NOTES.

The Religious Barrier.

It is wonderful to watch the splendid spirit of generosity displayed by the Catholic Church in making up to its part, in part at any rate, what they have lost at the hands of devastating invaders, is in some respects an example of the spirit of Communism and fraternity which exists in most people, subverted, however, too often to the demands of Capitalism. But what a striking contrast and damning commentary to the action a short while ago when the cry went up from starving women and children hammering at our gates on the other side, when Dublin was being devastated by the Protestant invader. Then, as now, we had women and children, practically deprived of their all, who called to us for help, which was forthcoming until the clerical hierarchies of the capitalist stopped in and, with a cunning born of hypocrisy, prevented these children from coming to England to share the homes of British workers. Realising that the presence of these children was the strongest food for sabotaging the work, all efforts were made to keep them in the strike area, and the cry of religious caste was raised. These Irish children were Roman Catholics, and therefore it would be a deplorable fact to bring them to English homes, where they might lose touch with their religious belief. The trick succeeded, the children stayed, and the men were beaten. But how short is public memory! The majority of the Belgian refugees are Roman Catholics, and are being brought to English homes indiscriminately; no thought here of preserving their religious belief. Here Capitalism has nothing to lose by their coming; on the contrary, the opportunities the British public a great impetus will be given to their appeal for recruits, and a seeming justification for the campaign of murder. Were cunning and hypocrisy ever more stupidly displayed?

What Must Christians Do?

"In a world gone Pagan," writes the Rev. Wm. Temple in the "Christian Times," "what is a Christian to do?" Well might the reverend gentleman wonder; but he does not wonder long, for he goes on to tell his readers that their duty, and the duty of Christians generally, is to back the Government and the Army for all they are worth. In other words, this follower of the humble Christ, this teacher of the brotherhood of man, condones murder of man by man, and allies himself with the modern Pharaohs. It is, perhaps, no cause for wonderment, when we remember that Dean Inge, no longer gloomy, is reaping a profit from his armament shares out of every shot fired. Deans should know what Christians should do, and he does not know it. For ever the bulwark of the State, preaching authority, spreading superstition, and fostering the spirit of subjection and subserviency, the Church and its followers will always be found where Capitalism is endeavouring to gain fresh fields for exploitation, or where it is fighting the workers struggling for freedom. The lie of religion has long been exposed, and here, surely, it is nailed to the counter by the actions of its own耕者.

A "Tommy's" Letter.

The following is a letter of a wounded soldier in hospital (not printed in the daily press) is interesting, and shows how much of the gush written about our brave Tommy is true and how much "journalism."—"The capitalists come down here [to the hospital] every day to see us, and feed us up with jam and treacle, also a smile. The Countess of Minto came yesterday, also the Bishop of Southwark; in fact, we are like prize pigs on show for the 'nobs' to pass their time away in viewing, and I tell you we get fed up with it." The lie written around the sayings of soldiers and sailors which fill our papers to-day, all with the purpose of keeping alive interest and sympathy by touching the human note, represent but one side of the efforts made to excuse murder, plunder, and loot. Whatever else might be said for or against the war, the least that might be done is for a camaraderie—if we must have one—to be established over the gutter press in their campaign of falsehood. Or is it that the authorities have an interest in this campaign? We, the people, can be carried away by their talk, purposely manufactured with a sinister objective.

"Alien Enemies."

One of the ironies of the war is the arrest of political refugees from Austria and Germany. The fact that they have fled from the clutches of their respective Governments and have shown sufficient evidence that they are not likely to do anything here on their behalf. But the outcry in the Press against "alien enemies" has been the police on the alert, with or without discrimination, Austrians and Germans have been arrested wholesale. Many who are political refugees are victims of this panic, and steps must be taken to secure their release. Comrades should collect the evidence on their behalf, and send it direct to the Home Secretary. If we really are fighting Germany and Austria so as to put an end to the tyranny of their rulers, to imprison their victims here seems a step in the opposite direction. Another point is, that when the war is over, and prisoners are exchanged, some of these political refugees may be handed back to the Governments they fled from, thus destroying the right of political asylum. Unless we are very watchful, a good many "rights" will vanish during the war.

Magistral Impartiality.

The remarkable bias displayed by a Greenwich magistrate recently should not pass without vehement protest. This private soldier of the West Kent Regiment was convicted of looking in the deplorable anti-German riots at Deptford. He was caught by the police in the soiled house, and a stolen watch and ring were found hidden in his pockets. The magistrate merely bound the man over—thus apparently condoning the action. Although in violent disagreement with our whole system of law and police, yet this extraordinary partiality shows up more vividly than ever the fallibility of those who are placed in authority. We wonder what would have been the sentence meted out to any poor unfortunate who, gored by hunger, had appropriated these goods from some shop? The whole incident merely is still further brings into disrepute the shabby fabric which is known by the respectable term "law and order."

Education and Criminality.

Under the heading "The Advantages of the Simple Life," we are given some interesting facts concerning the treatment of prisoners. It need not provide very great matter for congratulation that 14,420 less prisoners passed through our prisons than in the previous year. To have still 151,000 prisoners as examples of the civilizing effects of our beneficent capitalist system is appalling enough. The report of the Commissioners of Prisons endorses the opinion that the decrease "is due no doubt to education and the higher level of conduct prevailing in the general community to-day; but it is also due to the humanity of the modern prison system. The greatly improved conditions of prison life and health have also been corroded, and the like the welfare is desired, and their reformation hoped for by the community." Might we not go further, and, realising that criminality is purely a disease of Capitalism, root it out altogether by removing the cause? Meanwhile, no cant about the advantage of the simple life will remove our responsibility for these 151,000 human derelicts.

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ANTI-MILITARISM.

Was it Properly Understood?

In the fact that Anarchists are divided in their attitude towards the war, there is no new phenomenon. On the contrary, one may say that in proportion as the events develop there will grow more and more unity in our opinions, the present divergences inducing all of us to go deeper and deeper into the investigations which libertarians had been taken more or less on faith. It is only repetitious that these discussions begin now, when the danger menacing France and Belgium ought to be much more real, to the point of putting everybody’s freedom and capacities, and when the Anarchists may have shown that they are not only fine reasoners, but also men of initiative, who have something of their own to say when a country has to live through such a calamity as the one we are now living through.

One of the points which must be reconsidered is, I think, the too great confidence in a general strike, as a means of preventing war. Introduced first as a means to provoke or to inaugurate the Social Revolution, the general strike was recommended as a means of preventing war, without noting for a long time the contradiction which this advice contained.

We said, on the one side, that the true causes of war were no longer the ambitions of kings, but Capitalism and State. "So long as Capitalism and State exist, we need to say," we would have wars: they are the unavoidable, fatal consequence of the two. And both Capitalism and State can only be destroyed by a thorough-going revolution. Perhaps even several revolutions will be required to accomplish that desirable condition.

And then, on the other side, it was asserted that it would be sufficient to have an agreement between the workers of different nations to declare a general strike, and all armed interventions would be bound to come to an end before the war would be rendered impossible.

To me, at least, it seems that was said that wars are a necessary consequence of Capitalism and State; and the next sentence was: "Although we have not yet got rid of Capitalism and State, we can still maintain a general strike!" That was a sheer contradiction. Either Capitalism and State are the causes of wars, or wars can not be prevented by a general strike. If an international war-strike were possible at the moment of a declaration of war, this would mean that an international Social Revolution was already quite ripe to break out.

Remember that at the same time there was in every country a very numerous section of Socialists—the Social Democrats—who proceeded to the workers, in accordance with the Marxist teaching, that the abolition of Capitalism cannot be brought about before Capitalism has achieved such a development as to concentrate its over-grown and all-absorbing powers in a few hands, and having destroyed it, to institute the commonwealth directly. From this assertion it was even deduced that the great States must absorb all the smaller ones. This was, we were told, the proper way towards internationalism. A few of us tried to prove how false was this teaching, but once it was shared by millions of workers, deduced by its educational appearance, in Germany, Austria, and even in France and Italy—how could these millions (even apart from their "patriotism") join in a general strike which would harm the growth of Capitalism in the country? Everything, on the contrary, would induce them to support their capitalists in extending their powers over new countries, in growing richer and more powerful, by the use of the State to which they belonged more and more powerful.

This is why (as I have said already a couple of weeks ago, in a letter to a newspaper) I began a day or two weeks ago, to warn my French friends that they were cherishing a dangerous illusion. A general strike, to be efficacious, must be enforced upon the working classes by force of arms, otherwise it will result in nothing but the victory of the Capitalists. This was the case, and in my view the greatest danger, in the German war there was not the slightest chance of this being the case. The German Social Democrats would not think, even for a single moment, of not joining the mobilisation; and in such a condition, even one single day of war-strike in France would mean the loss of a province, the gift of a hundred thousand men to the Germans, and the addition of a thousand million francs to the indemnity. No sensible man in France would join the strike.

So what is the conclusion?

We must, then, have the courage to recognise that so long as the present economic conditions prevail, there will be nations where not only the capitalists and the working classes will, therefore, continue to want wars for the conquest of other people’s rich countries and of populations backward in industrial development are the proper means for the enrichment of the whole nation.

"* *"

It being so, the question arises: How is anti-militarist propaganda to be conducted?

It is quite evident: It must be supplemented by a promise of direct action. An anti-militarist ought never to join the anti-militarist agitation without taking in his inner self a solemn oath that in case a war should come he would not support it, he would refuse the full support of his action to the nation that will be invaded by a neighbour, whenever the neighbour may be. Because, if the anti-militarist, instead of supporting the war, should be ready to suffer by their inaction the invaders; they help him to make slaves of the conquered populations; they aid them to become still stronger, and thus to be a still stronger obstacle to the Social Revolution in the future.

Which shape the help to the invaded nation will take in each individual will depend, of course, upon the circumstances. He who is bent on rhetoric will not become a fighter, and vice versa. But men and women of the most varied capacities will find a full scope for action in the application of their powers in this great cause. The transport of supplies and munitions, the removal and the nursing of the wounded, the care of the sickiling families, and the food supply for the populations remaining at home. Let us only mention how old and young in the French and Russian villages are working now at the ploughing and the sowing of the fields, which seems to indicate how immense is the number of men and women engaged in this country in freely organised work to aid the nation to pull through the war; or let us remember the immense increase of the Organisation of the Union of the Zemstvos (County Councils), which is preparing just now to attend to the needs of 750,000 wounded, who are brought to Moscow for further treatment in the provinces, which organisation manages it in an admirable way, by free consent, because it is independent of the St. Petersburg bureaucracy.*

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Of course, it may and will surely be asked: "But what is to be done if the country which invades another country's territory is itself invaded by a third country?" But this is only dialectical arguing. As a man honest man, if he only takes into account what is going on in the world, will easily find the reply. He will always know in every particular case who is the real invader, and whose invasion must be resisted. This is why every engaged or unengaged attention to what has been going on in Europe since the war of 1870, is especially during the last twenty years, is directed against the aggressor in this war is Germany. And those who did not know two months ago must see it now, when they learn how carefully the invasion was prepared.

Of course, there are millions of Germans who will not agree that their Fatherland was the aggressor. For forty years they were taught to think so. But when the facts are revealed, one must not also deny excessive value to a great extent, if anti-militarism has been floating till now in generalities, without examining the concrete causes which were leading to this war? When our comrades now in the different countries of the States must remain what they are now, and no war must be fought to alter them, they committed, I must say, an unpardonable blunder. They took matters too easily. They refused to enter into a consideration of the questions of the smaller oppressed nationalities; they did not care to examine the real conditions of entrenched camps like Metz, the Maas lakes, and the like, which were erected by the Germans for attacking their neighbours, and which must be cancelled if Europe is to have peace; they refused to consider the vassal conditions in which the small nations, like Belgium or Servia, were placed towards their powerful neighbours. They said: "This is politics!" and for that reason dismissed it.

The result was—we see it now—that an immense mass of working men accepted the teaching of their middle classes. The German workers began talking in their turn, like bourgeois explorers, about the necessity of conquering vast territories in the Italian nation; they talked about sending there the surplus of population; they spoke of colonies wanted for the enrichment of the German people. And when they talked of the wickedness of France and Britain, who had already taken all the richest colonies, and left nothing to the poor Germans; very few of us, the colonialists well worth colonising by German emigrants, or that the inner condition of the provinces of Fenem with German settlers was a wretched thing. And in the case of a right thinking people the idea of a great, powerful Capitalism being a necessary condition for the coming of age of Socialism.

Gradually the workers, not only in Germany, but in all industrial nations as well, began to share more or less similar fallacies. When the War began, great numbers of British working men approved of the conquest, and they began to protest against it only when their sense of fair play was offended by the way in which the war was conducted. The enthusiasm which the robbery expedition to Tripoli profited at the outset in large sections of the Italian nation was another consequence of the insufficient knowledge of the real causes of this war.

And if the Social Democrats were genuine representatives in the German Reichstag voted, a few days before the war began, by 100 votes against 14, the immense sum of money asked by the Government for the war, it was again the result of the ignorance in which the masses of all nations were kept, even by the leaders of the Social Democratic party of the real causes that prepared this war. (Now they say that they voted for money because they believed that the war was intended to invade the rich country of Belgium. There are no worse ignorances than the ignorance of the willing ones.)

There is not the slightest doubt that if a sound opinion about the great international problems of the time had been elaborated by the joint action of the better informed anti-militarists, and if the had not been submitted to a thorough discussion in international congresses, very many of the national hatreds and the international war would have created an infinitely stronger International anti-militarist movement. Very possibly this feeling would not have been strong enough to prevent the Great War; but every one would have seen who were
DEATH OF ALFRED MASH"}

We deeply regret to state that our comrade Alfred Marsh, the editor of Freeness, died of cancer on October 13, in his fifty-sixth year. His health of recent years had been rather indifferent, but few suspected cancer as the cause. Two weeks before his death an operation was performed on his abdomen which gave a slight relief; but the disease had grown too far afield, and the end came very peacefully. He was cremated at a service on October 16, the ashes being interred at Hatherley memory the following day.
For more than twenty years Alfred Marsh had been closely connected with Freeness, and its existence to-day is almost solely due to his courage and his faith in Anarchism. His pen and his pen were always at its service, and on several occasions his last half sovereign covered the publication of the paper, especially during the Jingo-Social Revolution meant a revolution in ideas and a clear sweep of the mass of superstition—economic, religious, and sexual—which prevailed amongst people. He believed strongly in the efficiency of cheap literature, and when the opportunity presented itself he always replenished the stock of pamphlets at Freeness office.
Alfred Marsh was true to the core, and during my twelve years' association with him on Freeness the work was made much lighter by his sympathy and consideration. Although of recent years he had become more interested in the study of recent philosophy and morals, which took his time and health, he continued to write as usual: and his life-long work for Anarchism should inspire others to follow his example. By his death the Anarchist movement loses a staunch-hearted supporter, and his comrades a lovable and devoted friend.

T. H. KEEL.

In Alfred Marsh we have lost a comrade with whom we have been working in full sympathy for more than twenty-five years. Neither physical fatigue nor a hard struggle for life could keep him from his work and his comradeship. In the early days of our movement last year he fell ill from overwork and illness, but he continued to work as usual: and his life-long work for Anarchism should inspire others to follow his example. By his death the Anarchist movement loses a staunch-hearted supporter, and his comrades a lovable and devoted friend.

T. H. KEEL.

One of the bravest and staunchest of comrades is dead. Alfred Marsh, for nearly thirty years a never-cooperating worker in the Anarchist ranks, is at last free from his final rest. Though unknown outside of a comparatively small circle, or even to a large proportion of the small but wide-spread movement, few, if any, among English Anarchists have worked harder or been more faithful to its principles as he.
That he should become an Anarchist is not surprising. His father was one of the old school of Radicals and Free-thinkers, now too often dropped from the friendlier state of the majority. It was, after all, only the application of the principles of "Freethought" to social and political affairs, as well as to religious questions, which made the difference between the friend of Liberty to-day and the friend of tomorrow.

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The invader and it would have been understood that in a war of invasion every one is bound to take sides against the invaders, and to die unto, in one way or another, to all those who try heroically to defend their fields and their cities. There would have been less theoretical discussion, but there would have been more action.

There are two or three more questions which it would be useful to discuss in this connection; but they will have to be left for another article.

Kropotkin.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

BRITISH.

On October 22 a splendid meeting was held at the Kingsley Hall. Our comrades George Barnett and President Tocqueville and the others delivered the lectures, but unfortunately owing to ill-health he was compelled to give up the attempt. As the lecturer had been well advertised, we decided to carry it through, and comrade J. Tocqueville from London University thanks for filling the breach. The subject of the evening was "The Attitude of Anarchism to War."

Tocqueville opened by explaining the psychology of the war, pointing out the dangerous effects of the Jingo press, and urging the Anarchist to renounce brutality, cowardice, or heroism. He also pointed out what a powerful factor religion plays in the minds of people, and emphasized the need of secular education, and the strength of patriotic propaganda. He said it was the duty of the Anarchist to expose the hypocrisy of the "No Peace" the war was justified, and the world of the present is just as much by war as by the Anarchists. He then turned to the soul of man a means of the sum total of those existing which is today the problem of Western Europe, and the future of our dark comrade was one of the finest and truest I ever met. All who knew him are indeed the poorer as a result of his death, and the Anarchist movement of this country has lost one of its ablest and most beloved workers and adherents.

JOHN TUNNEL.
A SYMPOSIUM ON THE WAR.

[In view of the great difference of opinion on the war, we have decided to print the following four articles (including the Belgian commander’s letter), as best expressing the different points of view.—Ed. Freedom.]

Ought Anarchists to Take Part in the War?

Ought we who are Anarchists to take part in the war which is now devastating Europe? Or ought we to abstain from doing so?

The question presents itself to our English comrades in a way that has never done in France, where the German invasion left no doubt of the attitude to take: that of self-defence.

Truly there should have been a better solution, one more logical, more dignified: an appeal to the proletariat to free themselves from oppression, to take possession of the national wealth, to invite the peoples to the Communist life, to arm all those capable of wielding a weapon, transform each house into a fortress, break up the roads, destroy all on the enemy’s road, organise flying columns, harvest him day and night, cut off his communications, make a desert round about him.

But for such a course public opinion should have been previously prepared, and we Anarchists more numerous, more resolute.

The atmosphere of 1792 was needed, when revolution was in the air.

Under the actual circumstances, to attempt such an invasion is in quite different circumstances. No, there could be no chance of success, but no chance of being understood; or, on the contrary, it would have been playing into the hands of the invaders.

Now, if we are against the oppression of our masters at home, is this no reason why we should desire to help those who present themselves from without, especially when we know their rule would be a hundred times more irritating, more arbitrary and crushing.

A question of degree?

No! The triumph of German militarism would mean the stifling of free thought for centuries, the impossibility of continuing to wage our war against social inequalities. Human thought is crushed beneath the heel of the Prussian trooper.

As to remaining neutral, mere calakers, an Englishman has only to put himself in imagination in the place of a French comrade, whose country is invaded. Could he submit to the exactions of a conqueror in cold blood? Could he calmly look on the excesses of triumphant soldiers, who, difficult to support in ordinary times, have become worse than infuriated brutes in a conquered country? To refuse to take part in the defence is to play into the hands of the invader. Respect for our own dignity forbids us to remain neutral.

No doubt the war was willed and prepared for by Germany, but it was not alone responsible. It would be wilfully shutting our eyes to evidence if we refused to believe that German diplomacy has been driven to develop her dream of Pan-Germanisation by the intrigues of the fowy diplomats who have striven to isolate her.

But to establish all the responsibilities would lead us too far, and may form the subject of another article, should the interest of the readers of Freedom. What is certain, however, is that, with the war in progress, France would speedily have been crushed, and the turn of England would have followed; therefore the British Government may be considered as having decided their future in the war. It was their one measure of self-defence and self-preservation.

No doubt, we seem to have gone back on our theories. We have nothing of our own to defend in this land which is called “ours,” and which is built on the reality to be ours. But if in defending it we defend the property of our masters, we also defend the little liberty we have gained, which we should certainly lose under the conqueror’s rule. We defend, above all, the right to continue our struggle towards a more complete freedom in the future.

Unless we push things to a logical absurdity, we must, in trying to decide any question, consider every new factor in the case. Theoretically, in our native land, as things are at present constituted, we have nothing to defend but our skins. But is this really so? We live in society, and we suffer in our liberty and our well-being the repression of social changes. Now, if the oppression of our masters at home is insupportable, that of foreign conquerors is a hundredfold worse. And the new factor which has come to complicate our problem is the invasion of France by Germany, which has thrust us into a war that we have been unable to prevent.

In submitting to the senseless growth of armaments for forty years, in permitting our diplomacy to be made by German intrigues, the English and French peoples have their part in the responsibility for the war, just as the German people have their part of the responsibility, that they consented to the propagation of their pantheon; and we and they pay for it, by being dragged into a war which we condemn, but are forced to suffer, and even to participate in if we do not care to suffer worse things.

This war must be the last, the end of wars. This fever of militarism must be the fall of militarism everywhere. But in order to arrive at this, Prussian militarism must first be destroyed. It must be disarmed, the German hordes must be driven back, the clique of agrarians, vestiges of the Middle Ages, must be hanged, the dust; and when we come to talk of peace, it must be not with them, but with delegates drawn from the German people and chosen by them for the purpose.

It has been too often forgotten, even by revolutionists and internationalists, that the German people consist of oppressed and oppressors. There are not only the masters, who are the instigators of this storm which threatens to submerge Europe; there are also the serfs, who are no more guilty than we ourselves, save for acquiescence in servitude and ignorance.

We must destroy the caste of their masters, and force our own to treat with humanity those whom we have been obliged to combat in order to get at their oppressors. Peace, when it comes, must be a real and lasting peace—not an armistice, not a new beginning of a piling up of armaments leading up to another war no less frightful than this one. It is possible that the horrors of this war may render impossible any hope of true liberty in misery in which the nations are plunged may teach them wisdom; but it would be foolish to rely upon the fatality of things. If war will not be taken in by the suavities of diplomacy, we must declare clearly our determination that the only condition which can have crushed German militarism, the autonomy of the German people shall be respected, and that no servitude shall be imposed on them, no war tax or indemnity.

Of course, the restitution of those indemnities which they themselves may have levied during the course of the war may be rightly exacted, but these should be paid from the private fortunes of those primarily responsible for the war, the Hohenzollerns, the Krupps, etc., etc.

There should be no annexation of territory. The small nations should be set free to choose what form of government they prefer, and their independence should be assured by their neutralisation.

If we did not know the fear which our Governments entertain for anything approaching the revolutionary idea, we should be surprised that some such campaign, urging conquered nations to free themselves, has not been already undertaken, together with one to enlighten the German people as to the true state of affairs.

In order to claim the right of intervention in settling the conditions of peace, when the German Government is fighting an unwilling part in helping to crush the nearest danger, Prussian militarism, not losing sight meanwhile of anything likely to secure our hopes for the future.

It may appear strange that we, who did not know how to
Anarchists Have Forgotten their Principles.

At the risk of passing as a simpleton, I confess that I would never have believed it possible that Socialists—even Social Democrats—would applaud and voluntarily take part, either on the side of the Germans or on that of the Allies, in a war like the one that is at present devastating Europe. But what is there to say when all our elaborate theories are thrown in the dust? That it is true, but having amongst them comrades whom we love and respect most.

It is said that the present situation shows the bankruptcy of "free trade"—i.e., of our principles—and that it will be necessary to revise them.

Generally speaking, every formula must be revised whenever it is put to the test by events, and that with facts; but it is not the case to-day, when the bankruptcy is not derived from the shortcomings of our formulas, but from the fact that these have been forgotten and betrayed.

Let us return to our principles.

I am not a pacifist; I fight, as we all do, for the triumph of peace and of fraternity amongst all the nations and their peoples; but I know that a desire not to fight can only be fulfilled when neither side wants to, and that so long as men will be found who want to violate the liberties of others, it is incumbent on those others to defend themselves if they do not wish to be eternally beaten and also know that to attack is often the best, or the only effective means of defending oneself. Besides, I think that the oppressed are always in a state of legitimate self-defence, and have always the right to attack the oppressors. I admit, therefore, that there are wars that are necessary, holy wars: and these are wars of liberation, such as are generally "civil wars"—i.e., revolutions.

But what has the present war in common with human emancipation, which is our cause?

Some day we shall hear Socialists speak, just like any bourgeoise, of "France," of "Germany," and of other political and national agglomerations—results of historical struggles—as of homogeneous ethnographic states, each having its proper interests, aspirations, and missions, in opposition to the interests, aspirations, and mission of rival units. This may be true relatively, so long as the oppressed, and chiefly the workers, have no self-consciousness, and do not recognise the injustice of their inferior position, and make themselves the docile tools of the oppressors.

There is, then, the dominating class only that counts; and this class, owing to its desire to conserve and to enlarge its power, even its prejudices and its own ideals, may find it convenient to excite racial ambitions and hatred, and send its nation, its flock, against "foreign" countries, with a view to releasing them from their present oppressors, and submitting them to its own political and economical domination.

But the mission of those who, like us, wish the end of all oppression and all misery for all the workers of all countries are brothers, and that the enemy—the "foreigner"—is the exploiter, whether born near us or in a far-off country, whether speaking the same language or any other. We have always chosen our friends, our common front against the frontiers, as against any prejudice and any passion of either race or nationality.

And this we have always done. We have always preached that the workers of all countries are brothers, and that the enemy—the "foreigner"—is the exploiter, whether born near us or in a far-off country, whether speaking the same language or any other. We have always chosen our friends, our common front against the frontiers, as against any prejudice and any passion of either race or nationality.

We have always fought against patriotism, which is a survival of the past, and serves well the interests of the oppressors; and we were proud of being internationalists, not only in words, but by the deep feelings of our souls.

And now that the most atrocious consequences of capitalism and State domination should indicate, even to the blind, that we cannot expect the Socialists and the Anarchists of the belligerent countries associate themselves with the Governments and the bourgeoisie of the respective countries, forgetting Socialism, the class struggle, international fraternity, and the rest.

What a downfall!

It is possible that present events may have shown that national feelings are still alive, while feelings of international brotherhood are less rooted, than we thought; but this should be one more reason for intensifying, not abandoning, our anti-patriotic propaganda. These events also show the wrong of France, for example, the religious sentiment is stronger, and the priests have a greater influence than we imagined. Is this a reason for our conversion to the Roman Catholicism?

I understand that circumstances may arise owing to which the help of all is necessary for the general well-being: such as an epidemic, an earthquake, an invasion of barbarians, who kill and destroy all that comes under their power, and such a case, in which the class struggle, the differences of social standing must be forgotten, and common cause must be made against the common danger; but on the condition that these differences are forgotten on both sides. If any one would cry "peace" during an earthquake, and there is danger of his being crushed to death, it is our duty to save everybody, even the gendarmes—on condition that the gendarmes begin by opening the prison doors. But if kings wish to remain kings, and the landed proprietors to take care of their lands and of their houses, and the merchants wish to take care of their goods, and even sell them at a higher price, than the Socialists and Anarchists should leave them to their own devices, while being themselves on the look-out for an opportunity to get rid of the oppressors inside the country, as well as of those coming from outside.

In all circumstances, it is the duty of the Socialists, and especially of the Anarchists, to do everything that can weaken the State and the capitalist class, and to take as the only guide to their conduct the interests of Socialism; or, if they are materially powerless to act efficaciously for their own cause, at least to refuse any voluntary help to the cause of the enemy, and standaside to save at least their principles—which means to save the future.

All I have just said is theory, and perhaps it is accepted, in theory, by most of those who, in practice, do just the reverse. How, then, could it be applied to the present situation? What should we do, what should we wish, in the interests of our cause?

It is said, on this side of the Rhine, that the victory of the Allies would be the end of militarism, the triumph of civilisation, international justice, etc. The same is said on the other side of the frontier about a German victory.

Personally, judging at their true value the "mad dogs" of Berlin and the "old hangman" of Vienna, I have no greater confidence in the bloody Tsar, nor in the English diplomatist who oppresses India, who betrayed Persia, who crushed the Boer Republics; nor in the French bourgeoisie, who massacred the natives of Morocco; nor in those of Belgium, who have allowed the Congo atrocities, and who largely profited by them—and I only recall some of their misdeeds, taken at random, to mention what all Governments and all capitalist classes do against the workers and the rebels in their own countries.

In my opinion, the victory of Germany would certainly mean the triumph of militarism and of reaction; but the triumph of the Allies would mean a Russo-English (i.e., a knout-capitalist) domination in Europe, and the complete destruction of the militant spirit in England, and a Clerical and perhaps Monarchist reaction in France.

Besides, in any case, it is most probable that there will be no definite victory on either side. After a long war, an enormous loss of life and wealth, both sides being exhausted, some kind of
The War, Its Causes, and German Responsibility.

The war so long expected and prepared by the machinations of kings, diplomats, and statesmen, the captains of our industrial and financial life, has at last broken out. Since 1871, it has grown to unprecedented dimensions, involving nearly all Europe. On the other side, owing to the application of modern scientific discoveries to explosives and the facility of transport, the number of lives lost in a single day of these wars has become such a hideous and-significant nightmare that history does not hold a parallel. Never before in two months' time were millions of people killed and maimed, and whole countries devastated and desolated.

As the latest development of this war, even non-European nations are drugged into it. The conflict, started between the three nations of highest civilization, Germany, France, and England, is now spreading to Asia; and the possibility exists that the Mussulman world will seize the opportunity to liberate itself from the dominion of the excesses and oppressions, of European Powers. But even if Turkey and the Mussulman countries remain outside, the fact remains that during these three months a European population of 320,000,000 have been living through a disastrous crisis.

How could it happen that in our time, after the whole nineteenth century's record of Socialism, Republicanism, Internationalism, and peace agitation, the rulers of Germany, France, and Russia could succeed in plunging their peoples into death and destruction?

The principal cause of the power of those rulers is that democracy generally, but Social Democracy especially, instead of agitation against and fighting the parasitism organised by the modern State, was glorifying the State and enlarging its sphere in all domains of life. The working classes and the nation were assured that amelioration and final salvation from the evils of modern society could come only through the State and its ever-increasing power. This doctrine, by the Socialists and would-be revolutionists, gave the upper classes the welcome opportunity to strengthen their position by creating and transforming more military and civil service posts, which ensured them income and power.

Without exaggeration, it may be said that direct capitalist exploitation begins to find beside the shameless exploitation of the nation by the modern State, which in Europe exterminates annually many thousands of millions of pounds from the people. In the European States alone about 15,000,000 persons are living as pariahs on the State budgets. Not only are they unproductive, but they hold in their hands the real power and destiny of the nation. To this class belong kings and ministers, diplomats and generals, the nobility and the military classes. They are indestructibly allied with high finance and industry, especially the manufacture of armaments. To them, war, even if unsuccessful, is advantageous materially as well as socially. That is why in every State, but particularly in Germany and Russia, whose nobility is still all-powerful, during the last century the preparations for war and the actual waging of war played such an important role in their existence. The present war, unprepared for its barbarity, is also to a great extent the outcome of the intrigue and lust for power of a strong nobility and military caste of these two empires.

I well know how two years ago Russian diplomacy and Russian money provoked the Balkan alliance and the war with Turkey. We know how Austria, instigated by Germany, annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, with its purely Serb population, and by this act alone carved the always latent enmity of Servia. The resulting assassination of the Austrian heir was made the immediate cause of the declaration of war by Germany to Russia, Servia's protector.

Though Germany declared war against Russia, two million German troops were immediately thrown, not against Russia, but against neutral Belgium, with the view of striking a mortal blow at Republican France, according to a long-cherished and carefully prepared plan.

Russia, despite her barbarous as its Government is, may yet say that her wars in the nineteenth century against Turkey were inspired by the aim of liberating the Slavonic nations, and helped to create independent Bulgaria, Servia, Roumania, and Greece. Germany, however, not only desires no nation to attain its independence, but increased her territory by waging war against her neighbours and annexing whole provinces, always carrying the war into the enemy's country and there ruining the peaceful industrial and agricultural population—in Denmark, 1,600,000 inhabitants; in Bohemia, 6,000,000; in France (1870), 12,000,000; and now 7,500,000 in Belgium, and 8,000,000 in Northern France.

In accordance with this system of military brigandage, Germany in this war threw herself on France, counting on a war indemnity not of 230,000,000, but of 23,000,000,000. Her whole plan was upset, however, by little Belgium heroically defending its neutrality. Faithful to its barbarous military tradition of terrorizing the population, the German army overpowered the Belgian, burned towns and villages, shot unarmed peasants and workers, resuscitated slavery by carrying off young men to Germany and forcing them to dig trenches in the Eastern war front, and finally took the steps towards war against Belgium by appointing governors and introducing the German regime.

This treatment of a small civilised nation by a huge military brute is enough to disprove the indirect argument of honest person, without distinction of political or social convictions.

But all the suffering of the Belgian people is but a prologue to the tragedy awaiting France if she does not succeed in her defence. France, with its rich peasantry and its flourishing industries; France, the country of the Great Revolution, the signal of the revolutionary wave which spread throughout Europe in 1848, of the Commune of 1871, the mother of Socialism, Anarchism, and Revolutionary Syndicalism, has been an object of envy, fear, and hatred to the European, the Junker, the Italian, and all other reactionary elements of the German Empire.

Friends of social emancipation and lovers of justice will not hesitate to give their sympathy and support to France and Belgium in their struggle for existence and progress.

W. TOERELLHOFF.

Why Belgian Anarchists Fight.

[Extracts from a letter by F. VERBEECK, the well-known Belgian Anarchist, to a Dutch comrade, published in the Prooi Socialist, October 31.]

I am now in Holland, and can quietly judge all the misery of war better than you do, I believe, because I saw the whole thing in the Netherlands. I do not know what you are talking about. Theories are all very well; but the revolution is for the people, for the emancipation of the working class, for the emancipation of the Belgian people. That shows that you do not know the people. I do not think there is a nation that talks less of patriotism than the Belgians. Last year when the King paid a visit to Malines, the people remained perfectly cool.

We might have prevented all our suffering if we had allowed the German troops to pass through Belgium! I told you once before that the Germans could have entered Malines without any opposition. The town is an open town; the civil guard was disarmed, there was no longer a single police-man, and the Belgian soldiers had retired to the forts; there remained only unarmed citizens. Nevertheless, the Germans destroyed the town from a great distance, though it was absolutely of no use to their army. They simply acted from a desire to destroy. Now that Germany recognises the barbarity of its acts, it is belatedly stated that the Belgian artillery shelled the beautiful church of St. Rembourg!

And you think still that the hungry German wolves would have walked through Belgium as quietly as Oaths, in a religious procession, if we had only not resisted? You must be very naively if you believe that.

The Belgian soldier fights because he is full of hatred and revenge against the brutal German hordes which have invaded the country to devastation, burn, massacre, and violate wherever possible. You speak of secret negotiations between the Belgian Government and France. I do not know diplomatic secrets, but I do know that the workers in the Flemish as well as in the Walloon provinces do not like the German war cry, who is as weak as he feels weak, but overbearing and brutal when he thinks that he has the upper
INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

UNITED STATES.

Margaret Sangster, of New York, has got into trouble with the United States District Court for having begun her campaign of enlightening the working women of America on the prevention of child marriage. This knowledge is so radical and so ardently desired by all women who have felt the hopeless outlook of bringing up a large family on wages barely enough to keep the immediate household and wife in proper condition, that the very thing Government fear the wage-slaves obtaining, and therefore try to make it impossible by prohibiting the interred pioneer—with sentences amounting to twelve years' imprisonment as in the case of the Virginians, in the union of America. As far as we know, only in France and Holland Neo-Malthusian information is openly given by doctors and certified persons, and no one can say that the race there is inferior to that of Germany or Russia with their rabbit-like breeding of children.

Of course, in all countries the upper and middle classes have long practised prevention of childbirth; but it is quite another thing when working woman want to know how to escape from the curse of bringing undrafted babies into the world to die young or to grow up as wage-slaves and food for the masses.

Margaret Sangster has begun an important task; that she has plenty of pluck to go through with her work, we see from her resolution to fight alone before the Court; she desires no defence fund, but all the devotion and help of comrades and sympathisers to the cause of contraception.

NORWAY.

Comrade Albert Jensen, who for some years lived among us in London when his brother was there, is about to go to prison, to which he had been sentenced in his own country, in a collision with the powers that be. After he returned to Norway, he had satisfied Jusce,and been given a passing for four years as a member of the Left Front, as the editor of the Syndicalist Dilett Antisk, and propagated Anarchist ideas. He has now been arrested for anti-militarist speeches and for having distributed the Swedish work of those who some years ago during a strike killed a strike-breaker. His present "crisis" is a serious one in the eyes of the law, and our brave comrade is liable to a sentence of eight years' hard labour.

SWEDEN.

Eighty Social Democratic Deputies have been returned to the Swedish Riksdag. As the Socialists will form a considerable section of the Chamber, it is not at all improbable that they will be invited to enter the Cabinet. If they are of the same tain as their German colleagues in the Reichstag, they might have stayed at home; but perhaps their fate in parliament will be well to the people the necessity of its own direct action in the social and political life of the country.

GERMANY.

The Social Democratic paper, Vorwärts, which had been suspended for having dared to point out that the German Army evidently had retreated somewhat, appeared again on October 1. At the head of the paper is an order of the military commander, in which he grants the request of the Deputy House to the Deputies to suppr. The order states that the war has shown the unity of the German nation, the question of the class struggle may not be mentioned in the paper. The promise to edit the paper on three conditions. Why should not an order to militarize to the military commander? That would have made it quite safe. It certainly would have been more honourable for the official organ of the "so-called socialists". It is not to remain suspended than to sequences in such a degrading condition.

No Anarchist paper is appearing, and our German comrades, who are in power and who are not afraid, will not be Social Democracy in government, will not be tied down by the government and will make sure of the reality and misery of war which the German comrades have suffered.

THE THREE INTERNATIONALS.

Some of the comrades are discussing whether this is a capitalist or commercial war. In an age of commercialism everything is conducted on commercial lines, with all the paraphernalia of lying, swindling, cheating and general hypocrisy, down to the smallest details. There cannot be anything to fight about except the right to rob. One must, however, always remember that the object of anarchy is power over our fellows, and that one can get power without the trouble of getting counter-power, at the behest of minorities of all. This war was started and is being worked, like all wars, by the international band of commercial priests who serve the international band of financial profiteers when they are not busy destroying property. Of the third international of human liberty, human rights, and human justice have to fight the combination of the other two internationals, in spite of any treachery, deceit and paltry devices that may make sure of their own little bag of coals in rest, worry, or profit.

LOTHAR WITHECKEN.

VOICE OF LABOUR.

MONTHLY (15th), ONE HALF-PENNY.

FRANCE.

Le Temps Nouveau was obliged by circumstances and lack of funds to cease publication at the beginning of the war; the same happened to other Anarchist organs. The severe censorship prevents much criticism, but even the parodic Guerre Sociale regularly has a column of pertinent questions addressed to the Government, chatty dealing with abuses in the Administration. But the hardest attacks on the censorship, lack of information, etc., are made by the old Radical Socialist fighter, Clemenceau, whose paper, L'Heureux Libre (The Free Man), was suppressed, but who promptly renewed his criticism in L'Heureux Endetté (The Debtor Man), and in this, the spirit of independent opinion cannot long be suppressed, even at a time when the nation is straining every nerve to free its soil from invaders. Among the soldiers he reiterated this trenchant assertion: "We have frequently stated that they do not want to attack German territory, but wish to make another war impossible. And with this view they are ready to endure the indescribable agonies in this war of the German soldiers who, starving, surrendered to the French, and, in the hearing of a friend, said, with deep satisfaction, "Thank God, for the war is over!"
CORRESPONDENCE.

KROPOTKIN'S LETTER ON THE WAR.

Dear Comrade,—I wonder if it did not occur to you, when publishing Kropotkin's letter to Professor G. Steffen, that it was necessary to publish an adverse comment as a footnote to this letter. Freedom, to speak in terms of correct phrasingology, is out to recruit for the army of the revolution, it is a recruiting sergeant; but a recruiting sergeant, like Bismarck's army would be court-martialled if he was caught in the act of distributing anti-war literature to possible recruits. A large number of our comrades are sliding down the declivity of militarism; and we should be careful that we do not in any way increase the number. Of course, all this is assuming that the editors of Freedom have not been carried into the militarist camp by Kropotkin's logic.

It would not have taken many words to have pointed out that Kropotkin's conclusions are derived from fallacious assumptions. He assumes that the advanced parties in Germany would aid and abet the German militarist party in suppressing a worker's revolution in any other country; according to Kropotkin, the revolutionists in Germany only fight for a revolution in Germany. He assumes that the military party in Germany are more bloodthirsty and ambitious than the military party of any other country; to forgetting that the Boer military party advantaged, through their press, the settling of the last national strike of miners by means of a "few whiffs of grape-shot"; that they did not do so was because of the fact that they have not complete control of the political machine, as in Germany. The red spots and potential red spots on the map of the world speak volumes for the ambitions of the British fire-eaters.

When one thinks of the verbal calumnies Kropotkin has at different times administered to patriots, it requires a strong mental effort to believe that he would praise the Belgian worker for practicing patriotism. He speaks of the Belgian workers defending their territory! On what date did they enter possession? A successful revolution in Belgium, and nothing in Anarchist literature concerning it! Other individuals besides a member of the German Social Demo-cratic Party will agree that if civilians fire on an invading army, the invading army will retaliate. The German soldiers are only committing crimes that products of this system are perpetrating every day in time of peace. They do not come out of the same cradle of slaughter without a blench, despite the fact that they are operating in friendly countries.

In the new light we now see history after a perusal of Kropotkin's letter, it is our duty to revise all revolutionary literature, and wherever the spaitly of workers towards the ideal of freedom is distributed to the prostration of the press, of the Churches, of the schools, or of any educitive agency, we shall insert as the true cause of this spathy the German military party. Oh! ye comrades who rot in Siberia, if you had known this, you would have been honoured amongst men and tyrants would have praised you. Russian tyranny only possible because of the example of cultured Germany; Rockefeller opposes his workers because of the example of cultured Germany; to the same cause may be traced the reason for the torturing of Congo natives by the Belgians. Truly, the Russian policy is one of no danger of becoming Imperialistic, because it is already so, although one would have expected that droves of a Russian Federation embracing the world would have had an opposite effect.

The importation of property is in accordance with the ideals of Anarchist that frontiers will be obliterated; this will only come when the liberty-loving autocrats of Russia rule the peoples of the world.—Yours fractu rally,

Robert Smirke.

Cowdenheath, Fife.

Help Wanted for "Freedom." Our readers will understand, the present time is a very trying one for this paper. Although the sales of Freedom have been very little affected so far, the literature sales have dropped considerably, and as this was the principal means of reducing the monthly deficit on Freedom, our funds are in a very bad condition. To remedy this, a Social and Dance and a Book Draw have been arranged (see advs.), the profits from which will be distributed between Freedom and the Voice of Labour. We hope comrades will push the sale of these tickets, which can be obtained from this office on application.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

N. Young.—Crewed out this month. Please send address.

W. H. Brown.—Unneccessarily held over.

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