

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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NOTES.

State versus Strikers.

The greatest example of State tyranny that has yet been made manifest during the war is surely the command of the Industrial Commissioner, Sir G. Askwith, in a letter to the secretaries of the Trade Unions concerned in the strike of Clyde shipyard workers. In this infamous epistle this representative of British patriotism calls upon the "leaders" to order a resumption of work immediately! Without going into details of the dispute, which is dealt with elsewhere, we must say that we welcome the spirit of revolt which actuated these men, in defiance of their "leaders," to make a bold bid for some compensation against the steadily rising prices, and the consequent dwindling of the value of their earnings. It is, indeed, evidence of a quickening spirit of revolt within the workers when at such a time they will come out and demand instead of humbly petitioning. For now any action which tends to display unwillingness to subserve all interests to the Government's demands is bound to be met by torrents of abuse and nasty names from the capitalist press and smug Labour leaders: George Barnes, for example, in the *Daily News*. But in spite of all the abuse, the men have shown a spirit of revolt which is, alas! too rare, and demonstrated that the capitalist class is—well, hardly independent of Labour. The strikers have gone back conditionally, and we hope they will come out again if their demands are not granted.

Compulsory Arbitration.

Whenever a big strike takes place some one is sure to suggest compulsory arbitration, so Lloyd George was only following many others when he suggested it in his speech on February 28, as a means of settling the strike on the Clyde. Now, compulsory arbitration has been used for some years in Australia, and to see how it works there at the present moment is of interest. In a recent issue of the *Australian Worker*, published at Sydney, the editor says:—

"Judge Heydon, of New South Wales, has practically abolished the Wage Boards of that State. The war, he said, had created a situation so serious that applications for increases of wages were entirely out of the question. In language weighted with judicial gravity, he held that no worker with any sense of his obligations to the community would ask for a higher price for his labour just now; and if any should be found unpatriotic enough to do so, that no Board could possibly dream of granting the request. He, therefore, suspended the operations of Wage Boards in this respect, and with a wave of his arm, as it were, wiped out of existence legislation which the workers of New South Wales had been twenty years in winning."

Judge Heydon's decision might have been expected. The last word always lays with the privileged classes. Trade Union leaders and employers meet together to talk things over, but it is always a nominee of the employing class who eventually decides. And if it is unpatriotic to ask for an increase of wages in Australia during the war, a Court here would certainly follow such a good precedent. Clyde strikers, beware of compulsory arbitration!

Hope instead of Help.

The "hopeful" speech of Asquith in the House of Commons recently, when he explained the Government position upon the matter of the serious rise in the price of foodstuffs and other commodities, must have been hailed with shouts of delight by his back bench sycophants. Truly a statesman's speech. Not that we anticipated that he would, or for that matter could, do

anything; but it reveals the hollowness of democratic Constitutional Government in any of those things which really matter, concerning the wealth-producing class. The soaring prices of food, threatening to produce as many victims as the orgy of frightfulness in Belgium, is a problem which has not only become acute, but positively vital. Its solution brooks no delay, and the people will be wise to consider the whole matter with a view to resolute and speedy action against the patriotic farmers, coal-owners, shippers, etc., in their sinister endeavours to fatten upon the people's necessity. Asquith expresses the hope that things will be better by June; they are no worse than in 1871, he says, and yet some commodities—flour, coal, and wood—have risen anything from 40 to 75 per cent. on the average prices of the last three years! How are the workers going to meet the increase? By increase of wages commensurate with the increased cost of living? That method, however, only meets the question for those workers whose wages fluctuate; but what of those on fixed wages, pensions, etc.? No, the solution does not lie that way. The Government have failed in what is called their most essential function, the Labour Party have failed, and now it is for the affected workers to try their hand. There must be no sentiment about the matter, and where the necessity is greatest there must be the strongest action; and we shall see that with the putting aside of pious resolutions for State aid, and the use of direct action to meet the people's need, the evil will be remedied.

Free France.

The action of the French Government against our comrade Sebastian Faure for publishing a manifesto in which he declaimed against the war, and urged the formation of a strong peace movement, is a striking answer to those who are for ever lauding France as the home of liberty, the nursery of revolt. As a matter of fact, the measures of repression have been far more severe and the censorship more rigid in France during the war than in any other country. Some copies of Sebastian Faure's manifesto found their way into the soldiers' hands in the trenches, and not a few wrote agreeing with his declarations. These letters were stopped and seized by the Minister for War, who threatened to court-martial any man found to be in possession of the manifesto. The Minister of the Interior sent for Faure, interrogated him, and after a warning, in which he said that men found in possession of any further similar documents would be shot, he burned all the papers, and let Faure go. Thus the position is, that one man is responsible for the compilation, printing, and distribution of a document; and while he himself is only reprimanded, the innocent recipients are to suffer with their lives. The Government evidently place the value and effect of Anarchist writings higher than we are inclined to ourselves, and moreover give the lie to the suggestion of the French Government being so much better than that of other countries.

Opening of Marsh House.

As announced in the *Voice of Labour*, the clubhouse and rendezvous for London comrades has at last materialised. It was an urgent need, long felt in London; now it has been made possible, and is actually in being. A house has been taken by a few comrades wherein they intend to live, leaving a portion, consisting of library, sitting-room, and a fairly large hall, for the use of the movement. It is a splendid opportunity to give a fresh impetus to the movement, and the knowledge that there exists a place where one can always be assured of meeting comrades, and taking part in discussions, should go a long way towards making our propaganda more effective, and our views upon social problems more clear. Comrades can obtain full particulars from the Manager, FREEDOM Office; and help of any kind, especially towards the initial expenses, is much needed, and will be greatly appreciated.

THE BRITISH BABY-KILLERS.

During the past seven months there has been carried on in this country a twofold campaign of hatred and folly. Countless newspaper articles have been written with the direct object of arousing feelings of animosity against the Germans as a nation, and of inspiring the unreflecting masses with a love and enthusiasm for the Allies. There is, according to these writers, no crime the Germans have not committed, and there are no heights of heroism and virtue to which the Allies have not attained. Germany is denounced as a nation "drunk with a lust for world power"; as "grovelling in a bestial materialism"; as "having dethroned reason and religion in order to exalt the brute force of militarism into an object of national worship." These are but specimens of the sentiments which can be found throughout the literature dealing with Germany and the war. These sentiments are accepted unquestioningly as being the true facts of the case, and certain logical deductions are drawn from them. The most important of these conclusions is that since the Germans are "a nation of Huns," in the interests of progress, civilisation, and humanity every right-thinking man must support the Allies and aid in the destruction of the power of the German Empire.

Reduced to their simplest terms, the charges against the Germans fall under three heads. The first is that they have treated Belgium with wanton brutality, the second that they have violated the codes of "civilised" warfare, and thirdly that their statecraft is immoral and dishonest, and in diplomacy they will resort to any subterfuge in order to advance the interests of their country. Let me say at once that I consider these charges to be proved in the main. It is impossible for any sane man to excuse or condone the German methods of warfare in Belgium, any more than any honourable man can justify German statecraft. But reason and honour alike compel one to state that for England or any of her Allies to denounce the Germans is to at once lay themselves open to a charge of gross hypocrisy. Those who have been trying to make our flesh creep with accounts of the moral enormities of Bernhardt and Treitschke would do well to look at home and see whether there are not Bernhardis and Treitschkies among the generals and statesmen of England. For example, the excuse put forward by the Germans for the invasion of Belgium was that it was absolutely necessary for the success of their military plans. This practical application of Bernhardt's teaching found an echo in the House of Commons recently, when the Under-Secretary of State for War, Mr. Tennant, bluntly stated, amid applause, that "military necessity has never known any law." Germany's immoral actions are thus justified by the words of an English statesman.

If Tennant's applauded dictum is true, then the case against Germany for invading Belgium—and also the justification for England's participation in the war—falls to the ground. But surely it is wrong to violate treaties and to attack small countries? Certainly it is wrong to do so; and if so, what of Persia, Finland, the Transvaal, and Egypt? Germany has occupied Belgium on a pretext approved by a prominent English statesman; England has seized Egypt without consulting any one! But, we are told, there is no discontent among the Egyptians, and they have welcomed the change. Let us assume that it is so. It must be remembered that the Egyptians are scarcely in a position to express their minds freely on the subject at the present moment. Opposition to the governing powers in Egypt would simply mean military execution. But if the Egyptians welcome the change (because they have no power to do otherwise), England is not morally justified in seizing their country. If Germany retains Belgium at the end of the war, and there is no discontent among the Belgians a hundred years hence, would that justify Germany's present action? Of the exploitation of Persia by Russia and England it is unnecessary to speak. The facts are well known. The very fact of the brutal excesses committed by the German troops recalls the horrors of past wars. Was it not an English statesman who denounced "the methods of barbarism" employed by English troops in the South African War? Is there no stain upon the honour of France? Is not the tricolour red with the blood of butchered Communards of 1871? And then there is Russia..... Is there any need to mention the excesses and atrocities committed by Russian troops? Let tortured and murdered revolutionaries, peasants, students, Jews, and Poles answer. No, in the main there is little to choose between the methods of any of the great Powers. Militarism is militarism the world over. Military necessity knows no law in England any more than it does in Germany. English soldiers have been employed by the State to

shoot down strikers in the past, and they will certainly be so used again if "the preservation of law and order" require it.

There are children in England to-day who are dying of starvation—not because an enemy is blockading our coasts, but because patriotic British capitalists are filling their pockets with gold through increased food prices. The nation is clamouring for bread, and the Prime Minister gives it a stone—of cynical philosophy! "Things are not so bad as they were in past wars; they might be worse!" is the cold comfort Asquith holds out to a robbed and hungry people. The Government will learn that things *will* be worse for them if something is not soon done to lift the intolerable burden of food prices from off the shoulders of the people.

Denounce the "baby-killers" by all means—but be just and logical in your denunciations. If it is wrong to kill babies by dropping bombs on their cradles, it is equally wrong to kill little children by depriving them of food and warmth through charging high prices for foodstuffs and coal.

Remember Belgium by all means—but also remember East Prussia. Photographs have been published in the English illustrated journals showing towns in East Prussia wrecked by shell-fire to such an extent that, but for the particulars stated beneath the picture, one might quite naturally think it was a representation of some Belgian town. There appeared in the last issue of *FREEDOM* an article entitled "Polish Jews' Appeal to the Civilised World." In the face of the statements contained in that heartrending cry of despair, the sentimental talk of a "reformed" Russia can be dismissed with the contempt that it deserves.

No, the Allies cannot condemn Germany without condemning themselves. The State and militarism are the twin offspring of Capitalism, and they are the common enemies of the people in whatever guise they appear, in whatever land they arise. Let us attack the evil of militarism by all means, but let us commence with English militarism, "for then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote that is in thy brother's eye." Let there be no illusions as to the outcome of the war. To say that it is a war against militarism is to use terms which contradict one another. The defeat of Germany does not mean the end of armaments and war. It means only that the most powerful militarist State has been for the present overthrown, and the next most powerful militarist State has taken her place. The first Balkan War ended in a war between the Allies. Having regard for the problems before the Allies in the present war, it is by no means improbable that history may repeat itself once more. We are all so busy attending what we hope will be the funeral of German militarism, that we seem to have overlooked the fact that England has suddenly become a great military Power. It is true that these millions of armed men have only enlisted "for the duration of the war," but when the war will be over or to what international complications it will lead no one knows.

Obviously, then, it is a time for cool heads and quiet thought. To hasten to the assistance of capitalist Governments is strange work for those who call themselves revolutionists. Moreover, to identify ourselves with the national cause of any country is to wipe the revolutionary movement out of existence. We cannot expect people to join us when there is no difference between our principles and policy and those of the upholders of the State and militarism. The fact that it should be necessary to make such statements is in itself a terrible reflection upon the condition of the Socialist movement at the present time. One step on the fatal path of compromise and concession to the powers that be, and a revolutionist, unconsciously perhaps, but none the less truly, has abandoned the high and noble purpose to which he had devoted his life—to the overthrow of tyranny of all kinds, and to the emancipation of the workers of the world.

OTTO LEROY.

An Appeal for "Freedom."

Owing to the war, our income has been seriously affected, and we ask comrades and friends to help our Guarantee Fund to the best of their ability. Funds are urgently needed to produce *FREEDOM* regularly. We hope for a good response to this appeal.

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BOOK NOTES.

Die Sozialdemokratie und der Krieg ("Social Democracy and the War"). By Paul Schreyer. 10 pfennig. Published by *Solidaritet*, Copenhagen.

The author dissects, in this pamphlet, the attitude and tactics of German Social Democracy towards war. He begins by saying:—"We Anarchists have always prepared the working classes for the fact that whenever the danger of war will become imminent Social Democracy will show no friendship for peace; nay, that when war will break out it will go so far as to support it, and will, therefore, find itself on the side of the oppressors against the workers of other countries. We were then called calumniators whose affirmations could not be proved. And the workers relied too much on the peace assertions so often repeated by the Social Democratic leaders."

In mentioning the "unification" of classes that had taken place everywhere, our comrade finds that—

"The working class has partly been infected by the existing Jingoism, and partly has joined in the tragic despair as in something that is irrevocable, unalterable. But great sections of the workers are asking themselves as to the reasons for the present attitude of their party—the Social Democratic Party. And they think they have found many of these. Some say that the masses have not been sufficiently ripe, that they would have been overwhelmed by the national outburst, and that therefore the leaders could not have acted otherwise. Others say that the leaders were too cowardly, and had pushed them into the patriotic stream simply through fear of suffering imprisonment, or that they were sold or duped. Others again believe that the workers were attracted, thanks to their devotion to Imperialism, by the fact that through a victory they would gain more colonies, and therefore would have a bigger outlet and a greater productiveness in the industry of the country, thus guaranteeing the workers better conditions of life and of labour. A number of reasons of which every one is in itself a declaration of bankruptcy of the present activities of the so-called modern Labour movement, but which do not yet touch the kernel of the problem, which consists in that Social Democracy *had to act as it did*, seeing that its attitude towards the war is nothing but a *logical consequence of the Social Democratic doctrine and the enforced continuation of its activity.*"

The author goes on to examine the relations of the war to the aims of Social Democracy, to the principles of "scientific" Socialism, and to "Parliamentarism." In conclusion, comrade Schreyer examines the relations between the workers and the war. He asks, at the outset:—

"Is there any reason which could induce the worker to take part, in any way, voluntarily and gladly, in the defence of his 'Fatherland'? We say *No!* because to-day, more so than ever, we find justification in the phrase that the workers have no Fatherland which they could protect, that they have only one enemy which they must fight, and that is international Capitalism.... The same fate awaits the workers in every country: a life cursed by exploitation and slavery. His 'Fatherland' is everywhere turned against him in a fatherly way. He must obey, so that *others* may reign. He has to work from morning till night, so that *others* may revel in happiness and abundance. The business man presses beautiful gold out of his bones. And the so-called Fatherland helps the rich in this work, while it muzzles and cripples any would-be insubordinate rebel.

"What, then, is the feeling that could induce the worker to shoulder a rifle and defend the frontier of his Fatherland, or, in other words, *his own chains?*....

"Fifty years have elapsed since the old International was founded. Its break-up, due to the Marx-Bakunin quarrel, was in reality the result of the sharp but necessary differentiation between State Socialism and Anarchist Communism. And now, in the tremors of the world-war, the Social Democratic International has also broken down. The latter was less of a Labour, and more of a party International, and was wrecked owing to the prevailing national interests which Social Democracy had to reckon with. But from the shattered 'modern' Labour movement there will rise a new Labour movement, at last honest in its international spirit, because it will be based on anti-State and Anarchist principles. *Only when Anarchism fills the hearts of the workers will national influences disappear from the Labour movement; it will then be impossible for the rulers again to send the workers to the slaughter by a world-war. Being quite conscious of its own interests, the proletariat will only fight for them. And this fight will become an international fight against international exploitation.*"

Publications Received.

International Socialism and the War. By A. W. Humphrey. 3s. 6d. net. London: P. S. King and Co.—A review of the attitude towards the war of all the organisations affiliated to the International Socialist Bureau.

Britain and the War: A Study in Diplomacy. By C. H. Norman. 1d. London: National Labour Press.—*The Outbreak of the War.* By E. D. Morel. 1d.—These two pamphlets deal with the diplomacy leading up to the war, and are well worth reading.

(1) *The Morrow of the War.*—(2) *Shall this War end German Militarism?* By Norman Angell.—(3) *War the Offspring of Fear.* By Hon. Bertrand Russell.—(4) *The Origins of the Great War.* By H. N.

Brailsford. — (5) *Parliament and Foreign Policy.* By Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.—(6) *The National Policy.* 1d. each London: Union of Democratic Control, 37 Norfolk Street, W.C.
How the War Came. 1d. Manchester: National Labour Press.
Belgium and "The Scrap of Paper." By H. N. Brailsford. 1d. London: Independent Labour Party, St. Bride's House, E.C.
An Introduction to the Study of Social Problems. By Arnold Freeman. 2d. London: Workers' Educational Association.
Musica Prohibida. By Alberto Ghirardo. Buenos Aires: *Ideas y Figueras*, Calle Tacuari, 900.
Razboiul. By P. Kropotkin. 20 bani. Bucarest: *Revista Ideei*, Fund. Pipaita, 8 bis.

THE MARRIAGE BUND.*

A CLERIC LAY
OF THE SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' FAMILIES' FUND.

I chanced to read, the other day,
That somewhere (so the papers say)
The "Upper House of Convocation"
(Which means a sort of parliament
Of parsons on palaver bent,
About the morals of the nation)
Held such a grand confabulation
In something like the following way:
The Primate (nicknamed "Cantuar")
Told what a job he'd had—to bar
Each woman, who had lived in shame
With her own chosen warrior-mate,
From being treated *quite* the same
As one whom holy Church or State
Had duly made a soldier's wife—
Who thus had led a decent life:
Though Government was on his side,
He felt not yet quite satisfied.
If other Reverends "also spoke,"
Or differed from His Grace (I doubt it!),
Or if the silence stayed unbroke,
My paper says no word about it:
Perchance the heavenward pilots then
With one accord intoned "Amen."

It seems that, on the self-same day,
The "House of Laymen" (who are *they?*)
Did somewhat thuswise say their say:
Imprimis, Brother Bilious Bund,
In making comments on the Fund,
Talked much the same as Cant-u-ar
Had done, elsewhere, about the bar
Against that most immoral thing—
A woman wed without a ring;
But Brother Bund went further still—
He pointed out this dreadful ill:—
That lawless mothers mothered *more*
Than legal wives, by many a score,
And thus the bad received more cash!
(Which caused the good their teeth to gnash.)
He moved a Resolution straight,
Against the Church's pal (the State)
Encouraging each sinful soul,
Instead of cutting down her dole!
(*But, can't he see? each teeming brood
Means more cheap slaves and cannon-food!*)
Then up rose Brother Neverwrit
And said he fain would better it:
He urged the State should rub it in—
From all Official Forms omit
Each glozing phrase, like "as a wife,"
Denoting those who'd dwelt in sin
Instead of Christian married life.
But Mister Crossoff said he thought
The Resolution good for nought;
Spread broadcast by the Press next day,
"Twould simply give the show away:
They "must have men," and have them quick,
But *this* would knock Recruiting sick!
Another gent. (unnamed, alas!)
Averred that he himself would class
The twain—who'd shared each sinful bed—
With pairs the Registrar had wed;
God *blessed* those couples joined in church,
But left all others in the lurch.
Alack the day! so well begun:
The Resolution (when they'd done)
Was sentenced to Oblivion—
'Twas thirty votes to thirty-one!

T. S.

* Bund, a word of Germanic origin, signifies league or confederation.

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The Government and Strikers.

The strike on the Clyde has at last exposed the hollowness of the lie about the united nation, and we hope it will be decently buried now. A Government must always look after its friends, and the present Government is so closely connected with ship-building and armament firms that no one should be surprised at their present attitude.

Ever since the war started the prices of food and other necessities have been steadily increasing, and in some cases are 50 per cent. higher. As a result, the workers find that wages which previously brought them and their families sufficient food and clothing are now quite insufficient for the purpose. Discontent is rife everywhere, and at last the engineers employed in the shipbuilding and armament yards on the Clyde decided to protest vigorously. They asked the Executive of their Union to take up the case, but with no result. The men then formed an unofficial Executive, and put forward a demand for an increase of 2d. an hour, from 8½d. to 10½d. This the masters met with an offer of ¾d. per hour, which the men refused, and then ceased work. The strike spread rapidly, and soon 10,000 men were idle. The men's Executive, as usual, tried to induce them to resume work while they negotiated with the masters, but the men ignored their leaders. "Twopence an hour more, or no work!" was their firm reply. A writer in the *Times* said: "This is no ordinary strike. The men will decide for themselves. Unorganised and unofficial, embarked upon in defiance of their leaders, the strike is unprecedented in its display of solidarity on the part of the men."

Then the Government took a hand in the matter. The men had been expecting their intervention, as the work they were engaged on was necessary for the Army and Navy; and as the Government had helped the railway men to get an increase of 3s. a week, the strikers thought that their intervention would mean pressure on the employers again. But the cases are not alike. The agreement with the railway companies since the war began meant that the railway men's increase came out of the National Exchequer, while an increase of wages to the Clyde men would come out of the pockets of the shareholders. So instead of calling upon the employers to pay the increase, the Government issued what was practically an ultimatum to the men to resume work at once, and the Press hinted at "stern measures" if they did not do so. The men's Union Executive addressed them, and wrote letters to the newspapers saying it was not their fault the men were on strike, while Lloyd George spoke of compulsory arbitration. Still the men showed no inclination to give way, and took their time to consider the matter. Finding the situation serious, and that the men had their backs to the wall, the Premier tried the confidence trick which has worked so often, and said if the men went back the Government would "ensure and promote an equitable settlement of disputed points." He also appealed to their patriotism. It would be surprising if with all this pressure the men had held out, and after a few more meetings they decided to return to work, but to adhere to their demands; and in their present spirit, unless they are soon satisfied, another strike may result. For the time being, they refuse to work overtime, and in other ways show that they recognise the strength of their position.

Besides this strike, others have broken out in various parts, and we are told that the labour unrest is causing anxiety to the Government. Evidently the novelty of the war is wearing off, and the calls to the workers to sacrifice themselves are falling on deaf ears. We may expect, therefore, that the authorities will try other methods, and in the *Times* of March 4 an evidently

inspired note says that Ministers do not wish to take extreme measures before they are forced, but the Defence of the Realm Act confers upon them almost unlimited powers. "One regulation gives the Admiralty and the Army Council the power to take possession of any armament or war equipment factory, and direct that every occupier and every officer and servant of his shall obey their directions. Failure to do so would be an offence under the Act." In other words, industrial conscription—work or be shot!

The Government's attitude towards the workers is a great contrast to that they adopt towards the employing class. When they buy sugar, meat, guns, khaki, timber, or whatever it may be, they are so wonderfully generous with the nation's money. The immediate assistance they rendered the banks and the Stock Exchange is another instance of their generosity. But when the workers ask for immediate relief, the Prime Minister repeats his old joke: "Wait—until June—and see." And in spite of all this evidence to the contrary, we are told that all distinctions of classes have been swept away, and the nation is united as it never was before. Let us hear no more of such nonsense.

WORKERS AND THE WAR.

The most pathetic thing the European crisis has brought home to us is the attitude of "the man in the street" towards war and all the discomfort it entails. He regards it as necessary, something as inevitable perhaps as the contraction of measles in childhood. Few see the stupidity of it, fewer still realise their own responsibility in the matter. Instead, we find masses of intelligent men eager to give Capitalism a new lease of life by enlisting, and so fighting for the "honour of King and Empire." That war means murder, and that of a most diabolical kind, does not appear to occur to them. The glamour of a glory to come dulls whatever ethical sense was ever felt. The astounding part of it is that no one appears to possess the least sense of shame that the gigantic war machine carefully prepared by all the European nations should now be reaping its inevitable harvest of human lives, and in the papers day by day the military and naval experts discourse as though it were merely a game of chess they are watching.

But if man cannot be appealed to on his ethical side, let him at least consider the war from its purely economic aspect, and ponder what it means to spend millions a day on the sublime task of blowing thousands into eternity. Yet the very Governments whose policies have led to this war six months ago could not have been brought into spending a tithe of that sum on the misery caused by our precious industrial system.

The reason for so much apparent wanton waste is not far to seek. So long as a capitalist form of society remains, each nation will be armed against its neighbour, and the best talents and labour of each nation go towards perfecting the most deadly implements. On this the whole basis of civilisation rests, and that is why it has crumbled like a house of cards. When we cease to encourage men to design guns that can discharge one and a-half ton of metal every minute, and instead develop a spirit of human well-being, then war will become an ethical impossibility; but the first fact to grasp is that the insanity of war is twin disease to the cancer of Capitalism, for, as Galsworthy puts it, "Man cannot be brought up in strict reverence for bulk and force, for blood and iron, without deterioration of his soul-fibre."

The vital matter at present is that workers should not be deceived by all the Jingoism which has been unloosed, and afflicting Conservative and Socialist alike. The great game of the capitalist is to pit worker against worker. A manifesto issued by the Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain to its members refers with pride to the thousands of fellow workmen who have left home, friends, good positions, and comfort to suffer hardships in their country's cause. It continues: "We also have our great fight, and that is to capture, as far as we can, the German iron and steel trade." It then counsels: "No throwing down tools, no stopping away from work." A very shrewd guess might be made as to the "workmen" members of this Association; it is the old game of hoodwinking the worker into believing that he really has a stake in the country. Meanwhile, lest he forget, we would remind him that capitalistic industry every day claims an increasing number of victims sacrificed to the lust for profit, and that there is only one enemy—the exploiter—and one war worth fighting in—the class war. Finally, we should remember that the German and Austrian workers are just as befooled as we are.

M. B. H.

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST MANIFESTO

ON THE WAR.

Europe in a blaze, twelve million men engaged in the most frightful butchery that history has ever recorded; millions of women and children in tears; the economic, intellectual, and moral life of seven great peoples brutally suspended, and the menace becoming every day more pregnant with new military complications—such is, for seven months, the painful, agonising, and hateful spectacle presented by the civilised world.

But a spectacle not unexpected—at least, by the Anarchists, since for them there never has been nor is there any doubt—the terrible events of to-day strengthen this conviction—that war is permanently fostered by the present social system. Armed conflict, restricted or widespread, colonial or European, is the natural consequence and the inevitable and fatal outcome of a society that is founded on the exploitation of the workers, rests on the savage struggle of the classes, and compels Labour to submit to the domination of a minority of parasites who hold both political and economic power.

The war was inevitable. Wherever it originated, it had to come. It is not in vain that for half a century there has been a feverish preparation of the most formidable armaments, and a ceaseless increase in the budgets of death. It is not by constantly improving the weapons of war, and by concentrating the mind and the will of all upon the better organisation of the military machine that people work for peace.

Therefore, it is foolish and childish, after having multiplied the causes and occasions of conflict, to seek to fix the responsibility on this or that Government. No possible distinction can be drawn between offensive and defensive wars. In the present conflict, the Governments of Berlin and Vienna have sought to justify themselves by documents not less authentic than those of the Governments of Paris, London, and Petrograd. Each does its very best to produce the most indisputable and the most decisive documents in order to establish its good faith and to present itself as the immaculate defender of right and liberty, and the champion of civilisation.

Civilisation? Who, then, represents it just now? Is it the German State, with its formidable militarism, and so powerful that it has stifled every disposition to revolt? Is it the Russian State, to whom the knout, the gibbet, and Siberia are the sole means of persuasion? Is it the French State, with its *Biribi*, its bloody conquests in Tonkin, Madagascar, Morocco, and its compulsory enlistment of black troops? France, that detains in its prisons, for years, comrades guilty only of having written and spoken against war? Is it the English State, which exploits, divides, and oppresses the populations of its immense colonial Empire?

No; none of the belligerents is entitled to invoke the name of civilisation, or to declare itself in a state of legitimate defence.

The truth is, that the cause of wars, of that which at present stains with blood the plains of Europe, as of all wars that have preceded it, rests solely in the existence of the State, which is the political form of privilege.

The State has arisen out of military force, it has developed through the use of military force, and it is still on military force that it must logically rest in order to maintain its omnipotence. Whatever the form it may assume, the State is nothing but

organised oppression for the advantage of a privileged minority. The present conflict illustrates this in the most striking manner. All forms of the State are engaged in the present war: absolutism with Russia, absolutism softened by Parliamentary institutions with Germany, the State ruling over peoples of quite different races with Austria, a democratic Constitutional régime with England, and a democratic Republican régime with France.

The misfortune of the peoples, who were deeply attached to peace, is that, in order to avoid war, they placed their confidence in the State with its intriguing diplomatists, in democracy, and in political parties (not excluding those in opposition, like Parliamentary Socialism). This confidence has been deliberately betrayed, and continues to be so, when Governments, with the aid of the whole of their press, persuade their respective peoples that this war is a war of liberation.

We are resolutely against all wars between peoples, and in neutral countries, like Italy, where the Governments seek to throw fresh peoples into the fiery furnace of war, our comrades have been, are, and ever will be most energetically opposed to war.

The rôle of the Anarchists in the present tragedy, whatever may be the place or the situation in which they find themselves, is to continue to proclaim that there is but one war of liberation: that which in all countries is waged by the oppressed against the oppressors, by the exploited against the exploiters. Our part is to summon the slaves to revolt against their masters.

Anarchist action and propaganda should assiduously and perseveringly aim at weakening and dissolving the various States, at cultivating the spirit of revolt, and arousing discontent in peoples and armies.

To all the soldiers of all countries, who believe they are fighting for justice and liberty, we have to declare that their heroism and their valour will but serve to perpetuate hatred, tyranny, and misery.

To the workers in factory and mine it is necessary to recall that the rifles they now have in their hands have been used against them in the days of strike and of revolt, and that later on they will be again used against them in order to compel them to undergo and endure capitalist exploitation.

To the workers on farm and field it is necessary to show that after the war they will be obliged once more to bend beneath the yoke and to continue to cultivate the lands of their lords and to feed the rich.

To all the outcasts, that they should not part with their arms until they have settled accounts with their oppressors, until they have taken land and factory and workshop for themselves.

To mothers, wives, and daughters, the victims of increased misery and privation, let us show who are the ones really responsible for their sorrows and for the massacre of their fathers, sons, and husbands.

We must take advantage of all the movements of revolt, of all the discontent, in order to foment insurrection, and to organise the revolution to which we look to put an end to all social wrongs.

No despondency, even before a calamity like the present war. It is in periods thus troubled, in which many thousands of men heroically give their lives for an idea, that we must show these men the generosity, greatness, and beauty of the Anarchist ideal: Social justice realised through the free organisation of producers; war and militarism done away with for ever; and complete freedom won, by the abolition of the State and its organs of destruction.

Signed by—Leonard D. Abbott, Alexander Berkman, L. Bertoni, L. Bersani, G. Bernard, G. Barrett, A. Bernardo, E. Boudot, A. Calzitta, Joseph J. Cohen, Henry Combes, Nestor Ciele van Diepen, F. W. Dunn, Ch. Frigerio, Emma Goldman, V. Garcia, Hippolyte Havel, T. H. Keell, Harry Kelly, J. Lemaire, E. Malatesta, H. Marques, F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, Noel Panavich, E. Recchioni, G. Rijnders, I. Rochtchine, A. Savioli, A. Schapiro, William Shatoff, V. J. C. Schermerhorn, C. Trombetti, P. Vallina, G. Vignati, Lilian G. Woolf, S. Yanowsky.

London, 1915.

This Manifesto is published by the International Anarchist movement, and will be printed in several languages and issued in leaflet form.

SIDELIGHTS ON SOCIAL SUBJECTS.

The allowances made by the State to the "unmarried wives" of soldiers has been causing the Archbishop of Canterbury grave concern. In a letter to the Prime Minister, on behalf of the Church of England, he expresses the view that care must be taken not to break down the distinction between married and unmarried wives, which was vital to our country's well-being. So anxious is the Archbishop not to disturb the precious marriage system upon which Capitalism rests that he does not have time to see the evidences of our infamous immorality which repeatedly appear in the daily press. We have not heard of his protesting against the scandal of paying a penny-farthing an hour for Army work. Yet not only do the sweated home-workers receive this wretched pay, but they have also to find their own needles. What of the case of the girl aged fourteen years employed 57½ hours a week for a wage of half-a-crown? The Archbishop has not, we gather, written the Premier upon the scandal of paying out thousands of pounds in commission to the buyer of timber for the War Office. The good Archbishop apparently agrees with the *Times*, which finds that we have been wrangling over trifles—"Whether boys shall be allowed to work in the fields, what are the precise details of a Government contract for buying timber, and things of that kind." They are little details that it would seem stupid to argue about, but for heaven's sake let us preserve the sanctity of marriage though the poor work and starve in their garrets in order that the rich may wax fat. Let us not, therefore, bring discredit upon the genuine legal article—marriage—by recognising the common humanity of the married and unmarried wives, lest it might tend to undermine ever such a little the rotten foundation upon which Capitalism is built.

Those of us who have innocently enough believed in the inviolability of our personal freedom in England must have received a rude shock on following the debate in the House of Commons on inoculation in the Army. It brought forth the astounding dictum from Mr. Tennant that "military necessity has never known any law." We congratulate Mr. Tennant on his boldness, for he has uttered what others have merely thought. It has been the recognition of this guiding principle by all the Powers that has forced war upon Europe, and set the Hague Convention at naught. It is just this "necessity that knows no law," and sacrifices the personal liberty of the individual, that Anarchists have always attacked. To try to force inoculation upon a conscientious objector by such petty expedients as stopping his leave, or allocating to him the dirty work of the camp, is despicable, and worthy of the autocrats who run our great and glorious Empire, and who entrench themselves behind the plea of military necessity when attacked.

The *Times*, under the heading of "A Plain Warning," presumes to lecture the public, and chiefly the working population, on its failure to realise that we are at war. It is angry with the people who are opposing the employment of boys and girls aged twelve and thirteen on farm work, and chides them with the remark that they are not thinking of "the actual situation and merits of the case, but the maintenance of sound educational principles." "All this," says the *Times*, "is unreal, and, in the circumstances, ridiculous." Of course, it is ridiculous to educate Hodge's child now that adult labour is costly, and the work of the child may mean so much extra profit for the farmer. Then, too, the education might have the effect of making the child dissatisfied with the sphere in which he is born. So sound educational principles must be scrapped in the name of patriotism. Then a tirade is launched against the enemies at home who dared to go on strike during such a crisis, and deplores the fact that the engineers' dispute is only one of many, that a coal strike was only just averted, and disputes are springing up all over the country. This, we are told, all goes to prove the dangerous state of delusion in which large sections of the population are living. But the thinking man sees in these very symptoms the most wholesome and welcome sign that delusion is passing away from those that produce all the wealth and live and die in poverty.

The Home Secretary has appointed yet another Committee. This will "inquire into the conditions prevailing in the coal-mining industry, with a view to securing such organisation of work and such co-operation between employers and workmen as will set free for enlistment the largest possible number of men qualified for military service without interfering with the

necessary production of coal during the war." Colliery proprietors and representatives of the miners serve on the Committee, so the result is a foregone conclusion. More speeding up, fresh economies, and a bad time ahead for the miners.

The prices received for the sale of obsolete ships of our Navy should give a little indication of the costliness of a militarist policy even in times of peace. Four ships built some twenty years ago at the aggregate cost of £3,273,276, were sold last year for the sum of £154,305. This represents the entire amount realised, though £20,000 of gear was taken out of the boats before their sale. The newest vessels to be sold as old iron were three submarines belonging to the 1902-3 programme. They cost nearly £40,000 apiece, and averaged at auction less than £400! Is it not about time that those engaged on building armaments of war realised they would be more profitably employed rearing decent homes to live in?

The octopus Standard Oil Company is extending its tentacles literally "from China to Peru." It recently purchased British oil companies in the latter country, and now it has oilfields in China producing about 300 tons of oil a day. As a result of an agreement made last year with the Chinese Government, the company was granted exclusive oil rights over a very large area. The Chinese Government holds a portion of the shares of the company. How vast are the ramifications of this great Trust will be seen from the fact that it has operations in Borneo, the shores of the Dead Sea, Rumania, Galicia, many parts of the United States, and Mexico. When we understand the power wielded by such vast concerns, we see just why treaties are made, big armies maintained, and in the last resort war is waged.

The rise in the cost of living in war times as well as in peace hits the poor with greatest severity. The rise in the cheapest kinds of coal has been out of all proportion to the rise in the best qualities. A year ago the cheapest coal cost 23s. per ton, while the best coal fetched 30s. To-day the cheapest is 32s., and the best 36s. The poor are victimised at every turn by the patriots who exploit their helplessness, and who live by legalised robbery.

M. B. HOPE.

HOW WARS WILL CEASE.

War is the result of the inequalities in the distribution of wealth. The inequalities in the distribution of wealth arise through some men taking advantage of others, and using them for their own purposes. These inequalities are gained and maintained by force and fraud. Men have done this for a very long time; in fact, from the very earliest times of which history or tradition gives any account. Nevertheless this conduct is a relic of the past ages in which man had scarcely emerged from animalism; and it is now not only not sanctioned by his moral sense, but is condemned by it. Man's moral senses have been gradually evolved, and are always growing in clearness and purity. For thousands of years mankind has had mental and moral senses of truth, justice, sympathy, and love, and these senses have now become as much a part of his nature as hunger and thirst, and demand satisfaction with equal persistency.

The golden rule, to do unto others as we would that others should do to us, has been the embodiment of man's sense of justice for thousands of years. That men have not guided their lives by this rule is partly owing to the difficulty of giving up long established customs which were natural to them in a less developed state; but more, owing to the men who profit by the old life and customs having invented false theories aiming to conserve the old way of life and at the same time quiet the demands of the senses of justice, love, etc. The chief of those false theories is the Church doctrine of the Fall and Redemption: the Fall dogma teaching that man had lost the power to act justly, and the Redemption dogma that it was not necessary to act justly, but that peace here and eternal happiness hereafter were obtained by "believing" the Church doctrine. For the past seventy years this doctrine has been losing its efficacy both as a comfort to the masses and as an aid to the classes. Within the same period another false theory has arisen—that of "the survival of the fittest." This theory also aims at retaining the old way of life in which men struggle with each other for mastery, and which results in some profiting at others' expense. This is the so-called scientific theory, and almost as many books have been written to expound it as have been

concocted to support the Church doctrine; but neither the Church nor the scientific doctrine can blot out man's senses of justice, truth, and love, nor silence their demands.

It would seem, then, that the time is come or is fast coming when men must either frankly and honestly obey the behests of their nature—doing to others as they would be done by—or confess themselves dishonourable men, hypocrites, and humbugs, without either self-respect or the respect of their fellow men. All the devices and subterfuges invented to cheat their natures having failed, the misery of living in continual antagonism to their nature will force them into a new way of life. The new way of life will not be brought about by force; it will be brought about by voluntary co-operation, having equality for its ideal. The distinction of classes will vanish for ever; all men will do their equal share of the necessary work and will be satisfied with their equal share of the products of that work. It will be such a life as fulfils the demands of our whole nature, including our senses of justice, sympathy, truth, and love.

Life is a seeking for happiness—the life-force is the pursuit of happiness. Happiness is the satisfaction of all the senses, bodily and mental. The satisfaction of all the senses constitutes the life of man. The nature of civilised man is such that this satisfaction can only be realised in a community of equals, and in a community of equals there will be no more war.

AMOR VINCIT.

A MOTHERS' APPEAL

To the Suffering Humanity of the Twentieth Century.

It is to the reason and the feelings of women that we address our appeal, being desirous of putting an end to the terrible bloodshed which is raging in Europe.

For more than six months every one has been speaking to us of nothing but the war, thinking of nothing but the extermination of peoples: nothing is heard but the roar of artillery.

They are killing, killing, killing, without taking count of the disasters they are bringing about, without perceiving the crime that they are committing—the crime of high treason against Humanity.

They are taking away from us at once our sons and our husbands, the fathers of our children, thus leaving an irremediable void in our lives.

Without distinction of race or nationality, the relentless plague of war strikes down good men and brave, weak and strong, rich and poor, bread-winners of families, men of talent, scientists, artists, writers, business men—in short, all the representatives of our new generation, our tender brood reared by the scrupulous care of mothers ever anxious for the welfare of their families.

And how much we were hoping to see our offspring realise our own dreams! How we desired to see them live a full life, a life of useful progress, a life that our grandsires have bequeathed to us filled with civilising influences, and that our children could cultivate still further without soiling their hands by murder.

For long, long years we have given all our devotion to our younger and elder boys in order to make them fine and healthy in body and mind, and we took pride in seeing them grow!... Suddenly an evil wind has swept across our beloved homes, and now there is a mournful procession towards the unknown!...

* * * * *

You will ask each other how the struggle is to be carried on against this monstrous nightmare—War.

Believe me, all ways are good that lead us in the direction of Peace.

Guide your actions according to your own intuitions as loving mothers and wives. Group yourselves, form associations for the purpose of demonstrating the grandeur of your social cause. To all those whom you love make known your abhorrence of war. Entreat the young and the old, soldiers and officers, to end this useless tragedy. Convince them that their real enemy is not the populations of the neighbouring countries, but the hatred that they all mutually and unhappily bear within their hearts.

Cry aloud, and never forget that in every land we women outnumber the men. Consider, too, that during these six months of warfare there have already been killed in all Europe two millions of men, and that at the end of a few weeks as many more will have been killed!

Let us hasten, then, brave mothers of France, Russia, Germany, Austria, England, Belgium, Servia! Blend your voices with my weak voice, and protect, with all your strength and all your resources, the lives of our children, who are our goal, our consolation, and our joy; who are the real treasure of our countries. Protect them, for their death will be of no avail—will benefit no one; for their death means the impoverishment of our common fatherland—the Earth.

Women of all countries, save your children, save your men!

A RUSSIAN MOTHER.

(Translated from the French.)

NOTES FROM CHICAGO.

After a comparatively long period of purely educational effort, marked by not much outward sign save Chicago Martyr memorial meetings and some publication work, Chicago is beginning to resume the propaganda of action. An "International Propaganda Group," formed by some of the comrades as an answer to the challenge of sectionalism created by the war, has found a field for activity in the troubles of the unemployed, and has scored a triumph over the local police in the matter of holding parades without police permit.

Lucy Parsons, veteran of the memorable agitation that culminated in the Haymarket massacre, must be accredited in large degree as the heroine of this latest episode, since it was her defiance of the police prohibition—by producing a "hunger flag" (in white letters on a black background), and rousing the audience at an indoor hall meeting to follow her forth in an impromptu and "unauthorised" open-air demonstration—that brought the question of police supervision to a crisis. The police endeavoured to stop the parade, and outdid their record for brutal clubbing and pistol intimidation; but by clever Indian tactics of dissolving at each police barrier, "leaking through" amid the crowded spectators, and re-forming automatically on the farther side, the comrades maintained their march for an astonishing number of city blocks, and aroused such public enthusiasm that the twenty-one arrested participants came off scot-free, with a magisterial reprimand of the police to boot. Since then they have held another unauthorised parade, with which the police did not interfere; and plans for a much more extensive demonstration are now being perfected by the group, which in the meantime is distributing large quantities of circulars to the unemployed.

The war has demonstrated that "American citizenship" is in large measure a very loosely cemented collection of nationalities retaining atavistic and unreasoning prejudices in favour of the diverse European tyrannies from which as individuals they had gladly escaped in years gone by; but it is to the credit of the comrades that they have kept their heads, and that no hard feelings have arisen to mar their solidarity as true Internationalists. There is a general tendency to believe, with Malatesta, that the crushing of Hohenzollern ambitions and "Divine right" assertions will give our German brothers an opportunity to catch up with the French and Russian record for that proletarian revolutionary activity from which the German people seem to have been debarred by their apparent hereditary inclination to practise and submit to authoritarianism, as exemplified by the mass acceptance of State Socialism, and rejection of Anarchistic ideals; but the comrades are not allowing themselves to be impressed by the idea that the State, as manifested in other Governments than that of Germany, is any the less deadly in intent because its claws may not be so fully developed as the Hohenzollern ones appear to be.

It will be a real "Day of Judgment" for the reactionary officers and their rulers when the rank-and-file soldiers finally wake from their obsessions, and rush from the trenches to midway fraternisation instead of fight.

H. J. J.

BRISTOL GROUP'S GOOD WORK.

In spite of the demoralising influence of the war upon the Labour movement generally, its effect upon the Workers' Freedom Group here has been to considerably increase our membership and to impel us to further our efforts in spreading the ideas and spirit of Anarchism.

Our comrade George Barrett having written a pamphlet setting forth the Anarchist attitude to the war, submitted it to us with the suggestion that we might undertake its publication. After reading it through at a record meeting of the group, we did not hesitate to at once set about raising the funds necessary to get this fine pamphlet, "The Last War," published, and to devote the whole proceeds of the sale towards clearing off the debt upon our late weekly, the *Anarchist*, and establishing a fund for the publication of other pamphlets. Barrett's appeal and our own for help have been so well responded to throughout the country that in all probability we shall have "The Last War" published before this month's FREEDOM appears, sufficient cash having come to hand to warrant our proceeding with same; but, of course, we welcome further subscriptions to cover complete cost of printing and distribution. Comrade L. A. Motler, of London, has designed its striking cover, which should go far to give it a very wide sale. It remains now for all comrades who share its views to do their utmost to get it into the hands of those for whom it is written. Copies can be obtained from 19 The Haymarket, Bristol, or FREEDOM Office; price 1d.

On January 30 we held a social and dance at the Printers' Hall, when, with the comradely help of several Bristol friends and of two London comrades (to all of whom we take this opportunity of tendering our grateful thanks), we spent a very enjoyable and successful evening, enabling us to place £1 towards the pamphlets. It was our second social, and we are learning things. Our next will be held at the Printers' Hall on March 27, tickets 6d. each.

With fresh life amongst us, we are again able to continue our discussion circle every Friday at 8 p.m., at 19 The Haymarket. All interested heartily welcome.

B. P.

INTERNATIONAL MODERN SCHOOL.

The young rebels have acquired fine accommodation for their vagaries at the address below. There is a suitable hall for discussions and lectures, and a reading-room for the studios. We hope to develop in numbers and in comradeship. The lads have justified their existence, and it is up to them to hold tight, and to dispel the idea that they are incompetent. Nothing succeeds like success. Youth will be served.

JIMMY.

Ashburton House, Hertford Place, Globe Road, E.

R. ROCKER'S THANKS.

Comrade Rocker wishes to thank the many comrades who have written to him, but owing to the fact that he is only allowed to write two small letters per week, he is unable to reply to each separately. He is anxious to receive letters, to which there is no limit, except to politics. Letters should be addressed to him as follows:—Postal Censorship, H. C. Branch, Salisbury House, London, E.C., for Mr. R. Rocker, Prisoner of War, No. 4437, H.M.T. "Royal Edward," Southend-on-Sea.

ANNUAL ANARCHIST CONFERENCE.

It was been decided to hold the Annual Conference at Easter, as usual, probably at Manchester. Comrades wishing for information are requested to write to Sam Massey, 68 Grenville Street, Edgeley, Stockport.

To Correspondents.

W. O. (West Ealing).—Sorry we could not use your article.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(February 5—March 4.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—W. G. Orr 10s, W. Dougall 1s 6d, H. Compton 3s 3d, F. Bosazza 5s, L. Aubert 4s, R. Peddie 2s, S. Corio 2s, W. Thomas 6d, T. S. 2s 6d, G. Wallace 9d.

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Social and Dance, January 16.—"Great French Revolution," given by "Essex," was raffled, and realised 11s 6d.

CHOPWELL GROUP.—A Whist Drive will be held on Saturday, March 13, at 7 p.m., for the benefit of Sunday School and Group funds.

NOTTING HILL.—Comrades in this district willing to form a Group are requested to write to Manager, FREEDOM Office.

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Bristol.—J. FLYNN, Haymarket.
Dundee.—L. MACARTNEY, 203, Overgate.
Cardiff.—M. CLARK, 26 Wood Street.

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