common-sense of the workers? That is what it will have to come to in the end. Of course, to-day, with overwork, underpay, and the inevitable antagonism between the exploiters and the enslaved, free organisation is impossible. But when we have equality, solidarity, and mutual goodwill, with rational conditions as to hours of work, rest, and so on, then all the hindrances of rules and discipline will follow in the wake of other superstitions, and leave men free. For that these things are hindrances, the men could quickly show by following them out to the letter. The Midland muddle helps in an unexpected way to make clear the Anarchist conception of Free Organisation.

### Oh! Oh! John Burns!

The Right Honourable John Burns, M.P.—late of the L.C.C., S.D.F., and one time leader of the unemployed—has been telling us some wonderful things about London. Here is a statement, for instance, that must bring joy to the hearts of some of his forgotten friends, the dockers, with their eighteen shillings a week—when they are in work:—

"With its thousand schools, its million scholars, its 700 or 800 open spaces, its 20,000 police, its 700 places of amusement, its drainage, a sewer 50 feet wide five feet deep, running night and day at a rate of two feet a second—surely it deserves something better than a mere government for so-called economy!"

Isn't it wonderful! Especially the 20,000 police and the sewer

50 ft. wide. Good gracious! we shall soon have Socialism if we go on like this! But softly! John, we fear, is running past himself, for hardly had our hearts ceased vibrating in unison with the glorious ideal painted above, when another view of the picture was painted for us by Reynolds's, of March 2. It ran as follows:—

"London has frightful slums and rookeries. It has thousands of insanitary, mean, ugly, filthy 'homes,' where its people—'Imperial Britons' who are asked on occasion to sing Jingo songs and rant against the foreigner—are housed."

We are afraid John has left something out of the account in his sum of the blessings that so many of us fail to appreciate. There is another little episode which is about to happen and which may throw a shadow on J. B.'s optimism. Some 5,000 bakers, for whom he was going to do so much years ago, are about to go on strike, and he has had to wish them good luck in their resort to direct action to obtain what he could never give them. What a confession of political failure! What a lesson for other workers!

### Creating a "Black Peril."

Amongst the grievances put forward as an excuse for the Boer War, the Dutch maltreatment of the coloured people was prominent. Of course, as "we" were victorious, it was expected that justice would be done to the coloured folk. But once again Government plays us false. Nothing has been changed. Even if the natives are not murdered now by Boer farmers, they are done to death in the mines, where they die of "miner's phthisis," few of them lasting more than four or five years. As regards the current issue of the *Contemporary Review*. He says that a man of colour cannot buy a postage stamp at the ordinary counter of the G.P.O.; he must go a room underground. He must not walk in the public parks, or watch a game on the sports grounds. If he walks on the public sidewalks, he is liable to fine and imprisonment. He must not ride on a tram if a white man objects. He cannot dwell where he likes, nor can he buy any house he wishes, among those for sale. And if he is ill and penniless, he cannot enter the sick homes administered by the State, although taxed to pay for their upkeep. Some day the natives may set about remedying their own grievances, then there will be a terrible reckoning with the white race.

### "Bleak and Bare."

It almost seems like flogging a dead horse to criticise the Labour Party, but we cannot resist quoting from the *Labour Leader* of February 20. "Our Parliamentary Correspondent" deals with the work of the Labour Party during the past Session, and, coming from one of their own side, his remarks should cause members of the I.L.P. to ask where all this fooling leads to. He says:—

"The Session has been crowded with events, and at the same time dull and artificial beyond any other in our generation. For the Labour Party it has been particularly bleak and bare. They emerge from it with the Osborne Judgment substantially reversed, but with no measure that directly ministers to working-class needs."

Surely, it is time the workers woke up to the farce of Labour representation, and concentrated their energies on doing things for themselves. They would then have the certain assurance that the results could not be less than those obtained by the Labour Party, and we are certain they would be considerably more.

ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal.—*Century Dictionary*.

## THE EDUCATION OF THE REBEL.

Many a Socialist says: "Let us get hold of the child's mind when it is young and susceptible. This is the possibility of real propaganda. The Churches have done it; why should not we?" "Why, indeed," I agree; that is, if the Socialists are out for the same thing as the Church. If their object is to make the child accept as true their beliefs, then let them follow the example of the Church and organise schools and dispense dogmas. But remember, all this is opposed to progress in exactly the same way that all Churches must necessarily be reactionary. The rich and vigorous idea of this age, which startles us with the power of its truth, will be a dead and mouldy lie to the next generation. The pioneers of the future will be slaying it in order that it may be replaced by something better; and the reactionary majority will be keeping it alive, fighting the men of advanced thought, and singing the praises of the pioneers of the past ages. It is no use bringing up children to be among these choristers. Let the dead bury their dead. We shall be the dead of the next generation, and there is no need to wish our ghosts to walk among our descendants.

For these reasons, then, let us not attempt to imprint our ideas on the susceptible mind of the child. I say "attempt," because, after all, it is impossible to systematically teach *revolt*. Bring the rugged old doctrine inside the school and it dies like a dog in a lethal chamber or a revolutionist in Parliament. The Church Sunday school has taught the child, "He that loseth his life for my sake, the same shall save it." The child believes it, but he is taking no risks. He learns a whole host of things, which become imbedded and lifeless in his pliable mind. It is not different when we attempt to teach the doctrine of *revolt*. It is of small account, we tell the child, whether a man fails to put his sentences together grammatically, or what may be the cut of his clothes. We may teach logically and well that there is something better to strive for than wealth and power above other men, and the child will dutifully learn its lesson; but it is all in vain. The little half-being becomes an individual and sees the world in a different aspect. It is completely blind to the great land of possibilities in which you live, and sees only as far as the narrow confines of the little world of real circumstances that immediately surround its life. In vain you have taught it that the laws of conventionality are not necessarily the last word of human morality, for it sees the world only in its conventional aspect; to disobey such laws is to fail in relation to the only world it knows. And do not *failure* and *success* contain the meaning of all human activity and philosophy?

You may teach the blind musician that the art of the painter is greater than his music, and he will believe perhaps—but nevertheless, the world continues to exist. The painter, perchance, has no ear for music, and the world to him is only a thing of shapes and colours; it is useless to tell him that his art is slight and trivial when compared with that of the musician; should he believe you, he will still paint on. So it is with the rebel and the man at peace with the world. The one sees a world of possibilities which to him is more real, vital, and valuable than his transient circumstances; the other is blind to, or but dimly sees, the world under this aspect, and lives among, and as part of, his immediate circumstances. Teach the rebel the importance of attending to the world in which the citizen lives, and he will learn the lesson; but he will continue to live as before. Teach the citizen about the world as the rebel sees it, and he too may memorise all that you say; but his life continues in its old course.

Even though the musician admits the greatness of the art of the painter, it will always be a discord that jars him, while he can pass a Royal Academy picture unshocked. The painter, on the other hand, who has learnt of the great musicians will still be shocked by an ill-drawn picture, while a circus band will not discomfort him. Similarly, the rebel is shocked by every circumstance of the respectable life around which conflicts with his world of possibilities; and the citizen, on the other hand, is upset at every action which tends to disturb the even tenor of the world of circumstances in which he lives. The rebel is driven almost mad with rage as he sees the daily order of society, which to him is sullen tragedy, preserved by the preacher's soothing voice and the policeman's bludgeon; and the citizen is beside himself with holy rage and horror should any "outrage" be committed which threatens this "order," which to him is harmony. Each has his standard of life, sees the world under a different aspect, admires in it other beauties. To learn of the world that the other sees, is not sufficient; he must live in it before he can be considered as of the same nature.

To create the rebel, then, by education is no easy task. His chief characteristics are a passionate love of life and a great and powerful hatred of the principle and structure of the society which stifles him and prevents his breathing freely the air that he loves. This may sound purely selfish and so it is. The individual struggle for life leads to co-operation and the social struggle, and indeed to society itself. The starting-point of the revolution is, to each man, *himself*. It is his own fight for a full and rich life, and this implies a *social* life.

Since, then, our revolutionary education is simply gained in our search to satisfy our love and hatred, it is the effect more than the cause of our *revolt*. We must ask, how can we best generate these necessary passions? The truth is the revolutionist—must first be born

a sensitive being. Then his perfect education would be to give him in early youth a life of refinement, surrounded by the beauties and peace of the country, enjoying what the poets, artists, and musicians have to offer him, and studying the sciences. This gives him a true love of life and beauty—a well-proportioned general outlook. Then let him be placed among the hives of the workers in a great industrial city—and be assured he will learn how to hate and to revolt.

But such an education, it will be argued, is impracticable. That is true, and so also is the creation of the rebel impracticable. Our greatest efforts achieve but little, for we are creatures of the age in which we live, and those whom we would educate have learned their lesson in a wider school than we can give. All the effort that is spent in giving children a wider knowledge of the universe and a richer love of life is well spent and must lead to revolt and progress; but all that is spent in teaching dogmas, however true they may appear to us, is ill spent and must turn to reaction.

But this we all know already, cry our teachers. That is so; but as I have pointed out above, there is so much that so many people know, and yet so little that even the few *realise*.

G. B.

## THE SINGLE TAX.\*

The idea of the Single Tax, as a means of freeing the land from the monopolists, has for some years been under a cloud in this country; but quite recently the activities of a few men, notably Mr. Wedgwood and Mr. Outhwaite, have brought it before the public again. This book, "The Road to Freedom," written by two intensely earnest propagandists, is a re-statement of the Single Tax position. There is no getting away from the sincerity of the authors' aim, which is to tax the landlords up to the full site value, thus taxing the monopolists out of existence, and make the land free to all, leaving men and women to work out their problems in their own way, free from officials and experts.

As land varies in natural value on account of difference of soil, access to water, etc., it is suggested that when landlordism is abolished those who cultivate the more productive areas should pay into the central or local treasury periodically a sum equivalent to the value of these areas over the land of less value. This Single Tax will replace all other rates and taxes. The advocates of the Single Tax assert that the net value of all land will thus be brought to an equality. The authors state their case very clearly, and with evident belief in its efficacy.

Now, as this idea will be very much to the front in future, it is advisable to avoid treating it too lightly. The authors, in dealing with the incidence of the tax, prove to their own satisfaction that the amount the landlord paid. Consequently, ~~the~~ But we think one rent to cover his tax, the tenant would pay, as obviously he only paid the previous rent, plus rates and taxes, under compulsion. This, however, is a minor point.

The objection we raise as Anarchists, as the authors have foreseen, is that the Single Tax involves the existing Government machinery. The whole management will be in the hands of the same class which now collects the rents. The authors say the Single Tax will be paid to the "community." What is the "community"? A pure abstraction. At the present time the revenue of this country is collected and distributed nominally on behalf of the "community"; but we know that in actual practice it is collected and distributed in the interests of a class. Even if the Single Tax wiped out landlordism as at present understood, the money it brought into the coffers of the "community" would still be handled by the people who handle it now. There would still be £200,000,000 a year to spend on armies and navies, and on the bureaucratic parasites who infest the body politic.

We are told by the authors that the Single Tax "is the only method of genuine revolution which does not of necessity involve earthquake and catastrophe." This is the same argument as has been used against us by Social Democrats when we have advocated direct expropriation. We have been told that the Army is an insuperable barrier. "The capitalists control the Army by means of their majority in Parliament. Send a majority of Socialists to Parliament, and you can control the Army." But who is so simple as to think the capitalists will sit with folded hands whilst you build up your majority? As Liebknecht has said, even suppose a Social Democratic majority became a fact, what would happen? "The majority makes up its mind to do something that will make the day and the hour memorable in history—the new era is about to start! O, nothing of the kind... A company of soldiers bids the Social Democratic majority begone or be chucked; and if these gentlemen do not leave quickly, a few policemen will show them the way to the State prison. Revolutions are not made by permission of the Government." And so with the Single Taxers. For the time being they may introduce the thin edge of the tax by playing off the capitalists against the landlords, but as soon as the workers begin to drive the wedge home in a manner likely to bring about the downfall of Capitalism and Landlordism, the possessing classes would bring up their reserves of brute force and call a halt. So the Single

\* *The Road to Freedom, and What Lies Beyond.* By Josiah and Ethel Wedgwood. 1s. net. London: C. W. Daniel.

Taxers would have to fight in the end, if they really intended to free mankind. Mr. Wedgwood, as a Member of Parliament, knows the absolute unscrupulousness of the ruling clique; and when he speaks of the Single Tax as a "genuine revolution which does not of necessity involve earthquake and catastrophe," we feel that the wish is father to the thought, and that his fears are otherwise.

We quite agree with the authors as to the basic character of the land question. There can be no freedom without free access to the land. But in seeking for ways and means to achieve that result, we cannot be too drastic. The Indians and other natives of Mexico have taken back the lands stolen from them, and are at present cultivating the soil with their rifles slung across their backs, knowing that as soon as they show signs of weakness their lands will be taken away and their former slavery imposed on them. The work of other countries must learn this lesson. The rulers will use any and every means, however bloody and brutal, to maintain their ascendancy; and we Anarchists have no illusions on this matter. Our Single Tax friends still cherish theirs.

Mr. and Mrs. Wedgwood have endeavoured to meet all possible objections, and those who wish to study the question, even if only to combat it, could not do better than read this book. T. H. K.

## ANARCHISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE.

There is a sense in which we may truly say that Anarchism is as old as the hills, or at any rate as old as the love of liberty, which is after all innate in the human mind. But more than this, Nature herself is Anarchist in her manifestations in the evolutionary processes, from the formation of her solar systems to the perfection of the human organism. On every hand we see her forces, her energies, which are not outside agencies, but the intrinsic attribute of every particle of matter—freely forming, dissolving, and reforming, according to their varied affinities; or if temporarily hindered from so doing, producing convulsions and catastrophes, as necessary for the readjustment of the eternal chain of cause and effect. Such are the views of the materialists; and, in spite of Sir Oliver Lodge and his spiritualist friends, all the recent discoveries of science, regarded apart from religious prejudices and superstitious fears, continually confirm them. Of course, it will be said by those who take the old-fashioned view of things, that Nature is subject to immutable laws, and they will even try to prove there is a system of government in the constitution of our solar system; that the sun, for instance, is the centralised executive power supplying the planets and their satellites with the necessary heat and light for their growth and development. All these pretty fictions have a certain fascination for people who do not wish to reason too deeply about the function, if we may use such an expression, is precisely the reverse of all governments, since it makes life possible and this earth fertile. Just as a mother feeds her child, taking nothing in return. If any real analogy existed between the sun and our human institutions, something answering to the duties of a solar tax-collector would have to be discovered, who would come to us as does the human species to rob us of our life-blood, and give us war, misery, and famine in return.

There are many other things that might be dwelt on to show the same fallacy of excusing our own follies and crimes by pointing to the workings of the so-called "laws of nature," as misinformed and superficial people regard them. But it has only been necessary to make these remarks here in order to show that if we wish to understand social phenomena clearly and truly, if we wish to grapple with the evils that surround us men and women who are in earnest with our work, we must throw off all prejudice and fearlessly give up all the superstitions with which our education has been saturated from our earliest days.

But to do this means to accomplish a mental revolution, and that is exactly what is required to become a convinced Anarchist. The theory of Anarchism certainly disturbs the old ideas of government and authority—of "law and order," as they say—to an even greater extent than the discoveries of science have shocked and outraged the ignorant believers in the divine origin of things. The barbaric records contained in the Bible, supported even to this very day by kings and priests, and governments, from the Tsar and his autocrats to the members of the L.C.C., have cost more blood and misery to the nations than would a thousand social revolutions for the betterment of mankind. Why, then, should there be any fear in discussing the principles of Anarchism? Indeed, do not all self-respecting persons regard it as necessary that they should think for themselves, and form their own opinion about things?

Anarchism, then, is a direct negation of all those forms of government and authority which are generally supposed to establish security and well-being for society, but which the Anarchist asserts without hesitation to be the primary causes of the evils which surround us. From this it will be understood that when the Anarchist speaks of liberty he means something far more real and vital than what is understood in general by that term. Anarchism demands absolute autonomy for the individual. That is to say, we deny the right—or perhaps I had better say, the justice—of any man's dictating and enforcing a line of action or a mode of life for any other man or group of men. The healthy development of every individual needs the breath of freedom,

just as the plant needs light and air. To bring this great need to mankind, this liberty without which life is a mockery, the Anarchist recognises the necessity for the abolition once and for all of the State, with its army, its police, its functionaries, and officials; and the socialisation of the entire wealth of the community for the benefit of all. I refer to this question of the socialisation—not nationalisation, be it remembered—of the means of production because, being an Anarchist-Communist, I cannot understand any idea of liberty which does not include economic liberty; or, in other words, the seed of Anarchism requires, in my opinion, the ground of Communism in which to attain its full growth and development. It is for this reason we claim to be even more Socialistic than the Socialist, if I may say so, and resent as grossly unjust and unfair the attacks that are frequently made upon us by Social Democrats, who would like us to be regarded as anti-Socialistic simply because we are opposed to their reliance on the State. The fight made by Anarchists against that monstrous iniquity, the State, has brought upon our heads all the brutal and stupid vindictiveness which the capitalist press knows so well how to use against us. I need not repeat here all the epithets that have been applied to us, but I would ask my readers to consider for a moment what is this State, without whose power and authority, we are told, people would cease to mind their own business, and would have as their only object the throwing of everything into disorder amidst orgies of violence and bloodshed. Is it necessary to point out in these so-called enlightened days that the State itself is the great criminal? I suppose no one is surprised at the unheard-of infamies organised by the autocracy to save itself, in Russia, recently in the throes of a great revolution. This Government has deliberately exploited the basest passions of the lowest strata of the population to discredit the grand struggle of the revolutionists; and if this vile age of commercialism had not well-nigh destroyed all the true manhood of the English people, England would to-day be aflame from end to end with indignation against the ruthless scoundrels of the Russian autocracy.

But perhaps you think that is not a good instance of a modern Government, and that our own system of a limited monarchy—limited in intelligence certainly, but unlimited in its costliness—would give us a fairer criterion. Well, I really am almost ashamed to speak of our own system, not because I do not think we are in advance of Russia—thanks to our revolutions and to our having abolished the divine right of kings in a very effective manner—but because I think we have gone back so much in the last twenty years owing to our apathy and stupidity that the politicians who rule us to day are only a reflex of the spirit of the age, and have given the English people such a dose of reaction as they have not even yet realised the extent of. But some people, at any rate, are expecting great things from the growth of a political Labour and Socialist party in Parliament. Well, we do not wish it to be so, but because we know what the logical outcome of all political struggles means for the people, and that the one thing needed to end once and for all the robbery of labour, with all its resultant evils, is a social revolution, and no Government will ever make that for you. If you think this is an exaggeration, I may ask you why have all Democratic Republics continued to maintain the privileges of the exploiting classes? According to the ideal of Social Democracy, they are the most advanced form of government we have yet reached, and yet they drag in their train all the evils of capitalism, often in an aggravated form. So we are driven, with Burke, to conclude that it is the State, the thing itself, that is the evil.

I think it would be as well to leave for a little the barren, and I must say despicable, subject of present-day politics, to give some consideration to the deeper significance of the Anarchist theory. Ibsen tells us that the strongest man is the man who can stand alone, and no man perhaps in the world's history stands out as a grander example of this than Socrates. When in the cause of truth he stood alone against the compact majority of the Senate and the infuriated Athenian populace, he acted simply as an Anarchist. I shall not be so egotistical as to claim Socrates as an Anarchist, but if we think over the names of men who are honoured for the sacrifices they have made in the cause of human freedom we shall find that in nearly all cases they have acted, consciously or unconsciously, in the Anarchist spirit. George Henry Lewes, speaking of those causes that brought about the execution of Socrates, says:—"But perhaps the most offensive part of his behaviour was the undisguised contempt which he uniformly expressed for the capacity for government assumed by all men."

Socrates knew, as we Anarchists know to-day, that you will find hundreds of people ready to govern others before you find one that thinks of governing himself. Well, from Socrates onward the names of the men who have suffered in the cause of human liberty would make a list too long to go over now, but they have all helped in the evolution of the idea which to-day is known as Anarchism.

But if the Anarchist finds that government and authority are opposed to all that is best in social life, or, as Emerson says, that the State follows, but does not lead, the character and progress of the citizen; and if, as he continues, "the history of government is that one man does something which is to bind another," we do not rest content with the merely abstract proposition that such things are wrong, but we organise as best we may for actively combatting the institutions of government and property. And this brings us to the question of how Anarchism, or, as I would rather say, Anarchist Communism, would work in practice.

(To be continued.)

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## SYNDICALISM: A WORKING-CLASS CONCEPTION OF SOCIALISM.

### III.—(Conclusion.)

The more Syndicalism was growing in France, and its tactics, especially the agitation for a general strike, assuming a decisive character, the more the advanced elements of the working-classes in other countries began to desert the ranks of Parliamentary Social Democracy and of Labour Unions led by politicians. In a comparatively short time Syndicalism became the *mot d'ordre* in Labour and Socialist circles, and quite a literature on the subject was brought out in French, Italian, German, and English. But a curious thing was that except Pelloutier's "Histoire des Bourses du Travail," and the booklets and pamphlets published by the French and other Syndicalists themselves, this literature on Syndicalism was mainly the work of bourgeois Radicals and Social Democratic authors. Though, in perfect good faith, they failed to grasp the central idea of this great movement of the French proletariat.

Many of them—as, for instance, Sorel, Lagardelle, and Leone\*—wrote volumes on revolutionary Syndicalism, and tried to prove at great length that revolutionary Syndicalism, with its negation of the State, is nothing but rejuvenated Marxism. Readers in France, Italy, and even here in England, were entirely misled by these authors as to the essential meaning of the movement. I have asked myself in astonishment how such well-read and literary men as the above-mentioned could make such a fundamental mistake.

Marx and his *alter ego*, Engels, in their whole literary careers formulated but once their conception of "social revolution and a future Socialist Society." This was in their Manifesto of the Communist Party. What an important rôle they assigned to the State, rejected by French Syndicalism, can be seen from their own words:

"Centralisation of credit in the hands of the State.  
"Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.

"Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State.

"Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture."

Again I ask how it could happen that such a conception of an all-powerful, all-absorbing State, could be confused with the clear and sound idea of popular Socialism of the Syndicalists, who insist on the autonomy of groups and federations controlling production and distribution, and are opposed to all forms of a State with its organised parasitism of bureaucracy.

Yet less foundation is there for connecting Marxian Social Democracy with Syndicalism. We know from the categorical and incessant declarations of the leaders and the press of Social Democracy in all countries for the last forty years that they are in principle centralist to the utmost, Anti-Federalist; and in tactics are against popular initiative, against Direct Action in any form, and especially against the idea of the general strike—all fundamental ideas of French Syndicalism. It is amazing to see Syndicalism traced to Marxian Social Democracy, the implacable enemy of Syndicalism.

In Germany the Syndicalists, organised in the "Freie Vereinigung Deutscher Gewerkschaften," are persecuted by the Centralists—individual members were deprived of work, their strikes "broken" in order to waste their funds; they were denounced to the police, so that Andreas Kleinlein in his "Der Syndikalismus in Deutschland" speaks mildly, if his account of their experiences is accurate, when he says:—"The fight with exploitation is always natural and open, but the fight with brothers about the form of organisation is a cruel one in Germany."†

We see the same in England. The leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, with its Marxian creed, Ramsay MacDonald, in his own *Socialist Review*, October, 1911, said: "Syndicalism has raised its Caliban head..... Let it [the Socialist

movement] not add Syndicalism to the already too numerous vipers which, in the kindness of its heart, it is warming on its hearthstones."

Syndicalism met with no more cordial a reception from the Marxian Socialists in Italy—Turatti, Ferri, and the others.

As to the relations between the French Syndicalists and the United Socialist Party (*Parti Unifié*), the latter attacks Syndicalism, not only from the outside, but by intrigues tries to bring divisions in the ranks of the Syndicalists themselves. Year after year at the Congresses of the French Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), a small number of delegates from the Nord department—where Guesde, the leader of the *Parti Unifié*, finds his greatest following—propose that the C.G.T. should adhere to this Parliamentary Socialist party and to its minimum programme. Even at the Congress at Havre last autumn, not only the Guesdists, but also the delegates of the German Social Democratic Labour Unions, who were the guests of the Congress, held up the German Unions, with their centralism and Social Democratic political leadership, as an example to the French Syndicalist C.G.T.

The most comical of all, however, is to hear Guesde, the leader of French legal Parliamentary Socialism, declare in a debate that he is against Syndicalists because they are not revolutionists!

The minimum programme, formulated by Guesde and Brousse in 1880, has for thirty years upheld legal Parliamentary action; and Guesde, who in the same period delivered pompous speeches from the benches of Parliament, for which he was receiving a fat salary, now dares to reproach the Syndicalist workers, at war daily with Capitalism on one side and the State authorities on the other, for not being revolutionary! Political ethics must have sunk low, and the playing with words have gone far, that a man paid by the State for his social parasitism has the impudence to declare himself a revolutionist.

\* \* \* \* \*

These misrepresentations, persecutions, and polemics from would-be revolutionists and Socialists against Syndicalism, with its well-defined aim of uniting the working classes in order to abolish the wage system and Capitalism, and to substitute for the State and its bureaucracy an industrial confederation of producers, are the best indication that two opposing social conceptions have at last come face to face. On the one side are all other; and on the other, the State and bureaucratic striving for the abolition of all forms of State and bureaucracy if called Socialist bureaucracy. Who will triumph?

Undoubtedly, the Socialist ideals of Robert Owen and Proudhon, regenerated in contemporary Syndicalism, will be vigorous enough to disperse all the falsifications brought into Socialism by middle-class politicians, and to convince the people that their emancipation and happiness can be attained only by their own initiative and their own struggles.

As in every social movement, some temporary deviation under the influence of circumstances may be imposed also on Syndicalism. But if the Syndicalists will remain true to the two fundamental formulas of social emancipation, and to their tactics against Capitalism and the State, they will succeed in realising a free community of producers.

W. TCHERKESOFF.

## THE LIVERPOOL CONFERENCE.

The prospects for the Conference at Liverpool on March 23 and 24 are very encouraging, and if comrades from all parts will do their utmost to attend it should prove, unlike most conferences, to be really an important event.

The new Communist Club, run by our comrades at Liverpool, will supply us with a suitable room, and they are anxious to know how many visitors to expect. Many invitations have already been sent out, but it is inevitable that some will be omitted. Comrades who intend being present but who have not received invitations should write to A. Mackay, 74 Buchanan Street, Glasgow; or to J. Dick, Communist Club, 20 Islington (Room 2), Liverpool.

The present Conference will be run in many respects on very different lines from the one held in Leeds twelve months ago. A printed agenda will be sent to all who intend being present, and this, which is now being compiled, already has some interesting items, which go to the very root of the question of the revival and organisation of the Anarchist movement throughout Britain.

Every real live Anarchist should see that either he is himself present, or that some comrade from his district with his ideas goes to Liverpool.

\* G. Sorel—"Réflexions sur la Violence." H. Lagardelle—"Syndicalisme et Socialisme." E. Leone—"Il Sindicalismo."  
† "Syndicalism and the General Strike." By Arthur D. Lewis. Page 161.

## THE PERIL OF MILITARISM.

It would be well if more attention were to be devoted to the serious danger to the International Labour movement which the reactionary forces in present society are deliberately and persistently creating. In every land the Governments are increasing the burden of armaments beyond anything ever dreamt of in former times, and the militarist sections are exciting the minds of the masses with fears of foreign aggression and scaring them with wild stories of imminent invasion. All the old played-out yarns of "national danger" and "glory" are being revived; not a nation is exempt from them. They are made the excuse for enormous increases in expenditure upon arms, men, ships of war, and the latest abomination, "aerial navies." But this is not all, nor the worst purposes of this reactionary policy.

Science, and the ceaseless migration of millions of people, even trade and commerce, have largely obliterated frontiers and worn away the sharp and sudden differences between peoples. A common knowledge and interest has slowly but surely been growing, and, if continued, will make the solidarity of mankind a practical possibility. That achievement would make armies and navies doubly ridiculous: in reason they are so now; then they would plainly be so in the eyes of all the world. By the classes in possession of wealth and power that consummation is by no means devoutly to be wished, for then the inhuman and insane violence upon which their domination ultimately rests, appearing in its true character—viz., the subjugation of the "have-nots," the poor—would no longer secure the respect and belief in its necessity which now prevails.

National antagonisms have at all times been the trump card of the rulers of mankind. It is so still. The rich know it now. All people earnestly desiring social progress know it, too. Only hard-shelled State Socialists, with cut-and-dried theories, appear unable to find a crevice in their minds for the recognition of this important truth. They have played, and are now assisting, the game of the rich, particularly in Britain, where the cult of militarism being not many years ago on the downgrade, they commenced an agitation for a form of conscription which they term a "citizen army." In its support they have recommended and praised the raising of a conscript army in this country, although the fact that tens of thousands of Socialist workmen have fled to these shores from this continental infamy might have deterred them from such an agitation. During the last fifteen or sixteen years a carefully devised and fostered campaign of militarist agitation has been going on. Neither money nor effort has been spared by members of the wealthy and official orders to imbue the minds of children, youths, and working men with "patriotic" sentiment and the idea that it is their duty to submit to military training. The great permanently imposed on the youth of those countries, there is no doubt that it would be used as an argument for its imposition here. Militarism is to the front even at Cambridge University, where it is suggested that a certain amount of military training should be a necessary qualification for a B.A. degree.

Can the revolutionary workers' movement afford to ignore this sinister growth? Its success would at any moment destroy nine-tenths of the results of many years' hard work. Is there the slightest doubt that the rascally and unscrupulous cliques of men constituting the Imperial Governments of the world would not hesitate to engage in the hideous business of life-taking and wealth destruction called war in order to thwart the revolutionary movement? Even if they do not find it necessary to do that, what better check to progress can be invented than the habit and obligation of obedience to authority? The action of Briand in breaking the great railway strike in France by mobilising the conscripts on the railway and working them under military discipline was but a bold confession of the means by which the workers' servility is to be ensured should they ever reach the stage when they may act as conscious freemen would act. The workers have borne poverty, overwork, disease, ignorance, destitution, ugliness in their lives and surroundings too long, and any tendency or desire for "discipline" is a sign of retrogression, not of progress. Why should they serve in the armed forces of their masters? They will not learn self-reliance there. They will not be taught to combine in their own defence, or to fight their own battles, or the battle of their class. They will not be taught to use their arms to drive the despoilers of humanity from the land in which they were born. They will not be taught to fight for justice and freedom, those absolute essentials in human welfare and happiness. Actually the opposite of all these principles are instilled into them, whether it be a "citizen" or regular armed force, conscript or "voluntary."

In the course of discussions upon the question of the invasion of the country by a foreign army the workers are offered the alternatives of a choice of rulers from home or abroad, as the newspapers say. But that is not the alternative now at all. As the land and its wealth are not the property of the workers, victory or defeat in those circumstances would mean very little to the great majority of them. But there is now another great opportunity, namely, united action with the working class of the aggressive nation, in the first stages, by an international general strike to delay the war or to bring it to a close, or a united social revolution. We are getting nearer to both

possibilities, and it is the duty of social revolutionists not to teach and promote antagonism between workers on account of nationality, but to spread the idea of taking advantage of a declaration of war on the old style for a declaration of war on the new. The next great European war ought to be the immediate cause of the downfall of our present system of society, and it will be if we actively stimulate the International character of the working class movement. It should need very little exhortation to induce everybody who desires the overthrow of the capitalist system of society to do their best to prevent the workers of the various parts of the world being used as catspaws against each other in the shady game of international politics. A pious belief and resignation to the theory of wars being made in the interests of trade and finance, and readiness to acquiesce in whatever may happen, is a poor-spirited kind of attitude. There is too much of this. Militarism and war are so ruinous and disastrous to humanity that the forces opposed to them in one or the other way are strong enough to check or prevent both if properly and thoroughly aroused. We have had enough of the omnipotence of the German Kaiser, of Lord Roberts and the conscriptionists, and implied hints of the sin of suggesting that the absurd tragedy of war is not inevitable. It is false. The blame for the growth of militarism must be placed largely upon the shoulders of those in or near our own ranks who have ignored this question in their propaganda, or tacitly, and sometimes openly, favoured it. If war occurs between the empires of Europe, the blame must rest upon the same people again. When the mind of an ignorant and misguided people is inflamed by a mad delusion, as in Italy lately and in this country a few years ago, nothing can prevent them passing completely through the course of the disease. Victory or defeat is all the same. One excites, the other enrages. Reason is flouted, the truth is denied. Appeals and reproaches are useless. The story of Barabbas and Christ is a mild parody of the situation when the war-mania is on. Therefore, now is the time to fight the evil. To allow the mind of the people to be perverted when it had been so largely permeated by the truth is the crassest folly. Besides, what better illustration could you have of the great boon to the whole of human-kind which the abolition of law and government would be, than the unreason, the burden, the loss and the misery which governments inflict through their armed forces and their wars?

The government business in explosives, in robbery and murder, is vast in every land. Free human society could and will dispense with that business with great advantage to itself. It will not need hordes of pitiful, obedient creatures moving machine-like to order in the business of man-slaying. The problem of defence against bands or hosts of marauders, whether they be the much-feared backward races or some other aggressors, will be simple enough to them; possessing, as they will, the knowledge, physical strength and fitness, and the means. The question of to-day is, shall we not more definitely and vigorously oppose the peril of militarism, and vindicate the principles of Internationalism and Freedom?

G.

## The Futility of Present Parliamentary Action Admitted by Kautsky.

We all have heard Social Democrats proudly pointing out that the enormous number of votes polled by them in Germany is a proof of the great strength of Social Democracy in that country. When we asked what benefit the people have had, what liberties have been gained, we were mostly told that the Social Democratic Deputies in the Reichstag have done very useful work, etc., but that we as foreigners do not understand the real position.

Now we get a most unexpected confirmation of the futility of all the Social Democratic Parliamentary activity from Kautsky, the man who of all men in the German Social Democratic party can be trusted to see and say all the good there is in their political Socialism. He says in the *New Review* of New York:—

"The election of 110 Social Democratic deputies has altered nothing. The Government and the majority of the Reichstag are just as reactionary as before, social reform lags as it formerly did, and the rivalry in armaments goes merrily forward.

"But those who expected that the elections could and would make any change in these respects were pinning their faith to unrealisable illusions. No bourgeois majority, no matter what its composition may be, will ever conduct an energetic struggle against the Government in behalf of a genuine Parliamentary régime, against militarism and for radical social reforms. Such a struggle can to-day be expected of a Social Democratic majority only.

"Since the beginning of the present century, Imperialism has taken possession of all bourgeois social strata in Germany. Radicals and followers of the Centre have begun to dream of colonial expansion and naval power, just like the National Liberals and Conservatives.

"We have accomplished everything which, in the present situation, it is possible to accomplish by Parliamentary means.

"Nowadays, it is impossible to make up a Reichstag, or any Parliament, in any country, in such a way as to make it capable of effecting great social and democratic reforms in the absence of violent pressure from without unless the majority is composed of Socialists. The proletariat can no longer expect anything from any bourgeois

party. A Parliament to-day can of itself create anything great only if it has a Social Democratic majority.

"This Reichstag is powerless to accomplish anything great, as is every Parliament with a bourgeois majority in a country with developed capitalistic production.

"The high cost of living continues to rise. Class antagonisms are becoming ever more acute, the mass of the population is becoming more and more embittered against existing conditions. And we are making gigantic strides toward the time when we shall have half of the votes cast, and shortly after that half of the seats in the Reichstag.

"But, it is true, the nearer we approach this condition of affairs, so much the nearer do we come to the last, the hardest and most violent struggles, for just so much the more bitter will be the resistance of our opponents."

And yet for forty years the Social Democratic leaders preached to their followers and the people to vote, vote, and again vote for their candidates and all would be well. At the same time all revolutionary spirit was stamped out, the General Strike was declared to be "a general nonsense," an Anarchistic heresy, to be fought against like poison. Where do they expect the "violent pressure from without" now to come from? Must another forty years of stagnation pass to give the Social Democrats a majority in the Reichstag, from which the capitalist society will meekly take its decree of death? Kautsky knows better; he foresees that the bourgeoisie will not even submit to a Social Democratic majority being elected, "the hardest and most violent struggles come at the last." So he admits that the real fight will be fought outside Parliament.

A few years ago the general strike had been actually authorised by the party Congress if used for political purposes! But a strike is an economic weapon, and no decree from above will make the workers believe that if it is good for political purposes, it should not be still more useful in the economic struggle.

After Kautsky's admission that Social Democratic Parliamentary activity is fruitless till they get a majority, and now no reforms are possible unless "violent pressure is brought from without," the German workers surely will set to work to produce this "pressure" by the use of the only means at hand: the general strike, direct action, and organising on a revolutionary Syndicalist basis.

## SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR PARTY.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—Yesterday I posted you some correspondence relating to a lecture given in connection with the formation in this I attended a meeting held for the ~~purpose~~ to taking any part in the proceedings, but to form some idea of the prospects of the movement. To my surprise, I was proposed as one of the officials, and declined the honour, giving my reasons for so doing. I stated that though I was glad to see an anti-capitalist movement at last started in Port Elizabeth, and though I was in thorough sympathy with that movement in so far as it was Socialistic, aiming at the socialisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, yet as an avowed Anarchist I preferred to remain a free lance, and to help from outside so far as I conscientiously could do so. I added that I felt that the fact of office being held by one holding opinions commonly regarded as extreme would probably be detrimental to the progress of the organisation. One might have expected that this honest and friendly explanation would have been accepted as satisfactory, but I had a lesson to learn, and to experience in my own person the brutal intolerance and discourtesy usually exhibited by Labourites and State Socialists towards those who do not swallow their whole programme, or who refuse to confine themselves to that programme.

I have learned my lesson, and am satisfied that the Anarchist who tries to co-operate with bigots intent on imposing their will on all around them will have no reason to be proud of the position in which he will inevitably find himself.—Yours for Anarchist Communism,

HENRY GLASSE.

23 Park Lane, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.  
January 26, 1913.

### Publications Received.

- Instead of Socialism.* By Charles Daniel. 1s. net. London: C. W. Daniel, Amen Corner, E.C.
- Fabian Biographical Series.* No. 1—Francis Place. By St. John G. Ervine. 2.—Robert Owen. By Miss B. L. Hutchins. 3.—William Morris. By Mrs. Townshend. 4.—John Stuart Mill. By Julius West. 2d. each. London: Fabian Society, 3 Clement's Inn, W.C.
- Pullacies of Flagellants* 1d. London: Humanitarian Society, 53 Chancery Lane, W.C.
- Annual Report of the National Anti-Vaccination League.* London: League Offices, 27 Southampton Street, W.C.
- On the Evolution of Life from Fire.* By Edward M. Darken. 6d. Wellington, N.Z.: P.O. Box 266.
- Jahrbuch der Freie Generation.* 1 mark. Zurich: Rainer Trindler, Agnesstrasse 22.
- Anarquía: Su Definición Etimológica.* By A. Girard. 5c. Barcelona: Salud y Fuerza, Provenza 177, principal 1a.
- La Mujer Esclava.* By René Chaughy. 5c. Barcelona: Same publishers.

## THE FOREST PRISON.

(After DOMBROYSKI.)

There deep in yonder so darksome forest  
Is a prison drear 'mid the great, tall trees,  
And 'twixt its walls in some dungeon sombre  
Is shut a comrade till life's surcease.

No more the sun in its dawning glory  
Shall charm his soul with its red, red gold;  
No more at eve in its fairy splendour  
Shall it waft him dreams of a bliss untold.

I would pierce the walls of his dungeon dreary  
With a ring of gold to give him sight,  
To let him know of the seasons changing  
From winter's gloom to the springtime bright.

I would place some snow inside that ringlet  
To tell of winter and frost and rime:  
I would place a bloom of the summer's glory  
To let him know of the harvest time.

L. AUGUSTINE MOTLER.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### Italy.

Italy's "little war" for the desert of Tripoli has had the inevitable result of bringing more unemployment, misery, and higher cost of living. At Naples, where the Municipality had decided on an increased tax on provisions, the prices rose to such a height that the inhabitants decided to make a united protest, and February 3 was chosen as the day of popular revolt against this unbearable burden of high prices. The masses were so determined that several detachments of police could not brave the fury of the demonstrators armed with sticks and stones. Troops were called out, and, together with the police, they charged the crowd. Several shops in the bourgeois quarter of the town were attacked; a shower of stones was thrown at the University, which had to be occupied by soldiers; street lamps and trains were attacked, and the disorders ended only towards midnight. As always when the people show their determination, the authorities have at once taken measures to prevent the shopkeepers from raising food prices too much, and price-lists are ordered to be hung up in all shops, so that the women can keep count of what they ought to pay.

At Roccaroggo (Rome Province), the people revolted because the authorities ~~refused~~ refused medical aid to the peasants. Though the forty. Others were arrested, and disorders were suppressed (Sicily) and at Baganzola (Parma Province) disorders were suppressed by troops, at the first place killing a young man. Whether free Arabs or rebellious Italian proletarians, the Government employs the same remedy—the gallows and bullets.

Under the present circumstances of discontent and misery among the people, a spontaneous revolt followed by the usual massacre may take place at any time. In this view the Milan paper, *Avanti*, which for the last few months has been under more revolutionary editorship, raised the question as to what attitude the Socialist party should take in such an eventuality. The writer, Constantino Lazzari, the secretary of the Italian Socialist party, says that everyone agrees that governmental violence must be met by violence—the general strike. But the Socialist party, during the eight years since the general strike of 1904, has never lost an opportunity of discrediting the general strike! It is time to undo all this harm, and to give the people confidence again in their only means of hitting hard at the bourgeoisie and the Government.

### France.

The Republic has got a new President, after the usual scenes of political excitement, which might lead an innocent spectator to believe that the people had ever anything to hope from a change of President. The workers know, however, that a change in Government means nothing but a tightening or a loosening of the taxing screw, oppression in a greater or slightly lesser degree, but liberation—never.

The new President, Poincaré, has been warmly welcomed by his "good friend," the Tsar, who was very favourably struck by Poincaré on his visit as Prime Minister to St. Peterburg. This does not look like a weakening of the tender friendship between Russian autocracy and French capital. The President has already publicly announced his intention of being energetic and firm. As a first step, he has made Briand Prime Minister—Briand, hated by the French workers, who can never forgive this renegade's brutal crushing of the railway strike. The new Minister of War, Etienne, has already asked Parliament for an extra £20,000,000. *Humanité*, the Parisian Socialist daily, reminds the public that Etienne played a similar trick on the French taxpayer in 1905, during the Agadir war scare. These demands for extra armaments, just as if suddenly all the arsenals had become empty, always go together with some militarist agitation, artificially and secretly worked up by gun manufacturers, who by bribes and personal influence secure the governmental contracts at enormous profits.

When the war clouds have dispersed, as we shall be told, thanks to the skilful handling of a "delicate and strained situation" by our diplomats, and the excitement has died down, all will be as before—except that a trifle of £20,000,000 has been transferred from the people's hard-earned wages to the pockets of rich gun manufacturers.

This manoeuvre on the part of the interested capitalists and the professional militarists may be seen at present in all countries of Europe. Even the conscriptionists in England, relying on the militarist agitation in France, hope to convince the English people of the urgent necessity of having their boys forcibly trained as soldiers. After Russia instigated the Balkan countries to this ruinous and hideous war of extermination of Mussulmans in the name of liberty and Christianity, the news of war preparations, increased armaments, and larger armies, is coming from all quarters, and not only are future social reforms shelved, but even those which were obtained are in danger. Not satisfied with asking for an extra £20,000,000, the French Minister of War has brought before Parliament a proposal to re-introduce a three years' military service instead of the present two years. The French people, especially the enlightened workers, who loathe that period of brutal discipline and degradation, are appalled by the prospect of having it increased. Nevertheless, a strong movement of protest will be necessary to defeat this reactionary project.

Last week the trial of the "motor bandits" came to an end. If, on the one side, their activity failed to arouse any sympathy in us, on the other hand, what a picture of lies, falsehood, and savage brutality of the police slowly unrolled before the public during that trial! The accused received sentences dictated by the same spirit of hatred and revenge as that in which they committed their crimes. The women were all acquitted. Amongst the condemned is Gauzy, whose only "crime" consisted in having given shelter to Bonnot. Gauzy asserted that he did not know that it was Bonnot; but even if he did, no human being would turn a fugitive over to the police hounds. When Gauzy was arrested and bound, he was brutally beaten by a police inspector. His condemnation to eighteen months has aroused widespread indignation, and a special protest committee in Paris has taken up his case.

Amidst the depressing tidings of military and capitalist conspiracies to defraud the workers, and of the tragic end of those misguided rebels against society, the news of a political amnesty is like a ray of light. As usual after the installation of a new President, a proposal of amnesty was voted in the French Parliament. It applies to acts committed before January 30, 1913, and covers offences of strike outrages, May Day demonstrations, rebellion, violence, etc. A number of comrades will be liberated, including those who were imprisoned for the splendid anti-war demonstration; also the nineteen signatories of the protest in favour of the prohibited *Sou du Soldat*, the anti-militarist

propaganda in Christian England, from the hypocritical *Daily News* to the *Times*, is still trying by all means to keep up the pious fraud that the Balkan Kings, under the protection of the blood-stained Tsar, are out for the liberation of their Christian brethren from Turkish oppression, the Continental press has long ago exposed the real motives of the war, and lifted the veil from the unspeakable horrors committed by these legions of the Cross in their crusade against the Crescent. If Mussulman witnesses of these crimes are left alive to tell the tale, it is not the fault of the Christians. The Montenegrins, for instance, proudly boasted that they had exterminated so many Mussulman Albanians that the Albanian problem would cease to exist. Reports received by the foreign Consuls in Turkey (Sir Edward Grey has carefully prohibited the publication of the reports of the English Consuls!) of scenes witnessed by them are like nightmares of cruelty and bestiality. And all these horrors are perpetrated because the Turks, according to carefully fostered legends, are cruel despots and obstacles to the spread of Christian civilisation, and therefore must be exterminated. Pierre Loti, the famous French author, has had the courage to paint the Turks as they are: hard-working, hospitable, tolerant, and suffering, like other peoples, from a grasping, oppressing, and parasitical Government. And in order to avenge the crimes of this Government, the Christians are now massacring all of the Mussulman population that fall into their hands.

The *Peuple*, of Brussels, quotes from a report sent to the Consulate at Salonica that Bulgarians in the Turkish territory are violating women and children, and killing, burning, and burying alive the Turkish peasants by thousands. At many places the women and children were invited to enter the mosque and then burnt.

The *Christliche Welt*, we read in the *Temps Nouveaux*, states, from a private correspondence, that at one place alone, Dedeagatch, two hundred women and children in a mosque were blown up by the Bulgarians, who then killed 400 Turks in the same place. At another village several hundred Turkish inhabitants were shut up in a mosque and burnt alive.

But who will ever know all the horrors committed in this war under the banner of religion?

The real guilty ones, the crowned heads, sit in safety hugging their dreams of ambition, undisturbed by the agony of the wounded and dying. The capitalists, laying new schemes for a thorough exploitation of the conquered territory, see in the war only a chance to increase their wealth by lowering the wages of the starving workers at home. Those of the "victorious" soldiers who ever return to their

country, will find misery and hunger at home, and a heavy burden of taxes for years to come.

An uncensored letter from Sofia to the *Daily Herald* gives an appalling picture of the suffering inflicted by the war on the workers of the Allied countries. The hunger, disease, and death-rate have never been so terrible. The capitalists are making full use of the conditions, and mercilessly exploit the starving workers, who have lost all the advantages gained in many years' struggle. Wages have been reduced by 50 per cent., and the hours of labour increased to 16 and 18; child labour, including boys and girls of six years, is quite common again. Many old workmen and women can gain daily but 7d. to 8d., and 3d. to 4d., respectively. The railway, post, and telegraph employees work incredibly long hours under a harsh military discipline; many collapse, and accidents are frequent. The prolongation of this position is due to the wolfish appetites and the imperial policy of the Great Powers and the Balkan dynasties, and the capitalist cliques in the Balkans. Famine stalks abroad everywhere amid the people. The Government does nothing to alleviate the suffering of the masses. Capitalists and contractors are making huge profits by army contracts, and are sending agents to the conquered territory to elaborate plans for its exploitation.

"While the mass of the people are killed or crippled by bullets and shells, or by cholera and other diseases, and their wives and children languish and die of hunger and disease, the bourgeois patriots hasten, under the cloak of the 'emancipation' of Macedonia or the National Union of Bulgaria, to pillage everything in Old Bulgaria and over there in New Bulgaria." Finally, we must mention that the military censorship still distinguishes itself by its brutality.

But the Bulgarian proletariat is convinced that the day of vengeance is not far distant, when it will call to account the predatory bourgeoisie with its furious militarism.

## PROPAGANDA NOTES.

[Reports of the Movement are specially invited, and should be sent in not later than the 25th of each month.]

LIVERPOOL.—The Communist Club progresses steadily. We have had full meetings on Sunday evenings, and lively discussions following the lectures. George Barrett, of Glasgow, spoke on February 16, and dealt with the elements of Anarchism. Will Lawther, of Durham, a working miner, followed on the Sunday after, with an exposition of the method we must employ here and now to obtain our emancipation. It is quite obvious that there is a strong tendency amongst the younger element of the mining propaganda in Durham collieries. On March 2 our comrade Bessie Ward, of Hanley, will address the Club on "Free Society"; and, judging from the previous meetings, we hope to have the Club crowded out.

The majority of our comrades are aware that a Conference takes place in Liverpool on March 23 and 24. It is essential that those who intend to participate should forward their names to the Club not later than March 17. We must make this Conference a success. It is no use crying about our past misfortunes, but once again put our shoulders to the wheel. We intend to hold the Conference at the Club Rooms, and a public meeting at Alexandra Hall, Islington Square, on the Sunday (23rd), at 7 p.m. We trust that many will visit Liverpool at Easter, as the Conference is the thing!

Communist Club, 20 Islington (Room 2), Liverpool. DICK JAMES.

THE INTERNATIONAL MODERN SUNDAY SCHOOL.—It is necessary to announce to those interested in the school that we are moving to 146 Stepney Green, E., where the kiddies will be able to come not only on Sunday, but every evening in the week, and use the rooms as a club or reading room. We had two speakers last month from the Socialist Sunday Schools. (Where are our Anarchist comrades?) The kiddies, who for the first few months fought rather shy of asking questions, have now developed into debaters, and one of the speakers had rather a hot time in proving to them that discipline and obedience was necessary. Now that we are moving, we must buy furniture, and also a piano, and are obliged to appeal to all friends of this movement to send subscriptions to the new school address.

We are also collecting books for our Children's Library, and we shall be glad if any comrades can help us with books or the wherewithal to buy them. Donation Received—G. D., £2. Who's next? N. P.

EAST LONDON.—The East London Anarchist Group hold regular Sunday night meetings at the Triangle Coffee Rooms, 72B Mare Street, Hackney opposite Morley Hall. Will comrades and sympathisers rally up?

D. FREEDMAN.

## God and the State.

By MICHAEL BAKUNIN.

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Paper cover, 6d. net; cloth, 1s. net. Postage 1d.

## Anarchism.

By DR. PAUL ELTZBACHER. Translated by S. T. BYINGTON.

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## MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(February 7—March 6.)

**FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.**—H. Lipman 2s, Essex 2s, S. Corio 1s 6d.  
**FREEDOM Subscriptions.**—E. D. Hunt 1s 6d, H. F. M. 1s 6d, E. Klinko 1s 6d,  
 C. H. Grinling 1s 6d, M. Becker 1s 6d, J. Gurin 1s 6d, F. W. Lear 1s 6d,  
 A. Noronha 1s 6d, S. Sivin 1s 6d, H. J. T. 1s 6d, G. Barker 3s, J. Mesnil  
 1s 6d, W. Cieplik 1s 8d, H. S. Green 1s 6d, C. Langston 1s 6d.

**ANNUAL ANARCHIST CONFERENCE,**  
**COMMUNIST CLUB, 20 ISLINGTON (Room 2), LIVERPOOL,**  
**MARCH 23 AND 24.**

**ANARCHIST DEMONSTRATION,**  
**ALEXANDRA HALL, ISLINGTON SQUARE,**  
**SUNDAY, MARCH 23, at 7 p.m.**

Admission Free. Anarchist Literature on sale.

**Commemoration of the Paris Commune,**

SUNDAY, MARCH 16, at 8 p.m.,

Triangle Coffee Rooms, 72b Mare Street, Hackney,

Opposite Morley Hall.

Speakers will be advertised in *Reynolds's*.

INTERNATIONAL MODERN SUNDAY SCHOOL.

**A LITERARY EVENING AND DANCE,**

In Aid of the School Funds,

On SATURDAY, MARCH 15,

At the Crown Hall, Redman's Road, Stepney, E.

Doors open 8 p.m. Ball till 3 a.m. Tickets at door.

Children of the School will take part in Songs, Recitations, and Dances.

Come! You will amuse yourself and help the School.

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