

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

THE COMING REVIVAL OF SOCIALISM.

II.

"We are on the eve of a new revival of Socialism," it was said in our last issue—not of Social-Democracy, because this party, at the present time, has ceased to be Socialist, but of true Socialism. And "Socialism" means, of course, all the great movement in favour of a production which would aim at the satisfaction of the needs of the workers, and not at the largest profits for the few, and in favour of a cessation of the wage system, which lies at the root of all present evils. A revival of such a movement is coming, and in order better to see what the coming revival might be, and ought to be, we analysed the previous movement, in the forties (before 1848); and now we have to analyse the second revival which took place some twenty years later, *i.e.*, in the sixties.

When the revolution of 1848 was crushed in Europe, especially in its last act—the uprising of the working men at Paris in June, 1848—a dark cloud hung all over Europe. Stern reaction set in everywhere. The French Republic, in the hands of the frightened middle-class people, was progressive no more, and three years later Napoleon became the Emperor of France, after having made a *coup d'état*, during which the people were shot in the streets without provocation, and the best Republicans had been either massacred, or transported to the colonies, or compelled to flee abroad. In Austria, in Italy, and, of course, all over Germany, reaction was triumphant, and a dark night spread once more over Russia.

All hopes of a universal Republic—of a United States of Europe, composed of independent and free nationalities—which was the aim of the French and British Republicans, of Young Italy and even Young Germany—had to be given up.

The worst of it was that while Radical ideas had received so severe a blow, the Socialist movement had simply been killed outright for the next fifteen or twenty years. It became dangerous even to be named a Communist. As to publishing anything in the Communist direction—it was out of the question. Even the word "Socialist," which had been invented as a harmless substitute for "Communist," was no more a safe flag to sail under. A still further concession was made then in inventing "Collectivism." To these years, indeed, belonged the two great works on Collectivism, by Vidal and Pecqueur, which works, re-hashed lately by German vulgarisers, are now described as "Scientific Socialism" discovered in Germany.

The few revolutionary Communists who had remained true to their ideals had emigrated to England and to the States. But here, too, it was dangerous to preach Communism or anything of the sort, and only owing to their limited circulation one or two brave French papers—forerunners of Anarchism—were tolerated in the United States. The others laid quiet, or openly abjured their Communist ideas.

Before 1848 there was a very bulky and varied Communist and Saint Simonist literature in circulation. The French Fourierists and Saint Simonians—especially their younger followers—had circulated such a rich and popular literature of pamphlets and books, that one can hardly understand how it could all disappear. But it did disappear entirely, probably having been destroyed by timorous owners and booksellers and by the reactionists. There happened something which would simply seem impossible in our century. With a few exceptions the very teachings were forgotten. The very tradition of Communism was broken, so that later on the Germans, especially Engels, could claim, for himself and Marx, for a period of thirty years, the discovery of what they described as Scientific Socialism, before it was proved (by Tcherkesov, and now by Professor Andler) that they had only copied, or re-written (in a bad,

metaphysical German), the ideas of Considérant and other Fourierists and Saint Simonians, which at that time were of everyday currency amongst the Socialists.

Yes,—this was a reaction, the depth of which we realise only now, when we learn that it was capable of effacing even the teachings of Socialism in such a thorough manner. The "White Terror" has always been infinitely more sweeping than the Red one.

The intellectual revival which began some ten to twelve years after the defeat of 1848, had already taken a new character.

First of all it was anti-religious. The religious and Christian sentimentalism of the forties (Lamennais, Kingsley) was laid aside. It so happened that in those years—1856-1862—took place the great revival of natural sciences, of which Darwin, in this country, was one of the chief representatives, and which produced a complete revulsion in the then current ideas. A new comprehension of both the universe and all human matters was worked out in those years. (More about this interesting subject will be found in "Modern Science and Anarchism.") And the result was that the progressive movement henceforward separated itself entirely from the religious movement. Bradlaugh, as is known, who boldly preached in those years against religious superstition, at the same time as he boldly attacked aristocracy, the land monopoly, and the monarchy, became the greatest favourite with the masses of the workers.

On the other side, the war of 1859 for the liberation of Italy, and the heroic campaign of Garibaldi, had broken through the spell of reaction which hung over Europe. A new spirit was awakened. Again the idea of the universal Republican federation was asserting itself. The Italian patriots had been defeated in 1848, but they had not died in vain; the day of liberation of Italy from the Austrian yoke was at hand. Poland was preparing an uprising, which Britain and France had promised to support, and which was going to free her from the Russian yoke.

"Down with the kings! Long live the United States of Europe!" became once more the watchword of the advanced Radicals in Europe.

However, the working men, while willingly joining the Republican secret societies, and thus contributing to rend the black cloud of reaction, had not yet come forward by themselves to revive the Socialist movement. It was only in 1862-1864 that those French workers who had always retained the idea launched first by Robert Owen in his great trades' union (union of all trades grouped across the frontier) and had developed it in their papers (like "L'Internationale") published in the United States, took advantage of the International Exhibition of 1862 for making a step in this direction. They induced the British working men trade unionists (at that time they were labourers, wore no silk hats, and did not dine with Lord Mayors) to start an organisation of their own.

This is why the International Working Men's Association was started, and for the next seven years, till the defeat of the Paris Commune, it became the soul of the labour movement.

We have often spoken of this movement, and need not exaggerate anything in speaking of it. IT WAS A MOVEMENT FOR THE DIRECT STRUGGLE OF LABOUR AGAINST CAPITAL. It was in direct and open opposition to every sort of political agitation. Labour has its own interests, which not only cannot enter into the programs of existing political parties, but cannot be settled by legislation. It is not only more wages that Labour wants. Not only shorter hours. Not only capitalist responsibility in case of accidents. It agitates for the disappearance of the capitalist system. It wants to expropriate the capitalist,

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NOTES.

WILL CROOKS DESCRIBED.

"Marxian" (*Labour Leader*, August 15th) is responsible for the following description of Will Crooks. "By the way, Crooks is shaping very well. He's a downey old bird; and goes slow at first. But he can speed up when he likes." We congratulate Woolwich. To have one's interest looked after by a "downey old bird" must be exhilarating in the extreme; and when this knowing creature "speeds up" (we believe Crooks has acquired a motor since he has become an M.P., which is doubtless a good guarantee of his "downiness") the electors of Woolwich are no doubt lost in admiration. What other benefits the "downey" one gives them for their money we are unable to say, but probably as much as the other members of the feathered tribe who are cawing at St. Stephens.

THE VALUE OF A VOTE.

A humorous scribe writing in *Answers* some time back on the "Oddities of Vote Distribution" asks, "When is a vote not a vote?" and furnishes the reply himself by telling us "when one elector of Newry has as much voice in the councils of the nation as twelve electors of Wandsworth, thirteen of Cardiff, or eighteen of the Romford division." He then asks, "Are Wandsworth men so mutton-headed that it takes nearly a dozen to equal in intelligence one 'bhoys' from Newry?" For our part, although we admit the epithet is not elegant, we are afraid it is true of most voters, whether in Newry, Wandsworth, or elsewhere. So it comes to this, that laws are to be made for us, and we are to be governed by the "mutton-headed" members of the community! Seriously, however, what really happens is that these flocks of voting sheep are used by the wolves—the Chamberlains, the Roseberys, etc.—to check the Socialist propaganda, to work, in fact, any mischief in the country rather than allow the incoming tide of progress to threaten the interests of the privileged classes.

CIVILISATION AND VICE.

"We cannot expect an economic system which reduces millions of our people to an unnatural celibacy, to be unaccompanied by grave evils. Vice is not infrequently the irresistible assertion of human nature which has been corrupted by the artificiality of its surroundings." (*Daily News*, August 26th.) After such an unqualified condemnation of the present state of things, one not knowing the *Daily News* might wonder what suggestions would be made as a remedy. The "constant reader" of that journal will, however, be prepared to learn that "here is work for the churches if ever there was one," and that we should "revert to primitive ecclesiastical custom," to combat these evils,—namely, the dangers to which young women are exposed in "civilised" countries. But the fact is Christian institutions have been the curse of women more even than men by preaching an utterly false and unnatural morality, and always holding woman in subjection as the bond-slave of man.

May we, therefore, suggest to the *Daily News* the advisability of first abolishing the abominable wage-system, which is the cause of nearly all the degradation we see around us, and secondly the necessity of educating our sisters—and our brothers too, for the matter of that—in the laws of their own being. Not Christian missions, but the determination to end all forms of exploitation—to let the light of science into the dark lives of the masses—this is the crying need. And with this the respectable and puritanical *Daily News* will have nothing to do because it is revolutionary.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

The Situation in Spain.

Our Spanish Comrades have of late been doing excellent work. First of all the General Strike decreed from one end of the country to the other to protest against the illegal detention of comrades arrested during the troubles that occurred at different times and in various places of the peninsula within the last few months, and to compel the Government to restore them to liberty.

One must not try to form for oneself an idea of that event on the single authority of information published on the subject in the daily press in England. In fact, all communications on the subject were submitted to a rigorous censorship, and nothing was allowed to pass that spoke of the success of the strikers, while official news, pointing out the failure of the movement, was supplied by the news agencies.

One must not forget, too, that the General Strike which had not the slightest economical foundation, was not destined to last long. As a matter of fact, in most places its duration was fixed beforehand to three, two, and, in some instances, one day, and was more of the nature of the stop days indulged in, for different reasons, by the English colliers. But everywhere the engagements taken were faithfully fulfilled, and the moral effect of that splendid manifestation of solidarity has been such that the Government have had to give way, and that most of the victims have been set free, among them our good friend Ignacio Claria, the valiant editor of *La Huelga General* (*The General Strike*) of Barcelona.

The Libertarian press is still ploughing ahead, and in Spain there are now about twenty different Anarchist periodicals, one and all fulfilling their mission of the education of the masses. Foremost among them is, of course, *Tierra y Libertad*, which since the beginning of last month, from a weekly became a daily paper, and has met with extraordinary success in its new form. The machinery available is hardly equal to the task of supplying the demand for copies, which is enormous, and the editor, our friend Urales, and his clever wife, Toledad Gustavo, are at their wits end to meet it.

The movement is going on splendidly in most of the other Spanish-speaking countries as is proved by the recent General Strike in Chili, Argentina, and Cuba. In Argentina the Republican Government enacted some time back special legislation against the Anarchists. But the Argentine capitalist depends on the European immigration, and as in consequence of the agitation made in Spain and Italy against that exceptional legislation, a serious falling off of the immigrants' return has been stated, the bourgeoisie of Argentina would fain destroy what they once considered an infallible panacea against Anarchist agitation. Indications to that effect are to be found in the recent release of all the comrades sentenced to long terms of penal servitude last year after the General Strike in Buenos Ayres.

In Cuba, the Propaganda is making great strides alike amongst the white and coloured population. *Tierra* is an excellent Anarchist paper, ably edited by Comrade Palmiro de Lydia, who, besides, wrote lately *El Ideal del Siglo XX*. (The Idea of the Twentieth Century), an excellent pamphlet, and has just issued a charming book *Cuentos Inverosímiles* (Unlikely Stories), which, besides its libertarian tendencies, is a perfect jewel of literature and a real masterpiece, which we should like to see translated into English, if a translator could be found who would be able to do justice to the book.

T. DEL MARMOL.

Russia.

After the labour movements which took place in different towns of Russia in 1901 and 1902, it seemed as if the agitation came to a stand still. Those who had laid great hopes in the movement began even to grow pessimistic. But all of a sudden the labour movements broke out, quite unexpectedly, in three different places: at Baku, in the Caucasus, at Kieff, in South Western Russia, and at Odessa.

We have not yet detailed accounts about the first two movements, but it is certain that in all three places what began as a peaceful strike suddenly took the character of a serious labour uprising, just as we saw it several times in the United States and in Spain.

At Odessa, the movement began at the end of July by a strike of the railway labourers, at a railway depot, and the dock labourers. The first soon ended their strike, but then the sailors of a steamship company went on strike, and they soon were joined by the tramway employees. This was on July 27th. On the 29th, a meeting was convoked in the open air, and letters from Odessa estimate that no less than 15,600, but maybe more working men—some say 25,000—came together.

Working men from numbers of other factories left work and came to join the meeting as soon as the news reached them; and then the crowd, singing the "Marseillaise" and the "Warsawian" (a Polish revolutionary song), entered the city, calling all the workers from all the factories and workshops to join the strike.

At five o'clock in the afternoon two great open-air meetings were held—one on the Kulikovo Field (about 7,000), and another out of town, behind the Duke of Richelieu's garden.

Next day, at seven o'clock in the morning, crowds of working men began to move towards the last place, behind the duke's garden, and the correspondent of the *Last News* of the Jewish *Bund* estimates the crowd at 50,000 men. In short, it was for two days a spontaneous General Strike.

Of course it could not last, and in fact it was not meant to. Most of the demands of the working men in most factories were agreed to. The companies made concessions. And then the soldiers, who had been, first, peaceful spectators, began to interfere, and the population of Odessa—for this time, at least,—did not venture to begin a revolution.

But during these three days the workers saw their force, and a tremendous propaganda, Socialist and political, was made.

At Baku, the strike took a truly Pittsburg character. It became a labour war. Numbers of men were killed on both sides, and several naphtha wells were set on fire.

At Kieff—same thing. Bloody conflicts took place in the streets. The German papers say that people coming from Kieff have fled in a panic, saying that the Social Revolution had begun.

So it will. The more the traders in political opinion try to persuade us that it never will come—the nearer it is.

* *

We are glad to announce the appearance of the first Russian Anarchist paper—the first for this present movement. It bears the title *Hleb i Volya* (Bread and Liberty), that is the same title as Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread* has in the Russian translation. It can be had from E. Held, Geneva.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

Comrades will be delighted to hear that Voltairine de Cleyre is now in England. Friends wishing to communicate can address 127, Ossulston Street, N.W.

(Continued from front page.)

to take all into its own hands—fields, docks, railways, flour-mills and storehouses and to organise everything in the interest of those who produce.

This it was that the International Working Men's Association had gradually come to perceive as the final aim of the war against capital which it had begun; and this it was which after the defeat of the Paris Commune the Germans succeeded for thirty years in preventing the workers from aiming at.

We shall see next how this was done. But one question rises before us now. Ought it not to be the aim of the next-coming revival of Socialism to press this question upon the minds of the workers? Openly, frankly, honestly to put it before them? Or must we shut our eyes to the great question which has grown before civilised mankind, and go on discussing the petty side issues with which the clever and educated middle-class men amuse the workers?

THEORIES AND ACTION.

In Tolstoy's *Appeal to Social Reformers*, which has been appearing in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, there are a few words concerning Anarchism which call for comment. After showing that since the middle of last century "power has become invincible, and rests no longer on the higher national foundations of anointed right, of election or representation, but on violence alone," and that "at the same time the people cease to believe in power and respect it, and submit to it only because they cannot do otherwise, he concludes, "therefore power must be abolished." "But how to abolish it, and how, when it is abolished, to arrange things so that without the existence of power men should not return to the savage state of coarse violence towards each other?" "All Anarchists—as the preachers of this teaching are called—quite uniformly answer the first question by recognising that if that power is to be really abolished it must be abolished, not by force, but by men's consciousness of its uselessness and evil. To the second question, as to how Society should be organised without power, Anarchists answer variously." Tolstoy then goes on to compare the different principles on which the leading Anarchists have founded their systems. *General Welfare*, Godwin; *Justice*, Proudhon; *Evolution*, Bakounine and Kropotkin; *Personal Interest*, Stirner and Tucker, and continues—"This truth is incontrovertible: power can be abolished only by the rational consciousness of men. But in what should this consciousness consist? The Anarchists believe that this consciousness can be founded upon considerations about common welfare, justice, progress, or the personal interest of man. But not to mention that all these factors are not in mutual agreement, the very definition of these substitutes *general welfare, justice, progress, or personal interest* are understood by men in infinitely various ways. Therefore it is impossible to suppose that people who are not agreed amongst themselves, and who differently understand the bases on which they oppose power, could abolish power so firmly fixed and so ably defended. Moreover, the supposition that considerations about general welfare, justice, or the law of progress can suffice that men freed from coercion, but having no motive for sacrificing their personal welfare to the general welfare, should combine in just conditions without violating their mutual liberty, is yet more unfounded." He then proceeds to say that before men can abolish power and establish a free society they must accept some common religious conception, *viz.*: Tolstoyism. I wish to point out how the argument which I have followed is due to a psychological misconception.

First, then, it is not first principles (of general welfare, justice, etc.) which regulate men's actions, and such principles are not necessary from the point of view of action. These abstract terms are very well when we are discussing ultimate philosophical theories. But we never catch men acting on ultimate philosophical theories. Any incentive to action must be much nearer, much more concrete than that. The teaching of Anarchism is that government and authority are useless and evil, and that a form of social organisation without them is desirable and possible. This is the fundamental doctrine of Anarchism, and it is on this that we direct our actions. The principles of general welfare, justice, personal interest, etc., are only afterthoughts, brought forward to support this doctrine.

It is as though several men agreed to climb the moors together, one because it was good for health, another for the exercise of climbing, another for the fresh air to be found there, and yet another in the hope of a fine view from the top. So long as they agree to climb they will go together. It is just so with Anarchism; the mountain to be climbed is the abolition of power and the reconstruction of society on a libertarian basis. Is it not rather foolish to waste time quarrelling as to what is the best reason for climbing it? Each of the reasons brought forward is good—the best for those that hold it. But it would be wiser to pay less attention to these first principles, which are very disputable, and are not essential, and more to the essential point of agreement, the resolution, namely, to reform society by abolishing power. There would be a possibility of many present sects working together in spite of much theoretical disagreement. Different ultimate principles will continue to appeal to different sorts of men, and we as Anarchists should be the first to tolerate this sort of difference. There

are men of certain habits of thought to whom Tolstoy's religious enthusiasm will appeal, while the arguments of Kropotkin from science and evolution will fall flat and be unheeded. With others again it will be the teachings of men of the type of Whitman and Carpenter that will have most influence. Some, though very few, will see the good in all these teachings; for they are all good, and all have their degree of truth. The worst mistake to fall into is the dogmatism that asserts that one particular doctrine is the only true one—contains the whole truth—and that the others are necessarily false. The whole intellectual history of mankind has consisted in finding that apparently incompatible theories were, from a higher point of view, not contradictory but complementary. It is this error of dogmatism that Tolstoy has fallen into when he says, "Only such a religious conception, uniting all men in the same understanding of life, incompatible with subordination to power and participation in it, can truly destroy power." To anyone who has striven to attain to insight into human nature this hope to bring all men to the same understanding of life is a wild Utopian dream. For centuries the religions and philosophies of the world have attempted the task, which a psychologist could have told them was an impossible one.* For the view we take of life as a whole is not a matter of the intellect alone, although it ought to satisfy the claims of reason, but of emotion and individual character as well. And such uniformity as Tolstoy hopes for would never come until all men were identical in character. But, as I have said, it is not necessary for the abolition of power that all men should accept one first principle, such as general welfare, love (in Tolstoy's meaning), belief in evolution, etc. What is necessary is that they should see that government and authority are useless and evil; and that this should be seen by them so clearly and strongly as to influence their wills and their actions.

On the same grounds, I must protest against Tolstoy's further statement that "Only such a life-conception will give even the possibility—without joining in violence—of combining into rational and just forms of life," *i.e.*, of living in the free society. Here the same fallacy is committed of making men's social actions dependent on some fundamental religious conception. What does ultimately determine men's moral sense, and therefore their actions, is the various social influences that surround them from childhood upwards. And as Anarchists we urge that the libertarian society will provide the directing influences that are needed to permit men "to combine without violence into rational and just forms of life."

One word in conclusion. Tolstoy refers to "that ridiculously self-evident truth that power and all the evils produced by it are but the results of bad life in men." If it be true, as sociology and psychology with conclusive evidence show, that the characters of men, and hence their actions, their lives, good or bad, are the result to a very large extent of their social environment, the statement above becomes ridiculously untrue. Rather is it present social conditions (wealth, poverty, etc.) which lead to the bad life in men; and the good life in all men can only come from healthy and free social surroundings.

that power is useless and evil, and much work, in teaching men to see actively by concentrating our attention and our effort on *real matters*, and giving a place of only second importance to first principles and the philosophical justification of Anarchism.

RADCLIFFE.

AMERICAN NOTES.

The situation in America to the social student of no matter what opinion must seem the most astounding problem that man has ever had to solve. Admittedly the most advanced of all nations in the industrial field, it is no wonder they have become a bugbear to the nations of Europe who have aspirations in this direction, until there is a talk of a combination among some of the Powers to check the "American Invasion." The ease with which a Standard Oil Company and the Steel Trust manipulate these products and treat the world as their puppets must seem incredible to one until they have been studied. And yet the contrast between the people of this mighty nation is still more surprising than even their national success. To think that the same soil can produce and the same country grow a Rockefeller, with his ten million dollars a year, and little children in the cotton mills of the South, at fifteen cents for a day of ten and twelve hours, seems absolutely incredible. Or again, to look around and see the number of reform movements, the thousands and thousands of earnest men and women throwing themselves into the breach with their social settlements, Socialist, single-tax, and Anarchist movements; the trade unions throwing open their doors to any and all who offer them a solution of this great problem.

The scandals in connection with our beautiful socialistic (oh, how many times it has been trotted out as an argument for state control of all industries!) post office have been so great that decent people are wishing for Huxley's friendly comet, or are seriously thinking of emigrating to less civilised, but more honest, parts of the world. Gaylord Wilshire declares that his magazine was excluded from the mails because he refused to pay a bribe of five thousand dollars; and the story Tucker tells of his trouble in getting *Liberty* registered would be laughable if it were not so serious.

The trades union movement continues to grow, and in spite of the soft words of Gompers the situation is getting serious. Its strange, but one of the kinks the American Labour leader has got in his brain is that it is necessary to be hypocritical in order to try and deceive the capitalist. So Gompers is ever at pains to let people know how law-abiding trade unions are just after they have blown up a street car with dynamite, nearly killed some blacklegs, or set fire to a mine. Such talk deceives no one—least of all the capitalists. He tries to be humorous, in the present number of the *Federationist*, by alluding to the hare-brained Parry, who has made such an ass of himself recently as President of the National Association of Manufacturers, as the "Herr Most" amongst employers.

* For the psychologist's position cf. William James, *Principles of Psychology*, and Munsterberg, *Psychology and Life*.

THE GREAT RAILWAY STRIKE IN VICTORIA.

In an interesting letter from Comrade Fleming, of Melbourne, we learn once again how the cause of labour loses its battles through the stupidity or cowardice of its "leaders." He says, speaking of the cause of the strike:—

The organised brigands called Government issued a ukase that the Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Unions must sever their connection with the Trades Hall Council. This the men refused, replying, "You control us during working hours, but when we have ceased work we claim the right to do as we wish, and spend our money any way we feel inclined in our own time."

So, on Friday, May 8th, the drivers and firemen left their trains on the rails at the mercy of the elements, and all traffic ceased at once.

Irvine, the Premier, is the puppet of the Employers' Federation, who are doing their best to down unionism here, assisted by the capitalist press with their mental prostitutes. They managed to scare the leaders by introducing a Bill making it a penal offence if more than six assembled together, indoors or out, and anyone contributing to the strike or distributing strike funds, or any banker receiving money on behalf of the strikers, were liable to twelve months' imprisonment or a hundred pounds fine. The funkey Scorer and Hart, secretary and president, sought an interview with Irvine, and afterwards, all on their own, declared the strike off, to the men's dismay and astonishment. I happened to hear the president make his report, during which interjections such as "We have been sold," "Betrayed by our trusted leaders," etc., were made, the meeting terminating in a confused manner.

Meanwhile the Anarchists were holding meetings and advocating a General Strike and the taking control of the food supply without standing on ceremony; and should the Government use force, we advocated force in resistance. Everything was working satisfactorily towards a revolt which was inevitable if the strike continued. Proclamations prohibiting meetings were issued by the Governor and Chief Secretary, but we paid no heed to them, and the Government dared not arrest anyone.

Such was the position of things when, to our utter astonishment and disgust, the strike was declared off. This is another illustration of relying on leaders. The rank and file were solid enough, but they had put their liberties in the hands of their committee, and the committee gave the president and secretary a free hand, and they through their incapacity and lack of courage gave the strike to the Government.

AN APPEAL FOR CANTWELL.

All amounts will be acknowledged in *Freedom*.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	0	5	0
A Shop Slave	0	3	0
W. F.	0	1	0
A. H. Holt	0	1	0
F. H.	0	1	0
Mathias	0	1	0
H. Thorn	0	1	0
W. Boyd	0	1	0
V. Rejsek	0	1	6
J. Conolly	0	1	0
H. B. H.	0	3	6
Total	£2	5	0

AN APPEAL FOR THE VICTIMS OF THE GENERAL STRIKE IN HOLLAND.

The National Committee which has been formed in Holland to aid the victims of the late General Strike solicits the assistance of all English men and women who sympathised with the resistance of the Dutch workers against the Strike Laws.

The funds are nearly exhausted, and still 1,200 persons must be helped every week unless they are to starve. The employers have determined to take no striker back, and 2,000 men are still locked out.

It must be remembered that the Dutch workers only declared a General Strike when every other means had failed in the defence of their common rights as free men and citizens.

Not only in Holland, but in all countries, the attempt is being made (or has already become law), as in Victoria (Australia) and New Zealand, to rob the workers of their last weapon in their fight against Capital by making Labour Strikes illegal and liable to severe punishment.

Let us all who love Liberty and Human Progress remember these signs of international reaction, and unite to help the

Dutch workers who fell as victims in a courageous resistance against a Clerical, reactionary Government.

All donations should be sent to

A. W. AMMERLAAN,

President of the National Committee.

164, Rozengracht, Amsterdam.

Or to our address, 127, Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

W. Jago	...	...	...	...	£	s.	d.
A. M.	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
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By PETER KROPOTKIN.

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