

Freedom

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MONTHLY: TWO PENCE.

NOTES.

"Stop the War!"

As soon as there was a threat of war Labour organisations began passing those futile anti-war resolutions which have done duty on previous occasions without any appreciable effect on the war-makers. On September 18 the delegates at the annual conference of the Municipal Employees' Association pledged themselves that, "so far as we are concerned, not a man nor a ship nor ammunition shall leave this country in support of that war." We were not aware that municipal employees had anything to do with ships or ammunition. Many hundreds, if not thousands, of similar resolutions have been passed since then; but, sad to relate, they have had no more effect on the war machine than trying to tickle an elephant with a feather. Guns, ships, men, aeroplanes, and all the paraphernalia of war have left these shores in one long unending stream. Woolwich Arsenal and the Enfield Small Arms Factory, which had been working short time, are now doing full time and filling the orders of the Government at full speed; and everything is working as smoothly as the most ardent militarist could wish. Besides all the above-mentioned resolutions, those whom the *Daily Herald* calls "Labour's spokesmen" dashed into the limelight and expressed their determination to stop the war. Thomas, Henderson, O'Grady, MacDonald, Clynes, Hayday, Gosling, and all the other leading lights shouted in chorus "No!" Then a lot of them went round to No. 10 Downing Street to tell Lloyd George all about it. They would let him hear the voice of "the people." Having been photographed on the doorstep, they marched in, and the reporters waited for the result. When they came out there was a silence that could be felt; they had not a word to say. A statement issued three weeks afterwards says that Thomas admitted to Lloyd George: "Really you are only discharging our policy"! The National Joint Council has issued a windy statement trotting out the League of Nations, regretting that Parliament has not been summoned, and threatening to call a Labour conference. Words, words, words! In "peace" time the workers are busy building warships, making guns and munitions, and training as soldiers—what for? For war, of course. But directly there is a threat of war we hear the voice of Labour saying: "Not a man, not a ship, not a gun!" When Governments have such foolish people to deal with they know there is nothing to worry about.

Miners and Agricultural Labourers.

The present position of these two classes of workers is alone sufficient condemnation of the capitalist system. These men who produce for us two such vital commodities as coal and food cannot get sufficient reward for their labour to keep themselves in anything approaching a decent standard of living. At least 100,000 miners are entirely unemployed, and many thousands of others are working short time. As to those fully employed, the Miners' Federation has issued a statement showing that wage rates in the seven largest areas are on the average 40 per cent. below pre-war rates. The miners asked the owners for an increase of wages, but it was refused, and the Federation is seeking assistance from the Government. Even if an increase were granted, that would not help the unemployed, many of whom will never again see the inside of a pit. Similar conditions exist among the agricultural labourers. Farmers are complaining—as usual—that times are bad, prices of foodstuffs are low, and rents and rates are high, consequently wages must be reduced. It is always the weakest who must carry the heaviest burdens. Agricultural labourers are now getting in some parts only 25s. a week, and some who have families, although fully employed, are being granted relief by the Guardians. The Agricultural Labourers' Union is also appealing to the State for help, but with

small prospect of success. The State is a hard-hearted monster, and we believe its present policy is to starve as many men out of the country as is possible; but Capitalism is bankrupt almost everywhere, and jobs are as scarce in the Colonies as at home. It is difficult to escape anywhere from the grasping hand of the monopolist, who is the primary cause of unemployment and wars. There is enough idle land in this country to provide work and food for all, but Monopoly bars the way. When the miners and agricultural labourers help to break down these barriers most of their sufferings will cease. Let them make a start ere starvation solves the problem.

Freedom by Conscription.

Two news paragraphs published in the Press recently are of great significance to all those who hope that a successful revolution will sweep away all vestiges of militarism. The first paragraph reads as follows:—

The Russian Trade Delegation in London issues the following message from Moscow: "A decree of the All-Russian Communist Executive Committee establishes compulsory military service over 20 years of age and up to 40 for the senior reserve, on the following terms: Infantry and cavalry eighteen months, mounted troops and technical corps thirty months, navy four and a half years."

The second paragraph has a similar import:—

General Richard Mulcahy, Commander-in-Chief of the National Forces, addressing the troops at Gormanstown, made the following declaration: "We of the Irish Army look forward to our being a big national organisation, through which the young manhood of Ireland will pass for some brief space of time, and from which they will pass out very much better men, and very much better citizens."

By which General Mulcahy foreshadows conscription for Irishmen also. When the Revolution broke out in Russia about two-thirds of the soldiers walked out of the trenches, threw down their rifles, and went off home; and they supported the Bolsheviks because they released them from the horrors of the War. Now, when civil war and intervention have ceased, compulsory military service is made a permanent institution. The apologists for the Bolsheviks will find it a hard task to explain away this tyranny. In Ireland, when the British Government tried to apply conscription during the War, Irishmen of all classes ceased work for twenty-four hours, one of the most impressive mass strikes ever known in these isles. Now that the hated Englishman has been driven out of Dublin Castle the new rulers are going to force conscription on the youth of the country. To say that conscription will make them very much better men and very much better citizens is a lie. All who have studied the question know that life in the Army degrades a man more quickly than any other occupation. Whether in Russia or in Ireland, compulsory military service is a sign that the change of Government has not altered in the slightest degree the old relationship between rulers and ruled. "Dictatorship" and "Free State"—is there any difference? If after a Revolution conscription can be forced on a nation, the Revolution has failed.

PERSECUTION OF ANARCHISTS IN RUSSIA.

A PROTEST MEETING

WILL BE HELD AT THE

Working Lads' Institute, 279 Whitechapel Road

(Next door to Whitechapel Station),

ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13, AT 7 P.M.

Several well-known speakers will address the meeting.

CONGRESS OF SAINT-IMIER.

When our Swiss comrades issued invitations to the fiftieth birthday celebration of the original Saint-Imier Congress they little expected an international response. Yet so it was. Despite the financial crisis, strikes, lock-outs, expulsions, and the other varied persecutions to which Anarchists of late have been subjected, no less than a hundred and fifty answered the call. France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Russia, and even China were represented. Malatesta, one of the few now living who was an original member of the Bakunin "Alliance," came all the way from Rome—a journey not only long but dangerous, since he had to enter a country which had deported him.

There were preliminary meetings at Bienne on September 16, the first session of which was devoted largely to reports from various countries. These showed, among other things, that the Italian movement had lost about a third of its immigrant members through expulsions and financial crises, and that strikes had much demoralised the Swiss element. Also a certain number of revolutionary workers had enlisted, for the moment at any rate, under the Moscow banner. On the other hand, it was believed that Anarchist ideas and principles were becoming more generally and more clearly understood.

"Syndicalism and Anarchism" was the order of business for the second session; and, in order to facilitate decisions on a theme so large, Bertoni, of *Le Réveil*, to whose initiative the holding of the Congress was largely due, presented the following précis:—

1. Syndicalism is a historical fact, and its rôle in the social movement is very important. We cannot neglect it.

2. Our attitude toward it must vary according to the development it has attained in different countries, but the same principles and the same aim ought to dictate that attitude.

3. How should we bring our influence to bear on Syndicalism? As members of centralist organisations, by the formation of autonomous Syndicates, or through our own Anarchist groups?

4. Should Syndicalism admit to its deliberations political parties or stand independently aloof? Should it ally itself with them, decline alliance, or accept their support without asking for it?

5. Ought it to restrict or develop Syndicalist officialdom? Should a comrade accept a position as a Syndicalist official, and what duties on a Syndicalist committee ought he to undertake?

6. The difference between Syndicalism and Anarchism. Their respective rôles.

Résumé of our conception of Syndicalist action.

Pronounced differences of opinion quickly asserted themselves. Colomer, a French delegate connected with *Le Libertaire*, expressed himself as interested only in Revolutionary Syndicalism—"something," as *Le Réveil* remarks, "that is, in practice, very rare." Bertoni emphasised the reactionary course pursued by the great Swiss Syndicalist Federations, and Malatesta insisted that every Syndicalist organisation as it develops becomes reactionary and seeks to adapt itself to existing economic institutions instead of struggling to transform them. Some insisted that the Syndicate is the cell of the economic organisation of the future, while others pointed out that Syndicalist officialdom has become a special trade in which "the Permanents" pass from one federation to another just as bourgeois politicians leave one Ministry to enter another.

These divergent views came to the surface again in the discussion on courses of action to be pursued in the event of a revolution taking place, but the analyses given of the respective philosophies of Marx and Bakunin exhibit a firm grasp of a subject which, at last, is becoming generally understood.

Next day the comrades assembled at Saint-Imier to hold the commemoration meeting. Bertoni spoke on the Congress of 1872 and showed how Marx and his friends had distorted the original aims of the First International. Colomer followed and said the best way to commemorate the Congress would be to establish accord between Anarchist ideas and Anarchist action, for which purpose he proposed the summoning of an International Congress. Malatesta then spoke, first in French and afterwards in Italian. Memories of 1872 inspired him, and his fire and energy made a great impression. He said the Anarchist International must be composed of Anarchists. In the Workers' International the only qualification for membership was to be a worker; but unless the Anarchist International was definitely Anarchist it could not accomplish its purpose.

The meeting registered a strong protest against the persecution

of our comrades in Russia, and also against the absolute domination of one party in Russia in the name of the proletariat.

Under the urging of the French Anarchist Union it was decided to hold, during the first fortnight in January, an International Congress of Anarchist Unions, with a view to the formation of an International Anarchist Union. The organisation of this Congress has been entrusted to the French Anarchist Union.

CORRESPONDENCE.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR SIR,—I am sending you two dollars to help you a little by putting my subscription to FREEDOM forward by this amount. I quite admire the quality of your paper, and hope no ill fate will stop its course. I am shy of all kind of "isms," but in over fifty years of voting life, and watching the course of national Governments, I have come to the conviction that so far as their claim to "sovereignty" and to "ruling" their people goes, their presence in the world is an impertinence. Their enormous cost is always mostly wasted in meddlesome ventures outside of their scope, at the instance of favoured and privileged factions and interests, and much to the neglect of various concerns in behalf of their peoples, for the performance of which they need to make the least possible claim to the possession of sovereignty.

I imagine, however, that you would concede (would you not?) that there are certain large interests among a people, or peoples, inhabiting a great area—such as the highways and waterways, and natural parks and wooded mountain ranges, and lighting long sea-coasts for commerce, and keeping clear and free of tariff obstructions—for the securing of which there must always be necessary certain agreements and understandings and a civilised order, and some corresponding arrangement for sharing fairly in the expense and also in the advantage. I should suppose that these items of common usefulness might be borne out of the common wealth, without the burdens of taxes and debts, but hardly without a carefully planned though flexible system. In that sense to which "politics" has degenerated to signify partisan wrangling and unseemly personal egotism and ambitions, there would be little room for such "politics"; but in the old and rational sense of the word, which still holds to quite a degree in our cities, even in the United States, we should still speak (should we not?) of our national housekeeping.

It seems to me, therefore, a great misfortune that a movement as worthy as yours, looking to the most beautiful forms of mutual convenience and order, should allow itself to be confused with what all civilised men are everywhere coming to detest—namely, disorder, antagonism, strife, violence, paranoia. I am glad that you call your excellent little journal "FREEDOM," which at least emphasises one great feature of a civilised commonwealth. But do let us show men that we want more than anything else that orderly fulfilment of life which naturally grows out of freedom, and can never be had otherwise.—Yours respectfully,
 CHARLES F. DOLE.
 Boston, Mass.

[Anarchists stand, first and foremost, for the entire abolition of all forms of government; once that is agreed to it follows that all our activities would be based on voluntary agreement. Every one engaged in useful and necessary work would receive his share of the social wealth. All those large public undertakings to which Mr. Dole refers would probably be carried on by most of the people who now do the work. If any necessary occupations are unpleasant or dangerous, we are certain that volunteers would be found to share the work. Once the spirit of goodwill has entered into our social life there would be no obstacle to co-operation on the largest and widest scale. All the friction and disorder nowadays spring from the domination of the upholders of Monopoly and Privilege. We do not think it can be said that we "allow" our movement to be confused with the forces of disorder and violence, but at present we are not strong enough to counteract the misrepresentation of opponents. As a matter of fact, Anarchism depends less upon force and violence for its fulfilment than any other social system.—ED. FREEDOM.]

NEW PAMPHLETS ON THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY: A Review and an Outlook.

By ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

By FOUR WELL-KNOWN MOSCOW ANARCHISTS.

Price, Sixpence each, post-free.

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THE CHARNEL HOUSE.

"Les Hauts-Fourneaux" (The Blast Furnaces) is the title of a new book by Michael Corday which Anatole France, writing to Marcel Cachin, praises in the warmest terms. "There you will see," he says, "in particular that the world-war was, as we both suspected, the work of the moneyed men; that in all European countries it was the captains of industry who, from the very first, wanted it, made it necessary, created it, and prolonged it. They made it their special business, saw in it the coining of their fortunes, drew from it immense profits, and gave themselves up to it with such ardour that they ruined Europe, ruined themselves, and dislocated all the world." He then quotes with special approval the following passage from the book itself:—

"These men are like their blast furnaces, those feudal towers that face one another on all our frontiers; whose devouring entrails must be filled incessantly, day and night, with minerals and coal, in order that from them there may stream a flood of metal. Their insatiable appetite demands that unceasingly, alike in peace and war, those fires shall be fed with all the riches of the soil, with all the fruits of labour, and with the labourers themselves, in troops, in armies, all hurled pell-mell into the yawning furnace, that ingots, and more ingots, and ever more and more ingots, may be heaped up at their masters' feet. There you may see these men's proper emblem, their coat of arms, their image. It is they who are the true blast furnaces."

"We think," adds Anatole France, "we are dying for our country; but, in reality, we are dying for the men of business." He then goes on to show, by references to this book, that High Finance has been able to play this murderous rôle by its capture of the factories, the banks, and press—the three things Big Business must control. Above all, however, the press, whose special rôle it is to fan into a flame those national hatreds now dragging France and all Europe to their ruin.

Our own public stands badly in need of just such books as this, that it may learn who are its masters and understand the part they are playing in that universal tragedy our vaunted Civilisation has become. Especially is it important that we should realise the true character of our millionaire-kept press, which kills the people's souls that Mammon may gorge himself in safety on their bodies. If our journalists were free to write their honest thoughts the present orgy of injustice would not have a week's life left in it.

"NO MORE WAR!"

It is a very fine thing to have huge demonstrations and tableau depicting the horrors of warfare and holding up the idea of international peace. The crowds assembled recently in this and other countries to make common cause with this end in view must be a very telling factor on men and women's general outlook on the subject of war and peace. Hence periodical demonstrations serve their purpose, and keep the public mind alive on this all-important topic. But the best way to strive for international peace is to search out and endeavour to frustrate the causes of war, and to learn and practise the characteristics that embody peace.

If we were to give greater consideration to the causes of social unrest at home, we would find their reflex internationally. As long as we have masters and slaves, governors and governed, and the social inequalities of riches and poverty, the possibilities of war will remain with us. We cannot have a peace worthy of the name without equality, without love, without fellowship. It is useless to cry "Peace, peace," when many thousands of men, women, and children are going hungry; when we deny them the means to feed and shelter themselves, and thus deny them life. We speak of "law, not war," forgetting that law receives its power from that force which we, as peace men, should be out to destroy. We are told that "law and order" must be maintained. Order will only be possible when the people gain opportunities for satisfying their necessary wants, which implies the free use of the land. This would be the foundation of order, and by relieving the economic struggle it would open the way for a more general participation in the arts, music, literature, and science.

When people realise the beauty of living more natural lives, the power that lies behind each of us of expressing ourselves in our

various ways, putting something into life as well as getting something out of it, reason being our persuading force, through liberty we would advance. Then neither law nor war would be tolerated.

We are apt to cast blame on the big financiers who help to bring about and profit by war, on our politicians and diplomats who make and break treaties in our name, and on the sensational press with its lies about what the other fellow is doing. We also blame ministers of religion, who always find arguments to support whatever war is going. What we do not realise is that, to quote Tolstoy, "wars can only be abolished by those who suffer by them." If the working people did not go to war, there would not be any. Politicians or no politicians, treaties or no treaties, press or no press, parsons or no parsons, the workers have the last word and can if they like refuse to be influenced by any organ or agent that would throw them once more into the hell of criminal warfare.

It is a personal question, it is an ethical one. Most people know whether their actions are right or wrong, whether they injure or assist their fellows. From this personal consciousness the group consciousness is developed. Like attracts like, new ideas take the place of old, and we move forward.

"No more war!" was the motto on the banners in the recent processions. Is this our wish? Are we sincere about it? How much self-reliance have we? Never mind what the other fellow is doing; it is you and I that have to answer, and it is upon our answers that the future ethical development of the country, of any country, depends.

STANLEY OXLEY.

SEND US A WAR, KIND GORD!

"All our sellers have reported that men were anxious for another War, 'to join up' or 'get a job,' and 'didn't want Peace.'"—In a letter from our Sales Organiser at the London No More War Demonstration.—*No More War* (Sept.).

Just come out of the Casual Ward,
Broke my dollop o' stones:
Wolfed my dole in that 'ell of a 'ole—
Bread!—they christens it bread! My Gord!
Thought it was pulverised bones!
Skilly—I can't get rid o' the taste:
Could take my oath it was bill-sticker's paste!
And this after seven years!
This is the luck of an Army man;
Cholera out in that dam Soudan;
Baked in India—had the stroke;
—And this is wot's left for a stoney-broke
That's served in the Fusiliers!

Drafted 'ome as a time-expired,
Drew my twenty quid.
India? Well, it makes yer tired,
And I wanted a change, I did:
Wanted to see the Hackney Road,
Wanted to see my pals,
Drew my deferred, and went like a bird
A buster among the gals.
And when you comes home from India's heat
There's plenty of smiles and tears,
And London seems a heavenly treat
To a chap from the Fusiliers.

Thought I should easily get a job,
But it melted, that £ s. d.,
Quid by quid, and bob by bob,
But there wasn't no job for me.
For trades ain't taught in the Army schools,
An' I couldn't go in with a bag of tools.
An' "No ex-soldiers need apply,"
That's the notice that meets your eye
When you've put in your seven years.
You goes on tramp; you trusts in the Lord,
—And at last you get to the Casual Ward
From Her Majesty's Fusiliers!

'List again? Why, o' course I'd 'list,
You take my blooming word,
But there ain't no twenty quid in my fist
To pay back that deferred!
For that's the Service rule, you see,
So the good old regiment's closed to me,
And my only chance appears
WAR! So send us a war, kind Gord,
Then I shall escape the Casual Ward,
For then, per'aps, they'll give me a sword
To fight in the Fusiliers!

F. RAYMOND COULSON.
("A Jester's Jingles," 1899.)

FREEDOM.

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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The Threat of Another War.

Recent events have shown the enormous power which has been put into the hands of the State and how little control the people have of that great machine. As soon as it was certain that the Greek Army would be driven out of Asia Minor, the British Government began to move ships and troops secretly to the Dardanelles and Constantinople. One paper openly complained that it had been asked to say nothing about the matter, and it was not until considerable troops and supplies had reached their destination that the papers were allowed to speak freely. We then knew that a first-class war was a probability if the Turks moved on Chanak or Constantinople. So even after four years of war to "make the world safe for democracy," it is still possible for a people to be thrown into war without having a word in the matter.

The extraordinary part of the affair was that no one seemed to know what we were to fight about. At first the Press said that we must hold Constantinople and Gallipoli against "a savage race," but when the strength of the Turkish Army was proved by their sweeping victory over the Greeks, the tune of the Press altered, and we were told we were to fight for the "freedom of the Straits"; and eventually, as the Turks were very persistent in their demands, and it looked as though Britain would have to play a lone hand, the British Government said that at the Peace Conference they would agree to hand back to the Turks the whole of Eastern Thrace and Constantinople—but with the condition that they must wait until we gave it to them and not come and take it for themselves. The Allies are very fond of handing out other people's territory. During the War they agreed that Russia should have Constantinople, but when the Bolsheviks got into power, of course, the offer was null and void. By the Sèvres Treaty it was taken from the Turks, although a dummy Sultan was allowed to stay there, and it looked as though the Greeks might eventually be put in charge of the city. During the Genoa Conference, according to *Russian Information and Review* (the official organ of the Russian Trade Delegation in London), the Bolshevik delegates said to Lloyd George: "Give us Constantinople and we may recognise our debts." To which Lloyd George, laughing, replied: "Well, we may yet give you Constantinople." Now Kemal has upset everybody's plans, and will soon be in the city himself, unless "incidents" happen in the neutral zone. Yet, although the British Government's policy has changed so often, a British citizen is expected to support it with his purse and his life.

The "freedom of the Straits" is one of those glib phrases used to cloak territorial designs of the British Government in pursuit of its age-long policy of maintaining its supremacy on the seas and the control of narrow waters through which its fleets must pass. It took Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean, from Spain; and it dominates the Suez Canal and the Red Sea, the route to the East. Now it seeks to gain control of the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora, so that its fleets can gain free access to the Black Sea in peace or war. This policy has hitherto received the support of all parties in this country—Conservative, Liberal, and Labour—and if the Labour Party came into power next week they would be compelled to carry out this policy. Their official spokesmen have often said they are as much in favour of maintaining the unity of the Empire as any other poli-

tical party, which can only mean that they are in favour of maintaining the British domination of the seas and the necessary naval power. Looking at the situation in this light, we consider their denunciation of the Government hypocritical humbug and put forward merely to catch the votes of the unthinking. The world at the present moment is dominated by force, and Governments hold their power and position by the use of force of all kinds, from the policeman's truncheon to poison gas, and those who consider government necessary cannot logically disagree with its methods.

The Labour Party and some other people have demanded that the League of Nations be empowered to settle the Near East question. This is another piece of hypocrisy. The League of Nations is a harmless sort of institution founded by the Supreme Council to please President Wilson, whom the Allies hoodwinked so easily at Versailles. The League has two sections, the Council and the Assembly; the Council has the power and the Assembly does the talking. The Council of the League is really the old Supreme Council under another name, as Mr. Balfour pointed out on one occasion. So if England and France cannot agree now, they are no more likely to agree on the Council. As for the Assembly, he must be a simple sort of person who would imagine that the great Powers would agree to abide by the decision of the representatives of States like Bolivia, Cuba, Ecuador, Haiti, Panama, Peru, and Siam! The world will have to change very much before that comes about. Besides, in the present case, whilst they were appealing to the League of Nations, Kemal Pasha would have settled the matter with the sword. The League has no material force at its command, and moral force is out of fashion just now.

The truth is that most people ignore certain plain brutal facts. To-day the world is dominated by a few great groups of capitalists and financiers, who have ranged themselves under the flags of their respective countries, and control the whole political and economic life of those countries. Each group seeks to extend its power, and is only kept in check by the power of the other groups. They are perfectly ruthless and without any idea of morality in their dealings, although sometimes camouflaging their aims under pretty phrases, such as "Self-determination" or "Rights of Small Nationalities" or "Freedom of the Seas." But as far as their power lies, they will seize everything they can lay their hands on.

Now, before wars can cease we must break the power of the capitalists to little pieces and shatter the power of the State. We must break down the monopoly of the land and of the means of life, which makes slaves of the people; and we must sweep away the exploitation of man by man. If we would be free we must take away from our rulers the power of life and death; but to give them that power and then try to prevent them using it is the action of children, and has been our undoing in the past.

"FREEDOM'S" 400th ISSUE.

This issue of FREEDOM is No. 400, and it commences the thirty-seventh year of the journal, which first appeared in October, 1886. Thirty-six years is a long time to look back, but at present we are trying to see ahead. With the steady support of our readers we are just keeping our heads above water, but this support must be continued or we shall go down. We also want money to reprint "Modern Science and Anarchism," which is almost sold out, also "God and the State" and other literature for which there is a growing demand. The following sums have been received since our last issue:—

Two Friends 5s., A. Holland 1s., E. A. Life 1s., J. Tiffen 1s., W. Melbourne 1s., A. Smith 1s., J. Smith 1s., Gaird 2s., O. S. 1s., C. E. Birch 1s., T. S. 5s., H. J. Stuart 4s. 3d., Balance of Concert 7s. 3d., Bakewell £1, N. B. Ells £1 1s. 8d., L. Child 3s., Ferrer Group (Abercrave) 6s., A. Sanders 3s., H. Boorman 2s., H. Latimer 7s. 6d., F. Wells 2s. 6d., H. Compton 2s. 6d., A. Hazeland 10s. 9d., G. P. 1s. 6d., Wm. C. Owen £1, A. D. Moore 2s., H. G. Russell 3s., E. Archer 10s., B. Williams 2s. 6d., A. B. Howie 1s. 1d., A. J. R. 10s., Willesden Freedom Group £1 10s., L. G. Wolfe £1, J. Dick 3s. 10d., F. Goulding 1s.

BOLSHEVIKS ARREST SHAPIRO.

An English newspaper correspondent who recently arrived in Berlin from Moscow reported that our comrade Alexander Shapiro, the secretary of the Anarcho-Syndicalist publishing house "Golos Truda," was arrested early in September. We also hear that a dozen other Anarchists were arrested about the same time. Shapiro is well known in the Anarchist and Syndicalist movement in Europe, and was secretary of the Anarchist International Bureau founded at Amsterdam in 1907. He lived in London for some years, and in 1916 was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for anti-conscription propaganda. When the Revolution broke out he went to Russia, where he took an active part in the Labour movement. He became director of the Welfare Committee of the All-Russian Transport Workers' Federation, which position he held until his departure for Berlin in December, 1921, to take part in the International Anarchist Congress. During the various phases of the civil war he helped the Bolsheviks against their counter-revolutionary foes, and at a time when the Bolsheviks persecuted every one who criticised them in any way they let him alone on account of the position he occupied. The Tcheka even gave him a passport to go abroad.

Why has he now been arrested? Probably because of his activity while abroad in calling attention to the persecution of Anarchists and Syndicalists in Russia, and in counteracting the efforts of the Red Trade Union International to capture the European Labour organisations. He signed the two manifestoes which have appeared in *FREEDOM* appealing for funds for Anarchists in Russian prisons and asking revolutionary Labour organisations to work for their release. As the Bolsheviks had frequently said there were no Anarchists in prison, only bandits and counter-revolutionaries, his action is evidently regarded as a crime meriting severe punishment.

They also had another account to settle with him. The French and Italian Syndicalists called an International Syndicalist Conference, to which they invited all the revolutionary organisations of the world, including the Russian Trade Unions. The latter sent a representative in the person of the Bolshevik Andreef. When he handed in his credentials the Conference was discussing a motion denouncing all Governments, the Russian Government included, for their persecution of revolutionaries. Andreef protested against the inclusion of the Russian Government. He also protested against Shapiro and another Russian representing the Russian Anarcho-Syndicalists. In order not to disturb the Conference a committee was elected, before which Andreef and the other Russians appeared. Andreef was asked if he would undertake to work in Russia for the release of all Syndicalists and Anarchists who had not fought with weapons in their hands against the Bolshevik Government. This he refused to do and left the Conference. When he got back to Russia he reported the rôle Shapiro had played, and as soon as the latter returned to Moscow he was arrested.

It is only a few months ago that Tchitcherin repeated to a reporter of *Umanità Nova* that no Anarchists or Syndicalists were ever arrested in Russia, only counter-revolutionaries and bandits. But neither he nor any of the Bolshevik leaders will dare to say that Shapiro is a counter-revolutionary. In fact, Tchitcherin gave him a visa to return to Russia, and also a personal guarantee of immunity from arrest. If he is arrested now it is only because he fights against the Labour movement being dominated by the political parties. Shapiro is a member of the International Syndicalist and Industrialist Bureau which was elected at the Berlin Conference in June. He returned to Russia in order to work there for an independent Labour movement.

We ask all revolutionaries to work to release him and his comrades. Shapiro's place must be amongst the workers and not in a Russian prison. He has done all he could to help the other political prisoners; now it must be our work to help him.

A Meeting-Place for London Comrades.

Since Marsh House was closed in 1916 we have been without a regular meeting-place in London. A few comrades decided to provide one, if possible, and have succeeded in obtaining the use of a room for discussions and friendly gatherings, at the Minerva Café, 144 High Holborn, W.C. (entrance at back of building, corner of Bury Street). At present the room has been taken for Saturday evenings only, but if sufficient support is forthcoming we hope to find a larger place which would be open every evening. The opening night is November 4, at 7 p.m., when we will be pleased to welcome old and new comrades.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Italy.

The Fascisti are consolidating their power. Having rioted their way through Italy, terrorising all who dared to give utterance to a rebellious thought, they now pose as a military dictatorship summoned to the task of formulating the nation's policies and governing all its life. Nothing less than this will content them, if we are to credit the speech delivered by their leader, Mussolini, at Udine. "We must subject ourselves to an iron discipline," he cried, "or else we should have no right to impose it upon the nation. Discipline alone will enable Italy to make her voice heard among other nations. Discipline should be accepted; if not accepted, it must be imposed. . . . We are an army, and because we have chosen that special constitution, our life and our actions must be founded upon discipline." He stated further that he had furnished Italy's Ministers of Foreign Affairs with a "formidable card" which they must use, that card being the Fascist Army. "Italy," he declared, "must no longer carry out a policy of cowardly renunciation, whatever the cost may be."

Shortly afterwards he swoops down on Cremona, with thirty thousand Fascisti at his back. He declares that he stands loyally by the King, so long as the King does not interfere with the "Fascist Revolution." Above all, he is the champion of the State, which is to be supreme. "The State," he asserts, "will not represent a party; the State will represent the whole nation, unite all, be above all, protect all, and will resist any one who assails its indisputable will." In short, another Robespierre, another Lenin, another Jacobin resurrected from the catacombs of Roman Catholicism, to whom Anarchists necessarily will appear the greatest of all criminals, and with whom there can be, on our side also, no truce.

Against this new military dictatorship, bent on riding the masses mercilessly and driving its spurs deep into their bleeding flanks, the Italian proletariat have no united front. The Socialists, enslaved to the Government fetish, will make terms and enter into Parliamentary alliance with the Fascisti. The Communists who worship at Lenin's shrine cannot logically rebel against Mussolini, much as they have suffered at his hands. The Trade Union element is, of course, entirely opportunistic and will snatch always at the petty gain of the immediate moment. Lastly, Syndicalism seems destined to split the Anarchists for months to come. We deal elsewhere with the Saint-Imier Congress; and here note only, by way of illustration, the sharp criticism passed on Malatesta and Bertoni by *Le Libertaire*. The sceptical attitude toward Syndicalism of these tried and experienced comrades was denounced bitterly as being "contrary to the most vigorous tendencies the Anarchist movement is exhibiting to-day."

Italy may be said to have a special interest in this subject inasmuch as the Fascisti are industriously organising Syndicates, too often, it is to be feared, with the support of professed radicals who believe that the workers will receive some benefit and thus be strengthened to move on to further conquests. "Vain hopes!" writes Spartaco Stagnetti in *Umanità Nova*, for "Fascisti Syndicalism will not be anti-capitalist. It is patriotic, nationalist. It does not recognise the class struggle; or, if it does, subordinates it to the interest of the Fatherland, the nation. . . . In the name of the Fatherland the expropriated will continue to be expropriated. To expect anything else would be absurd, for Fascism's military leaders, its arms, the impunity it has enjoyed, and its funds have been supplied by the Government, by the flower of the bourgeoisie, by capitalism, finance, and the army." And when it has finally suppressed all revolt it will say to the workers:—"Now it is time you understood. The Fatherland finds itself in stormy waters; the nation needs labour, products, all that is requisite for competition with the outside world. Hence you must sacrifice yourselves: ten hours of work daily, and more if necessary; bonuses to offset the high cost of living must be relinquished; there must be no more chattering in the workshops; no more commissions, controls, and interference with the management. Labour and silence. Do you understand us?"

Yes, indeed, as Stirner wrote, years and years ago: "The State may roll in splendour while I starve in the gutter."

United States.

What we know about the Labour and Revolutionary Movement in the United States is that during the last six years it

has been attacked with a ferocity for which it would be hard to find a parallel in the history of any country, and has been fighting for its very life. This began with the nation's entrance into the War—an event which threw the masses into hysterics and gave the coldest of all cold-blooded plutocracies its long-awaited chance. It started the attack on its real enemy, the proletariat, without a moment's delay. First it proceeded to stamp out the constitutional rights of free speech and free assembly by imprisoning, torturing, and lynching all the bolder spirits who dared to point the finger of rebuke at the gigantic profits it was coining out of the people's agony. Then it went for Organised Labour *en masse*. A recent cartoon in the *Minnesota Star* depicts Labour, unarmed and defenceless, as being pelted by a shower of bombs labelled "State Troops," "Lock-Out," "Court Action," and staring into the muzzle of a huge cannon inscribed "Unfair Press." That gives the whole story in a nutshell.

What we do not know, though we would give much to have the knowledge, is what has been the effect of all this Terrorism. Has it crushed the spirit of the workers, or has it lighted fires which, smouldering dully for the moment, eventually will break into an all-consuming blaze? Has it quickened intelligence or benumbed it? Out of all this hurly-burly will there come harder and more clear-eyed thought; or will Labour, wasting itself on shallow emotionalisms, sink finally into that stupor of dejection which is the last confession of defeat? These all-important questions we cannot answer. Indeed, time alone can give the proof.

Speaking generally, the most uncompromising fighters in the American Labour and Revolutionary Movement have been wiped out. Some, like the Chicago Martyrs, have been hung. Others, like the Magons and the more active spirits in the I.W.W., still rot in gaol or have emerged from it physical wrecks and paupers. Many, more fortunate or more prudent, have fled the country. Powderly—to go back forty years—who emasculated the Knights of Labour, ended as a high-placed Government official. Martin Irons, who exhausted himself in endeavouring to save the wreck, became an outcast. St. John, who first welded the I.W.W. into a fighting machine, is now serving a long sentence in prison. Gompers, who, more than any other man, has reduced the huge American Federation of Labour to utter impotence, is a personage on whom even Royalty has deigned to smile. For brevity's sake we mention only well-known names, but our most sympathetic thought should be for the innumerable but forgotten rank and file who have been black-listed, spied on, and betrayed alike by Government and corporation detectives; mowed down by machine-guns operated alike by State and Federal troops and by the professional strike-breakers with whom Monopoly surrounds itself; treated, in a word, as the ancient feudal nobility of France treated their serfs, or the Russian Grand Dukes their helpless peasants.

The question is as to the future; as to the action that will be taken by the newer generation which has back of it the tradition of a heroic but largely futile past, and before it a plutocracy far more powerful, more closely knit together, and more insanely bent on conquest than that with which the older battlers had to cope. If Labour is to overcome this foe it must get together; and, in order to get together, it must simplify its programme, cutting out the impracticable and concentrating on the few essentials which, once secured, carry with them all the rest. This, we believe, it will accomplish, for American Labour is naturally intelligent, ambitious, and full of go. It is evidently growing already a new and heavy crop of most determined fighters. It is developing a bold and singularly outspoken Press. Moreover, it now has its back against the wall.

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Kropotkin Memorial Library at Stelton, N.J.

An active group has been formed at the Ferrer Colony here, although its work is somewhat limited in respect to general propaganda owing to the fact that in this community a great number are sympathisers. However, during the summer visitors troop in from New York and other surrounding centres, and the comrades are actively engaged in selling literature. An interesting feature is a memorial to Kropotkin in the shape of a library, which it is hoped will become a centre for radicals. It is being built next to the Ferrer School—fitting companions no one will gainsay. It was an exhilarating sight to see forty or fifty comrades with pick and shovel digging the foundation of the building. It is being erected mainly by volunteer labour, and will be maintained by voluntary subscriptions. The comrades hope to use it for discussions, reading, and as a general meeting house, and also to raise funds for the Anarchist press of the world.

On Sunday, July 30, the first "mix" of concrete was made and was "laid" by our comrades Joe Cohen, of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, and Harry Kelly, of the Ferrer School. Following this formality a dinner was held in the auditorium of the school, about a hundred and fifty sitting down. Joe Cohen addressed the gathering, pointing out that the dinner had three purposes in view: to help the Anarchist Trade Union, the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, and the Kropotkin Library. Appealing for funds to carry on the work of constructing the library, they collected 100 dollars, making a grand total, with previous collections, of nearly 700 dollars. Cohen pointed out that it would require twice that amount to complete the building. Harry Kelly said he would not apologise for the ceremony of "laying the corner-stone," and as words symbolised the meaning of ideas and thoughts, so also does the Kropotkin Library symbolise Kropotkin's message to humanity, which will be carried in every known tongue to the far ends of the earth. Kelly hoped that Stelton would become the Mecca of all radicals the world over.

How much the foregoing will stimulate our English comrades I do not know, but one hopes that the dire need of money for the oldest Anarchist journal in the English language—FREEDOM—will not be forgotten, not even by our American comrades, who are more fortunate in the aftermath of the war than English comrades. Undoubtedly the war has had its effect on revolutionary activities—conflicting ideas and seeming hopelessness of propaganda; the gleam of light of the Russian Revolution, culminating in one of the most reactionary Governments of our time; all this added to unemployment is the probable cause of inactivity and pessimism. It is up to the American comrades to counteract this as far as possible by maintaining the radical press of Europe, just as American capitalists lend aid to their less fortunate brethren on the other side.

JIM DICK.

STELTON, Sept. 25.—The Kropotkin Library opened its doors on September 22 with a grand supper and concert. The room was packed to its uttermost capacity, many comrades being unable to get in. An Anarchist Convention is to take place here, in the Library, next Sunday (October 1). The reception of the delegates from all parts of the U.S.A. will be held on Saturday. J. D.

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