

cities in the United States, all of which goes to prove that given the will and ambition to accomplish a given purpose, determination and mutual aid will bring its own reward. The Los Angeles results should urge other groups to increase their endeavors for there is much to be done in this topsy-turvy world of ours and Anarchists should be in the very forefront in the doing.

THE SPANISH CONFERENCE

On the 19th of May an important conference took place in Blair Station, Pa. called together by various Spanish Anarchist groups domiciled in the United States.

Unavoidable circumstances delayed the opening of the meeting to the extent that it was necessary to revise the order of business in order to enable some of the delegates to leave in time to reach their home towns the following day.

The usual formalities incidental to the opening of conferences were therefore made terse and brief.

ROAD TO FREEDOM

After the reading of the correspondence, the editor of Road to Freedom was given the floor which, in spite of the mutual arrangement to be brief and concise, he held for the period of an hour. He argued that the future of Anarchist propaganda in the United States would depend upon the extent that the English language is used in broadcasting our ideas.

The universal good feeling existing between the English and Spanish language groups was dwelt upon at some length Road to Freedom was strenuously defended against its critics. Stress was laid upon the difficulty of pleasing hundreds of individual idealists, each with a particular penchant about how a paper should be published, what type should be used, how long the articles should be, who should write them and whether the major portion of a paper should be given over to philosophic discussion, soap box propaganda, passing events, book reviews or what not. The proposition was placed before the Conference that Road to Freedom is not the private possession of any group but that it depends for its existence upon the movement at large and that at any time it is deemed wise to give the publication into other hands for the making of a better medium of propaganda, the group now publishing it will gladly relinquish its responsibility.

The criticism presented against past and present shortcomings of Road to Freedom was met by the editor at the close of his remarks and the point was stressed that the columns of Road to Freedom are always open to criticism for it was contended no Anarchist publication should suppress attacks, the publishing of which might in any way improve the appearance and contents of the paper.

CULTURA OBRERA

A considerable portion of discussion was given over to correspondence from the editor of Cultura Obrera in relation to a controversy existing between some of the Spanish Groups.

THE FEDERATION

One very important matter decided at this conference was the formation of a Spanish Anarchist Federation—a circular letter upon which has already been forwarded to all existing Spanish groups in the United States and further reference to which appears in a separate paragraph on this page under the caption "The Spanish Federation." This organization came into being only after long and animated debates during which the objections usually raised by Anarchists against the idea of federated groups were finally argued down and at the conclusion of the session, all in attendance were agreed that properly managed the federation could do a tremendous work in carrying our propaganda out into new fields without placing the slightest restriction upon the most delicate of individualistic leanings.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The question of the Anarchist position in the Labour Movement also received attention and there seemed to be a strong feeling that the POEA of Argentine assumes the most desirable stand, from an Anarchist point of view, on this much mooted and long debated issue. It was pointed out that the presence of Anarchists in some of the most important labour struggles in the United States carried a very great influence and it was the consensus of opinion that there is still much effective work to be done by Anarchists, both in and outside the organized labour movement in this country.

A LECTURE TOUR

The Federation will take steps to arrange a lecture tour throughout the country in con-

junction with the group Pro Prensa. Details of the itinerary and speakers will be circulated at a later time.

A SPANISH REVIEW

The conference determined upon the publication of a Spanish Review to be issued as a literary supplement of Cultura Proletaria. The launching of this project will be deferred until the lecture tour is under way.

REACTIONARY GROUPS

The Conference accepted the idea of working within reactionary Spanish groups with the aim of introducing Anarchist ideas and laying the ground work for Anarchist propaganda.

INTERCHANGE OF DELEGATES

Due to economic conditions, the usual interchange of delegates between Mexico and Guatemala was temporarily abandoned but the Conference went on record to strengthen connections with our comrades in Cuba and thus to keep before the liberal world the tale of real conditions existing there.

A DAY'S WAGES

It was proposed and the Conference accepted the proposition that each comrade should dedicate one day's wages per month for the support of the press.

The Conference closed at 2 o'clock on Monday morning after having been in continuous session for more than fourteen hours. Many stormy debates took place on the floor and not a few disturbing questions were settled all of which goes to prove what a group of earnest, sincere comrades, determined to achieve a certain and stay accomplish.

The Conference was attended by delegates representing fourteen groups with a liberal representation by individuals affiliated with no groups at all. Roberto A. Muller of New York was chairman of the conference with Manuel Fernandez of McKeesport and R. Lone of Steubenville as secretaries.

The Spanish Federation

One of the most important decisions resulting from the Conference held at Blair Station, Pa. on the 19th of May, was the formation of a "Federation of Spanish Anarchist Groups" (Federacion de Grupos Anarquistas de Lengua Espanola). The purpose of this Federation is to bring into communication all groups speaking Spanish and individual comrades for the purpose of facilitating propaganda work, collecting and distributing information regarding the progress of the movement here and abroad and furthering in every possible way the spreading of Anarchist thought. Groups and individuals interested in assisting the Federation in the task it has undertaken may communicate with the secretary who should be addressed in the following manner: F. G. A. Secretario, P. O. Box 901, Steubenville, Ohio.

A condensed report of the proceedings of the Conference appears elsewhere in this issue.

Sacco-Vanzetti Week

Road to Freedom group has set apart the week between August 17th and 24th as a time in which to strain our utmost to revive interest in the legal murder of our comrades, Sacco and Vanzetti by the Massachusetts Governor and other respectable pillars of society. These activities will necessarily be confined to New York City unless groups in other parts take similar action. Some groups have already indicated their intention of getting out on the street corners and re-telling a forgetful world the details of this medieval crime committed in the twentieth century.

Road to Freedom will gladly give publicity in the August issue of any intended outdoor meetings in other cities.

The International Committee for Assistance to Political Prisoners

This committee, recently organized in Westfield, N. J. has undertaken a stupendous but urgently necessary task: that of extending relief to political prisoners throughout the world. Their first public effort was a mass meeting held at the People's House in New York in the afternoon of the 23rd of June. The meeting was addressed by Carlo Pagella, Pietro Allegri, and Carlo Trezza, who spoke in Italian. Jose Crespo in Spanish and W. S. Van Valkenburgh in English.

The committee hopes for the full cooperation of all comrades and groups, regardless technical opinion, for the work of easing the burdens of the victims of international reaction is a large undertaking and impose great responsibilities upon those willing to shoulder the brunt of the work.

It is the hope of the committee that no differences of opinion, will be permitted to retard the undertaking.

There is in preparation a circular, directed to comrades at large, explaining in full detail the ambitions of the committee.

Many valiant rebels now languish in prison for opinion's sake, victims of the struggle for social betterment, hostages of the State, our mortal enemy. These comrades cannot—must not be sacrificed without our expending every possible effort to lessen their suffering and speed their release.

Only those conscious of the price the rebel has to pay may be expected to lend aid to this worthy project. The committee includes within its potential scope all political prisoners regardless of nationality for we recognize no race, creed nor color, but rather comrades fallen by the wayside in the sanguine struggle for a better world in which our children may live in peace and happiness. Therefore, all who believe in the ideal of freedom should lend their aid to the work this committee has volunteered to undertake.

RALPH PIESCO, Secretary
International Committee for Assistance
to Political Prisoners

Road to Freedom on the News Stands

One of the direct results of the last Road to Freedom conference is the placing of Road to Freedom on more than twenty five news stands in Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx. This is a long step forward for through newsstand sales we can reach many people unavailable through any other channel. Comrades in cities throughout the country might undertake similar distribution whereby to reach the thousands of liberals, if not revolutionarily inclined folk in the United States who by reason of their isolation, are quite unaware, that there is an English Anarchist movement and publication in existence in this country. Undoubtedly many of these people would gladly take an interest in our work. This is one effective way to reach them—there is at least nothing to lose by trying, and much to be gained by success. We would like to have some comments on the idea.

AN ANTHOLOGY OF REVOLUTIONARY VERSE

THE ONE BOOK NO ANARCHIST LIBRARY SHOULD BE WITHOUT 400 of the most inspiring poems of revolt ever composed; gathered, classified, edited and published by Anarchists. Years of work and research have gone into this unique undertaking. Beautifully printed and magnificently bound. Price \$3.—Edited and published by MARCUS GRAHAM West Farms Sta. N. Y. or may be secured thru Road to Freedom

BIG PICNIC

To be given under the joint arrangements of the Spanish, Italian and International groups from the Centre, at

The Anita Garibaldi by the Sea

2125 Hyman Blvd., Grant City S. I. N. Y. SUNDAY JULY 21, 1929 There will be Fine Music, plenty to eat, Bathing, dancing and lots of fun.

ADMISSION FIFTY CENTS [Local comrades are asked not to arrange competing affairs on this date.]

NOW AND AFTER An A B C of Anarchism

By ALEXANDER BERKMAN The very last thing off the press written by our brave and faithful comrade now exiled in Europe.

The contents include Anarchism in Theory and Practice, the Means and Feasibility of bringing it about, Preparation for the Social Revolution with special reference to Politics, Trade Unions, the Church, the State, and Modern Economics. Needless to say, the author speaks plainly and authoritatively of the Dictatorship in Russia.

This is a book no revolutionist can afford to be without.

Advance copies may be secured through MINNA LOWENBOHN, 1219 Franklin Ave., New York City.—Price \$1.00 Postage paid.

A detailed review of the literary merits of this book from the pen of Hippolyte Havel will appear in the next issue of Road to Freedom.

THE ANARCHIST RELATIONS COMMITTEE

(A. R. C.)

What is the Anarchist Relations Committee? What is its purpose? What and whom does it represent?

The Anarchist Relations Committee is the result of the deliberations of the Anarchist Conference held in Stelton, New Jersey, in 1930, and which were endorsed by the Anarchist Conference held in Detroit and the Western Anarchist Jewish Conference held in Chicago.

It represents the opinions of many comrades of different language speaking groups who attended the foregoing conferences and returned to their homes fully convinced that a greater cohesion among the Anarchists of America is of vital importance to the movement.

The ideal of an Anarchist Society has been fought in America for more than seventy years. Not to mention the former efforts of such trail blazers in Anarchist thought as William Warren, Lysander Spooner, Nathaniel Paine and others of their circle.

In the eighties of the last century, the Anarchist movement was represented by the International Workingmen's Association, founded in St. Louis by Anarchists and carried on by William Chicago martyrs, had an immense influence among the American workers.

A host of splendid comrades have devoted their lives spreading our ideals among workers in America.

Notwithstanding all the tremendous courage, energy and sacrifice the early days of propaganda in this country entailed, the results have not been as satisfactory as we might really have expected them to be.

What is the reason: is the Anarchist ideal fighting in some economic, scientific and physical measure?

After long and careful deliberation, we came to the conclusion that the fault in our move-

ment lies in our own neglect to pay sufficient attention, and give adequate support to our propaganda in the English language, the language which happens to be the universal medium of expression in this country.

Moreover, we have not maintained a close cohesion among the different language speaking groups and, in many instances, we have become almost strangers to one another.

We do not underestimate the worth of the propaganda carried on by our comrades in other languages than English; we admire their energy, their zeal and fine spirit of sacrifice, but we know that their children, and our children, born in this country will inevitably employ the English language in their thoughts and expressions. We must not let them drift away from us through neglect and misunderstanding.

To interest the children in our movement and inculcate them with our ideas, we must lay greater emphasis upon the use of the English language in all our propaganda or we shall never reach the children nor be able to approach the native born workers.

Comrades: Do not misunderstand us! We are quite aware of the necessity of propaganda in the various languages, and we respect the full autonomy of each and every group, regardless of language and regardless of particular point of view, but we must still stress the great necessity of intensive propaganda in the English tongue.

To the end that we may achieve greater success in the English field we must have greater cooperation and closer cohesion with every foreign language speaking group.

The Anarchist Relations Committee has been brought into being for that very purpose. We who sponsor the committee, hope that it will prove a means of consolidating our forces for the common ideal; that it will create a broader and more active movement in this country.

Comrades: Great opportunity is before us. A large part of the workers' ranks is weighted down with bitter disappointment. Political ad-

ventures, charlatans and simon pure labor fakirs have joined hands with State Socialists, masquerading under the name of communists and all have come to grips in a struggle with State Capitalism.

Moribund Capitalist Society is ever launching new drives against all radicals.

Let us intensify our propaganda; our ideal of a free Society organized on a voluntary basis, without Dictatorship, without Wage Slavery, without an All Powerful and Oppressive Bureaucracy. It will find ready acceptance among the suffering victims of a Decadent Society.

It behooves us to grasp this opportunity to solidify our scattered forces and expand our movement into wider fields with greater cohesive power.

We must not fail! This is our moment of opportunity to vindicate the indomitable heroism of those countless comrades who have given their all and passed on, leaving us the joy and duty of continuing their work.

Let us, then, close our ranks for the common ideal by responding to this call to arms.

Each group throughout the country should immediately get in direct touch with this committee. This means every comrade and every Anarchist Group, regardless of language affiliation, and by all means, it includes every Youth Group.

Take this matter up at your next group meeting and communicate the results to us now, for now is the time to act, not to-morrow, to-morrow never comes!

JEWISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION: B. Axler, M. Goodfriend.

RUSSIAN ANARCHIST FEDERATION: W. Swieda.

CULTURA PROLETARIA: A. Martinez.

FRIENDS OF FREEDOM: G. Lowry.

ROAD TO FREEDOM: W. Starrett.

ROAD TO FREEDOM, STELTON: H. Havel.

INTERNATIONAL GROUP, NEW YORK: M. Rico.

SAM DOLGOFF, Secretary.

ANARCHIST RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

P. O. Box 486, Mad. Sq. Station, N. Y. C.

a tramp and a club-man, after all, except money pocket and a piece of soap! Many New York friends found this out when the Bank of U. S. tied its doors, leaving the thirty ones on the street holding the bag. An institution begun on strings, it rose within the brief span of fifteen years to a huge swindle that many people believed, connected with the United States Government, sixty-one branches and an endless array of obnoxious could not meet. A group of stronger institutions came to a belated rescue with the kind offer to depositors up to fifty per cent of their deposits had they would agree to pay 5 per cent for the privilege of spending their own money. A fine country upon the integrity of capitalist finance and a fine lesson to the would-be Wallingfords if they had the brains to take it to heart. Each day a new incident proves how well Barnum knew of the spoke and how easy it is to live without it. One knows how to make others believe in all fables.

ROAD TO FREEDOM imparts most of its literature from England. For many years we have been reading and receiving Malatesta's pamphlet "Anarchy." It has never been challenged until now. On the 15th of last month we received notice from the Post Office that a shipment of books had been stopped and that the Department had submitted the matter in question to the Federal Prosecuting Attorney for an opinion as to the violation of Section 1063 of the Criminal Code and Section 6 of the Customs Laws. Evidently some white collar slave, seeking to ruin, came upon the forbidden word and consulted his superior, who, quite as stupid as the clerk, advised that the pamphlet was obscene. Heaven the morose Uncle Sam's watchdogs presume to interfere into paths of righteousness! We await the final decision of the Fascist holding down the reins of the job, called Prosecuting Attorney, with cold indifference.

MOONEY AND BILLINGS still bear with fortitude the Calvary California has wrought upon them. State Supreme Court decision surprised no one in disappointed countless thousands of human beings who wouldn't care to have the responsibility for judicial crime upon their heads for twice the United Railroads and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company have paid the Sunlight politicians prosecuting this sin of the Century. With the year 1930, Young goes out of office and into oblivion. Rolf comes into the State House, face to face

with a problem which may either make or break him. He will prove how far he is in the pay of the Business Bourbons by the position he takes in the Mooney-Billings case. He might prove to be another Algeid; he might also turn out to be another Young. The decision rests with him. If he does not act within thirty days, the people of the United States, or more specifically speaking, the working men and the women should take steps to make California realize that they are not quite as dead as they appear to be most of the time.—They have one weapon that it doesn't even require courage to use. Perhaps they may be induced to use it and make every product made or grown in California a "White Elephant" on the hands of the man who has it!

ARGENTINE remains a closed book to the rest of the world since the rise of Uriburu. The censorship is hermetically sealed. As far as we know, no papers are coming out. Our own Spanish Daily refused to come out in emancipated form after receiving word from the police that no comment upon the political-military situation would be permitted. Some of our comrades have been shot, others have been taken to prison but none have as yet been successful in getting word through the gauntlet. Meantime, we are anxious and will, at the very first opportunity pass on any news we get to our equally anxious comrades here and abroad.

OUT OF THE MAIL BAG

HERBERT HOOVER, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

SIR:—

Millions of unemployed people are seeking employment while billions of dollars worth of goods remain unused. We suffer from underconsumption not from overproduction, but how can the workers of our nation buy back the goods they produce and pay LANDLORDS an annual LAND rent of thirteen thousand million dollars for NOTHING? (LANDlords do not provide LAND) The payment of that tremendous LAND rent to LANDlords for NOTHING leaves the workers thirteen thousand million dollars short of their purchasing power and that is why factories are clogged with goods, business men fail and millions of unemployed people are forced to compete for the jobs of others thereby causing low wages and salaries. Of course you know the remedy for unemployment.

It is as follows:—That the entire rent of LAND

produced by the people shall be collected for the public needs of the people and all taxation be abolished. That would solve the unemployment problem, bring economic freedom to all and make the United States a tax free nation.

THE COMMONWEALTH LAND PARTY
3 East 14th Street
New York City

(Mere land, the implements of production and the ability to use them will not and cannot solve the unemployment problem. The programme of the Single Taxers in the United States and the Commonwealth Land Party in England attempt to over simplify an extremely complex question. If there be no market for the goods produced, labor has been expended in vain. As long as thrift remains an individual virtue, crisis will recur with periodical frequency. Thrift is a necessary adjunct to a society based upon private property. Neither Hoover, the King nor any mortal man can correct a condition with which all society has to do. We bring out the foregoing letter by request because we believe all have equal right to free expression even though all may be wrong. There would be no landlords if there were no private property through which the bulk of mankind is exploited, and there would be no private ownership of land in a society without government. Anarchism contemplates such a society and looks a-sa-ance upon all programmes, however couched, which aim to sustain government and make it more powerful than it already is by virtue of its physical strength. Hoover is a poor figure head to receive such a communication anyhow for he neither knows nor cares what it is all about. He could do nothing about it even if he did know and appeals to potentates tickle their vanity, enlarges their ego and humiliates the petitioner! Etc.)

ECTOR ROAD TO FREEDOM: Please ask your readers through Road to Freedom if any of them have a copy of ANARCHISM by Albert Parsons that they might be willing to sell. John Jacobs, 2532 Lorain Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. (Any one having a copy of this book please communicate with comrade Jacobs. Etc.)

P. A. Parker, Montrose, Ala. Thanks for the suggestions. We would like to get out in the country too. It isn't as simple as you seem to think, and one cannot do in New York what one may do in Alabama. Not even you could do it! But we shall think seriously about the matter. Etc.

H. J. Stuart: Glad to receive your letter. Will use some of the material in another issue. You boys have solved your individual problems well enough because

... was enacted during the persecution of
o and Vanzerri.
me is the great leveller, but it takes cour-
and fortitude to await its reckoning. It
ght bitterness and remorse into the hearts
any of the men who helped the State of
is hang the Chicago anarchists, some of
later being the most ardent workers for
release of the three remaining victims. It
therefore, bring anguish sufficient into the
ts of Thayer, Fuller and his committee of
arators to make each, some day, come forth
the truth they suppressed when two men's
were in their hands, for sleepless nights
ortured souls tear shameful shams asunder
ough it sometimes seems that the day of
ution is all too long in the coming!
n the mean time, let us carry on the work
which our comrades gave so gorgeously of
hey had to give that the world might be
e a better place in which to dwell!

LABELS

(Continued from page 2)

... dream of going into power, to impose
the top by means of decree and laws their
ns of the future, but the anarchists can not

THE ANNUAL ROAD TO FREEDOM CON- FERENCE was held this year in Detroit over the Day week-end.

... ose in attendance included: comrades Katz,
nick, Levin, Yellensky, A. Olay and M. Olay
Chicago; Carter, Yudin, Cohn, Boatin, Vivas,
and Tucker of Detroit; Marino from Steubens-
Havel from Stelton, Pasotta from New York
Krutchhoff, attending as an individual from
and.

... rman Carter was elected chairman of the first
n and Rose Pasotta was elected secretary for
nite conference.

... a various delegates reported the activities of
groups during the past year. None felt that
were doing enough and they all volunteered to
greater effects in the future to spread our ideas.
Comrade Marino representing the Spanish Federa-
outlined the difficulties Cultrra Proletaria is
g with the Post Office authorities in connection
the weekly distribution of the paper.

... a Russian delegates reported conditions in their
s and dwell especially upon the situation exist-
ing their publications.

... s conference gave general approval to the de-
s of the preliminary conference held in Stelton
ly.

... comrade Havel gave an outline of the activities
in English speaking groups, the background of
to Freedom, and the aspects of the movement
her countries. He deplored the loss of contact
the labor movement in America and the appa-
rent neglect of foreign language speaking comrades
lation to the importance of developing more in-
propaganda work in English, especially among
with. His remarks were well received.

... was agreed that literature is an indispensable
ity in our work. Some stressed the importance
lding up an effective movement through which
our message over to the masses. Others believe
modern form of propaganda should be de-
Many of our ideas have already been accepted
ous walks of life, but there is a vast field for
ork among the masses. If we cannot agree on
new form of propaganda then we should call
Congress to review our past achievements
renew our future work.

... THE DINNER in the evening, the financial
was discussed instead of the usual speeches.
AD TO FREEDOM: The second session of
ference selected E. Vivas for chairman. Havel
a general review of anarchist publications in
nited States outlining the background of Road
edom. He emphasized the importance of com-
in every group, spreading the paper more
especially among the newsstands. As long as
itor is left to select the material to go into the
there will be reason for criticism. The com-
should take it upon themselves to send in
own material, especially notes bearing local activ-
ity events in the labor movement. The policy of
per has not been brought into question but it
e more representative, just in proportion as it
a wider expression of opinions held through-
out the movement.

... we approve of the policy, but believe the theo-
angle is neglected. Book reviews are under-
and the space given over to them should be
ed to more propaganda. Translations of the
ed material appearing in foreign language
should be brought in Road to Freedom.
paper has a serious deficit and only the mov-
can remedy this. The reason the paper is in
 plight is because the comrades are too much
ed with their own language press and neglect

... resort to anything but freedom. Anything that
is not built on freedom, and the basis of free-
dom, will not be anarchist.

... Enemies of the law, that is, of the positive,
codified law, they show in a practical manner
how it is possible to live free and deserve the
respect and confidence of others, because of
their straight and honest conduct, their solidari-
ty with the weak, for their hands always ready
to give help, for their devotion to truth and
sincerity, for their generosity and revolutionary
passion.

... The anarchist is a man or a woman in one
piece, who may have his or her faults as all
human beings have, but not two faces. He tries
to affirm his individuality and his respect of the
freedom of others, which is the first condition
that his own may be respected. He acts all the
time openly, with dignity, with clarity, with
kindness; he defends the weak against the
strong, the disinherited against the privileged
class, the victim against the victimizer. In every
place wherein his activities develop, where he
works for his ideas, he sets a precedent of
straightness, of dignity, of honesty. And his
behavior is so clear, that in the places where his
ideas are not fully accepted, the man is respect-
ed and admired.

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM CONFERENCE

... the youth who are being brought up to use the Eng-
lish language. The communists make especial efforts
to interest the youth and we should do likewise. We
should try to coordinate all groups and if possible
send someone out on the road to stir up enthusiasm
and more activity.

... The support of the press is a permanent problem.
An attempt should be made to get a given number
of comrades to contribute amounts through local
secretaries and thereby build up a standing income.
The language used in the paper is too difficult.

... Others do not agree that the paper cannot please
everybody. It can if it is to carry material of value
to the movement. It does not carry good material for
anarchist propaganda. It is too bombastic and hard
to read. The comrades cannot understand it. If there
were an English movement, Road to Freedom would
be made the mouth piece because the comrades would
make it an organ of propaganda.

... Comrade Krupnick doesn't like the paper at all,
but as it is all we have in the English language, it
should be supported. He also complained of the
language used.

... Comrade Pasotta called attention to the various
manners of speech prevalent in the United States.
No two people speak alike and no two write alike.
The language used in Road to Freedom is English in
its generic form.

... Comrade Yellensky thinks the New York com-
rades always have their minds on money. He thinks
that principles and not pledges are the real issues at
stake. (Wonder what Yellensky would like to substi-
tute for money! Ed.)

... We should give space in the paper to all shades
of anarchist opinion and stress the importance of
English. Comrade Marino favored finding a cheaper
printer and Boatin urged the importance of pledges
to support propaganda and the paper.

... Comrade Havel summed up the discussion on the
paper thus: Language is always undergoing change
and the paper should of course use language the
comrades can understand, but English varies accord-
ing to localities. The editor has to reckon with the
ethical conception of language prevailing among the
readers. The English used in Road to Freedom is the
generally accepted language of the country. The
comrades should improve their own English. The
money question is most important. We should have
a standing committee in each locality to keep in
constant touch with all comrades and with the paper.

... PROPAGANDA. This discussion was opened up
by Comrade Fine. It was suggested that each group
should appropriate a set sum for propaganda pur-
poses. There should be an organizer in each group who
would maintain contact with all other groups. We
do not know what is going on in other parts of the
country. International groups should organize in
every city. We must wake up to the needs of the
Youth or there will be none to take the places of
the older comrades as they pass on. This means we
must stress the importance of English for the chil-
dren us no other. This was recognized at the first
Road to Freedom conference in Stelton many years
ago. At the last Stelton conference a Relations Com-
mittee was formed to bring all groups in closer
contact and develop activity among the youth. General
approval was given the idea of organizing a Federa-
tion of all groups and all agreed with the aims of the
Relations Committee. A resolutions committee was
elected at the end of the session.

... ORGANIZATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND
THE LABOR MOVEMENT were discussed at the

... Capable of understanding, and tolerant, the
anarchist does not erect today nor will he erect
tomorrow any tribunal of the Inquisition to
burn heretics who don't think as he does, nor
will he build jails for those who want to live
their life in slavery and abjection. He has
faith in the convincing powers of his example,
in the persuasive force of his deeds and devotes
more energy to their propaganda, specially to
propaganda by his own deeds and conduct, for
the affirmation of his personality, than to pry-
ing into the defects for the others. All that
is great and noble moves him to passion, and
feels pity, and sympathy for the meanness, the
moral miseries, the small vices of those who
were educated in the mud of the top and of the
bottom.

... In love with truth, beauty, and freedom, the
anarchist goes through the thorny path of the
present life leaving behind him a wake of light
that elevates the hearts, purifies consciences,
enlightens the darkened minds of men. He who
instead of that wake of light leaves only the
dark wakes of hatred, of poison and sinosity,
has not been an anarchist.

Translated from "La Protesta"

By M. OLAY.

... next gathering, presided over by comrade Boatin.
The general conclusion was that the word is more
objectionable than the thing itself. We have a mor-
bid fear of autocracy developing in an organization,
but still we must organize and do organize when we
want to accomplish some special task.

... Many causes enter into the unemployment prob-
lem. There is no single place where one may point as
the only cause. Seasonal occupations, machines develop-
ment, over production, individual theft, adverse tar-
iff enactments, the speed up, stretch out and other
rationalization schemes, together with the profit sys-
tem and the capitalist state all play a part in bring-
ing about the periodical recurrence of unemployment.
Some thought that the unemployed were good sub-
jects for anarchist propaganda because they have been
disillusioned by all other schools and that we should
agitate for the shorter work day, prepare the workers
to demand higher wages and groom them for ulti-
mate revolution. Others held that we should work
in the unions because we have a field there. Some
held out for expropriation while others were against
it. The Marxian idea of over-production was both
defended and attacked. Mass Meetings, working with
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tion were also suggested.

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in America look to the capitalist press for their in-
formation and are willing to be misled. Others argued
that anarchism has to do with a future society and
unemployment is a problem of the present and it
would reach the workers to take what is their right-
ful own, we should be preparing them for the part
they will ultimately have to play. In summing up
the discussion on this question, comrade Pasotta pointed
out that we live in a fast moving era and the ps-
chology of half a century ago no longer meets current
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Sept 1930
ROAD
TO
FREEDOM

that was enacted during the persecution of me and Vanzetti.

Time is the great leveller, but it takes courage and fortitude to await its reckoning. It is the bitter and remorse into the hearts of many of the men who helped the State of Illinois hang the Chicago anarchists, some of whom later being the most ardent workers for release of the three remaining victims. It is therefore, being anguish sufficient into the hearts of Thayer, Fuller and his committee of magistrates to make each, some day, come forth and tell the truth they suppressed when two men's lives were in their hands, for sleepless nights tortured souls tear shameless shams asunder until it sometimes seems that the day of reckoning is all too long in the coming!

In the mean time, let us carry on the work which our comrades gave so generously of themselves had to give that the world might be a better place in which to dwell!

LABELS

(Continued from page 2)

dream of going into power, to impose the top by means of decree and laws that are the future, but the anarchists can not

THE ANNUAL ROAD TO FREEDOM CONFERENCE was held this year in Detroit over the 3-Day week-end.

Attendance included: comrades Katz, Mick, Levin, Yellensky, A. Olay and M. Olay Chicago; Carter, Yudin, Cohn, Bostin, Vivas, and Tucker of Detroit; Marino from Steubenville; Havel from Stelton, Peosita from New York; Krutnickoff, attending as an individual from London.

Comrade Carter was elected chairman of the first and Rose Peosita was elected secretary for the next conference.

Various delegates reported the activities of their groups during the past year. None felt that were doing enough and they all volunteered to greater efforts in the future to spread our ideas. Comrade Marino representing the Spanish Federation outlined the difficulties *Cultura Proletaria* is having with the Post Office authorities in connection with the weekly distribution of the paper.

Russian delegates reported conditions in their country and dwelt especially upon the situation existing among their publications.

The conference gave general approval to the details of the preliminary conference held in Stelton last year.

Comrade Havel gave an outline of the activities of English speaking groups, the background of the Road to Freedom, and the aspects of the movement in his country. He deplored the loss of contact with the labor movement in America and the apparent neglect of foreign language speaking comrades in relation to the importance of developing more intensive propaganda work in English, especially among the youth. His remarks were well received.

It was agreed that literature is an indispensable part in our work. Some stressed the importance of setting up an effective movement through which our message over to the masses. Others believe that modern form of propaganda should be developed. Many of our ideas have already been accepted in our walks of life, but there is a vast field for work among the masses. If we cannot agree on new form of propaganda then we should call for Congress to review our past achievements and determine our future work.

THE DINNER in the evening, the financial part was discussed instead of the usual speech. **ROAD TO FREEDOM.** The second session of the conference selected E. Vivas for chairman. Havel gave a general review of anarchist publications in the United States outlining the background of Road to Freedom. He emphasized the importance of common every group, spreading the paper more especially among the newstands. As long as the editor is left to select the material to go into the paper there will be reason for criticism. The committee should take it upon themselves to send in their own material, especially notes bearing local activities and events in the labor movement. The policy of the paper has not been brought into question but it is more representative, just in proportion as it is a wider expression of opinions held throughout the movement.

We approve of the policy, but believe the theoretical is neglected. Book reviews are suggested and the space given over to them should be devoted to more propaganda. Translations of the best material appearing in foreign language should be brought in Road to Freedom.

The paper has a serious deficit and only the movement remedy this. The reason the paper is in a plight is because the comrades are too much tied with their own language press and neglect

resort to anything but freedom. Anything that is not built on freedom, and the basis of freedom, will not be anarchistic.

Enemies of the law, that is, of the positive, codified law, they show in a practical manner how it is possible to live free and deserve the respect and confidence of others, because of their straight and honest conduct, their solidarity with the weak, for their hands always ready to give help, for their devotion to truth and sincerity, for their generosity and revolutionary passion.

The anarchist is a man or a woman in one piece, who may have his or her faults as all human beings have, but not two faces. He tries to affirm his individuality and his respect of the freedom of others, which is the first condition that his own may be respected. He acts all the time openly, with dignity, with clarity, with kindness; he defends the weak against the strong, the disinherited against the privileged class, the victim against the victimizer. In every place wherein his activities develop, where he works for his ideas, he sets a precedent of straightness, of dignity, of honesty. And his behavior is so clear, that in the places where his ideas are not fully accepted, the man is respected and admired.

Capable of understanding, and tolerant, the anarchist does not erect today nor will he erect tomorrow any tribunal of the Inquisition to burn heretics who don't think as he does, nor will he build jails for those who want to live their life in slavery and abjection. He has faith in the convincing powers of his example, in the persuasive force of his deeds and devotes more energy to their propaganda, specially to propaganda by his own deeds and conduct, for the affirmation of his personality, than to prying into the defects for the others. All that is great and noble moves him to passion, and feels pity, and sympathy for the meanness, the moral miseries, the small vices of those who were educated in the mud of the top and of the bottom.

In love with truth, beauty, and freedom, the anarchist goes through the thorny path of the present life leaving behind him a wake of light that elevates the hearts, purifies consciences, enlightens the darkened minds of men. He who instead of that wake of light leaves only the dark wakes of hatred, of poison and sinosity, has not been an anarchist.

Translated from "Le Protesta"

By M. OLAY.

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM CONFERENCE

the youth who are being brought up to use the English language. The communists make special efforts to interest the youth and we should do likewise. We should try to coordinate all groups and if possible send someone out on the road to stir up enthusiasm and more activity.

The support of the press is a permanent problem. An attempt should be made to get a given number of comrades to contribute amounts through local secretaries and thereby build up a standing income. The language used in the paper is too difficult.

Others do not agree that the paper cannot please everybody. It can if it is to carry material of value to the movement. It does not carry good material for anarchist propaganda. It is too bombastic and hard to read. The comrades cannot understand it. If there were an English movement, Road to Freedom would be made the mouth piece because the comrades would make it an organ of propaganda.

Comrade Krutnickoff doesn't like the paper at all, but as it is all we have in the English language, it should be supported. He also complained of the language used.

Comrade Peosita called attention to the various manners of speech prevalent in the United States. No two people speak alike and no two write alike. The language used in Road to Freedom is English in its generic form.

Comrade Yellensky thinks the New York comrades always have their minds on money. He thinks that principles and not pledges are the real issues at stake. (Wonder what Yellensky would like to substitute for money? Ed.)

We should give space in the paper to all shades of anarchist opinion and stress the importance of English. Comrade Marino favored finding a cheaper printer and Bostin urged the importance of pledges to support propaganda and the paper.

Comrade Havel summed up the discussion on the paper thus: Language is always undergoing change and the paper should of course use language the comrades can understand, but English varies according to localities. The editor has to reckon with the ethical conception of language prevailing among the readers. The English used in Road to Freedom is the generally accepted language of the country. The comrades should improve their own English. The money question is most important. We should have a standing committee in each locality to keep in constant touch with all comrades and with the paper.

PROPAGANDA. This discussion was opened up by Comrade Fine. It was suggested that each group should appropriate a set sum for propaganda purposes. There should be an organizer in each group who would maintain contact with all other parts of the country. International groups should organize in every city. We must wake up to the needs of the Youth or there will be none to take the places of the older comrades as they pass on. This means we must stress the importance of English for the children use no other. This was recognized at the first Road to Freedom conference in Stelton many years ago. At the last Stelton conference a Relations Committee was formed to bring all groups in closer contact and develop activity among the youth. General approval was given the idea of organizing a Federation of all groups and all agreed with the aims of the Relations Committee. A resolutions committee was elected at the end of the session.

ORGANIZATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT were discussed at the

next gathering, presided over by comrade Bostin. The general conclusion was that the word is more objectionable than the thing itself. We have a morbid fear of autocracy developing in an organization, but still we must organize and do organize when we want to accomplish some special task.

Many causes enter into the unemployment problem. There is no single place where one may point as the only cause. Seasonal occupations, machine development, over production, individual theft, adverse tariff enactments, the speed up, stretch out and other rationalization schemes, together with the profit system and the capitalist state all play a part in bringing about the periodical recurrence of unemployment. Some thought that the unemployed were good subjects for anarchist propaganda because they have been disillusioned by all other schools and that we should agitate for the shorter work day, prepare the workers to demand higher wages and groom them for ultimate revolution. Others held that we should work in the unions because we have a field there. Some held out for expropriation while others were against it. The Marxian idea of over-production was both defended and attacked. Mass Meetings, working with the I. W. W., advocacy of the general strike, displacing the idea of mutual aid and a more direct manner of explaining our idea of the social revolution were also suggested.

There was some discussion regarding a concrete stand that all anarchists should take on every social question to prevent confusion, such as made possible the vicious left and right fights in the unions. It was held that the capitalists benefit by our indecisive attitude on the most important problems; the workers in America look to the capitalist press for their information and are willing to be misled. Others argued that anarchism has to do with a future society and unemployment is a problem of the present and it would teach the workers to take what is their right own, we should be preparing them for the part they will ultimately have to play. In summing up the discussion on this question, comrade Peosita pointed out that we live in a fast moving era and the psychology of half a century ago no longer meets current needs. We must work out a new anarchist program competent to cope with the problems of today and after this has been done, with the help of all comrades, it should be brought out in permanent form.

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he same LEROUX says in 1931: "The op of Burzo de Oema has done me the and favor of receiving me with all due ct."
 he same politician is bound to be the president of Spain. What can the nish people expect from such a tyrant. The of all is most likely that he will suc- the reactionary Zamora. One is just as as the other. But in spite of all their s they shall not last long in power.

he present government is composed of anarchists dressed as Republicans, former rators, politicians, Socialists, reactionaries of kinds, with the exception of a few "Guer- ros," otherwise they use the same tactics - much worse sometimes than the former ator and monarchists were.

ain is faced by a Republican dictatorship, a Socialist Fascism, by a reactionary civil - directed by monarchists, and the Church cted by Bishops and sons . . . of Jesus rist. The Socialists in conjunction with the sent rulers have shown their brutality in 'ille by shooting down the strikers, imprison- them, by letting them out in the early urs of the morning so they could apply to m the "Yey de Fugas," shoot them in the ck; they torture them with all kinds of ruments to satisfy their sadistic vengeance. Dr. Pedro Vallina, the workers' doctor, a oluntary doctor, active in the Anarchist vement, has been held incommunicado for ast 24 days in the Castle of Santa Cata- a for no legal reason whatever. Dr. Vallina a been persecuted by the monarchists, by - dictatorship of Rivera, and now by e dictatorship of brother-socialists and republicans. Dr. illina is dangerous to the ruling classes and s this reason alone, often is deported from wn to town. It seems that Dr. Vallina is esona non grata in his own country and wn, but he is beloved by all revolutionary ain, by the humble peasants and every rker. This is what troubles the rulers.

Dr. Vallina believes in a Federation of free munal groups. He gives everything for e approaching dawn of Libertarian Com- munist. During a reactionary period, Dr. Vallina had with three workers with tubercu- sis, and had no place to stay, finally in a ttle town was offered hospitality, and he eplied: "If you take me in your home, you ust also take these men, they are poor, they ve no money, they are ill with tuberculosis, you take them, too, I accept." They were ecepted. In short, Dr. Vallina practices what e preaches; he puts aside one dollar for him nd his family, the rest he gives to the poor rkers that need it badly, he gives his ser- vices in the same manner. He collects from he rich only. Herewith find a clipping re Dr. Vallina's protest.

The present government wants to crush by ll means, the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo, a thing that they will never succeed. In Filguera (Asturias), the workers took control of a factory thus: The owners laid off everal workers. The Anarchists and Syndi- calists told the owner that there must be work ur all of them, be it 4 or 6 hours, instead of 8 hours a day. The workers put this in ractice. The authorities sent their soldiers. The general said: "I refuse to fire at these rkers; that is not my mission." There are problems like these almost every week in one art or another in Spain.

Anything can happen any day.
 I was present at a Congreso Regional Gala- uo at Villagascia. There were delegates from every part of Galicia, one from Barcelona. Among them was one representing the waiters of a mad house (sanatorium), one was a mayor from a little town, every worker in his town is organized in the CNT, but the con- gress refused his credentials due to his position.
 In some towns the mayor is a cook, or a

Mid-Western Anarchist Convention, Chicago

MID-WESTERN ANARCHIST CONVENTION, held in Chicago, September 7, 6, 7. Delegates represent- ing various groups throughout the East and Middle West helped to swell the fairly good crowd assembled at the Free Society Headquarters.

The Agenda began with the subject of English propaganda.

H. Havel gave the opening address. Comrades take things too personal, if things don't go right, they disappear. Serious stronger cohesion of the foreign language groups, many are inclined with foreign tendencies, and don't adjust themselves to conditions in America. Suggests Relations Committee, in order to be being about cohesion. The lack of success in the Anarchist movement is because we did not concentrate on the English propaganda in order to reach the youth. Also touched on the Anarchist position in the labor movement, the big problem of how to run industry, what kind of free society we shall have. The importance of our paper.

Dalgoff deplores the fact that the ROAD TO FREEDOM has such hardships; speaks of the necessity of a weekly paper. This will tend to bring more re- cruits to our movement and do away with a lot of difficulties. Yelensky and others speak against a weekly paper. Since our forces are limited, are of the opinion that we shall do all in our power to help the R. to F. and think a weekly impossible under the present circumstances. A resolution was adopted to exert all energies towards aiding the ROAD TO FREEDOM financially and otherwise to make it a better and bigger paper, and if possible, a weekly.

Slater speaks how necessary it is for the movement to try to organize youth groups. Havel thinks if the youth is interested they will come to us and if we exert our energy to organize them, it will detract from our own movement. The following resolution was accepted.

The Conference considers it of utmost importance to get the youth in our movement; for this purpose we suggest the following:

1. Regular study classes must be founded.
2. Lectures and discussions must be held for the youth.
3. Classes, literary groups from the standpoint of the Anarchist philosophy should be carried on.

Up to date literature. On Keyser's suggestion the following was adopted. A committee be formed to launch a publishing society for the purpose of printing Anarchist literature. This committee to be in close contact with the editorial staff of the R. to F. The Chicago group accepted to elect this committee.

Cooperation between the various anarchist groups Krupnick suggests to organize a committee to bring about closer relations between the various groups of the localities, and all over the country. The following resolution was accepted: Resolved that this Conference recommend the formation of Relations Committee, that will endeavor to promote closer cohesion between the various groups so that as a whole, and make every effort towards support- ing propaganda in the English Language. Each group to pledge a stipulated sum, and to run social, dances, picnics, rallies, forums or any other means of raising money for that purpose.

The Russian Progressive Club does not understand clearly what "various" Anarchist means. Mystica, and the Russian Daily "Ravner" call themselves Anarchists but they are worse than men- shoviks. The P. Club simply cannot work with such groups.

Increasing the scope of the Anarchist Red Cross Keyser stresses the importance of the Anarchist Red Cross as a part of the movement in order that the various cities be informed of the happenings in the movement of the country. Yelensky maintains that the reason we are more successful in raising funds for our prisoners in other countries outside of

sailor, or a peasant. A comrade in one of his tours of propaganda through Spain found this out and had to wait many hours for the mayor due to the fact that he was at sea- fishing, etc.

The only salvation for Spain is a radical revolution. The economic conditions are too terrible to go on any more. Women workers, in factories and shops, get a peseta and 50 centimes—15 cents a day, 20 cents, at the most 30 or 40 cents in American money per day. This is not enough. Life is impossible. Hours are too long. They are all tired of this system of slavery. They all talk revolution. You can hear this in the white house, in the streets, in prison, in every cafe, soldiers talk revolution. Revolution is in the air and it will come soon. When, I cannot say.

LOUIS RAYMOND.

the U. S. such as Russia, Italy, etc., is due to the fact that we have given these cases more publicity and the U. S. cases are practically unknown.

He emphasizes the importance of publicity for these cases. He is also of the opinion that the Red Cross work in America shall not be combined with that of other countries. The following resolution was adopted.

In view of the fact that an anarchist Red Cross Committee for the defense and relief of political prisoners is absolutely necessary, we recommend that Anarchist Red Cross committees be formed by the various groups. Said committees to give the fullest possible support to the Anarchist Red Cross committee in N. Y. which is endeavoring to provide a means for the defense of political prisoners in America. The Mid-Western Anarchist conference sends in Greetings to all political and class war prisoners and pledges its moral and financial support to those victims of capitalist and state oppression. The Mid-Western Anarchist conference sends fraternal greetings to all exiled comrades from the United States and pledges itself to continue the work of our ideas in the spirit of our departed comrades.

Dalgoff reads the manifesto. H. Havel opposes it on the ground that it is too long, not a manifesto but a pamphlet or book, not an expression of Anarchist thought and considers it a propaganda pamphlet for Anarcho-Syndicalism. Havel is in favor, however, of a declaration of principles, but not the manifesto. Turner opposed it as not in keeping with the anarch- istic philosophy, too reformistic, Syndicalism being an effect of Capitalism, should not be allowed to dominate the Anarchist movement, etc.

Keyser, it is not now a question of programs. The trouble is that when the occasion arises, we do not act as Anarchists. We find that many comrades who get into the union become politicians and forget their Anarchist principles. Instead of manifestoes for the workers, let us act as Anarchists first.

Krupnick expresses disappointment at the fact that the other cities did not discuss the points of the mani- festo, submitted to them.

The present conference has forgotten its standing. Given a short history of the movement, and points out that where the movement was purely Anarchist, it failed, but where there was an Anarcho-Syndicalist movement, the Anarchist movement also, thrived. Today his demands compromise. If we are not ready to compromise, we are giving up our very existence. The difference between the Anarcho-Syndicalists and the Anarcho-Communists is, that the A. S. are more serious. The A. S. are building the backbone of the movement. Therefore, there should be no fear of compromise, degenerating the theory of Anarchism. People want definiteness. Syndicalism is the founda- tion of the Anarchist movement. Action belongs to the masses.

Dalgoff, in answering all those opposed to the mani- festo. Many manifestoes longer, it is not a question of length, but of content. This is an attempt to place the principles of Anarchism thro' the unions. How are we to make the masses self-conscious? Turner is de- manding a militant labor movement, Anarchists al- ways stood as the vanguard of the revolutionary movement. It is not an Anarcho-Syndicalist manifesto but a proposition to accept the Anarcho-Syndicalist principles to further anarchism.

Anarcho-Syndicalism is a concrete expression of Anarchism when applied to the labor movement. Slater moves to accept the principle of the manifesto. Keyser remarks that the question of principles can not be acted upon by the delegates in the name of these groups, but as individuals. Slater, for the accepta- tion of the principle of a manifesto, Turner, Havel, and Paul Boettin against. Keyser did not vote. The question of the manifesto called forth heated and lengthy discussions on the part of the comrades.

Krupnick makes a motion that Dalgoff's manifesto be accepted in principle, and turned over to an edi- torial committee and submitted to the various groups for discussion, if accepted by the groups, be printed and adopted. A question arose as to whether to accept the manifesto in principle, and the conference voted on it.

One comrade proposed to accept the manifesto in principle with the exception of the part pertaining to Anarcho-Syndicalism, and submit it to the groups. Dalgoff withdraws the manifesto on the ground that the conference should have accepted or rejected it. If accepted, then or be revised.

Witz asks if it is a one person or group manifesto. It was decided that it was the group manifesto and Dalgoff had no right to withdraw it. Krupnick's mo- tion, but a committee could not be gotten to revise the manifesto, so as Dalgoff's suggestion, the following was accepted. To bring a majority and minority re- port to be recorded. Turner proposes that the opposi- tion elect a committee to work out a declaration of principles. The manifesto not to be submitted to the groups, until this declaration appears. Paul, Turner, and Keyser are on the committee. Turner objects to majority and minority terminology insofar as this con- ference is not representative of the Anarchist move- ment in America.

The Progressive Club finds that various groups use the privilege of publishing programs, manifestoes (Continued page 7 last column)

James R. Tucker has "economic philosophy or anarchism." And to repeat kind of evidence that air-minded parties. Noted that there is no his- torification. Even my es- sion fell a victim in ap- I have every reason to that Prof. Hamon was from first hand source, tion is befiting or no discuss the matter. My only in his "Instead of stand the contrary but care what he has col- re, he would know that himself as a Socialist Aldred and other would- m will condescend to th of the files of Tuck- reveal the evidence that Individualist Anarchist. it will have to be ad- ll his. Comrades of the iving given credence to Anarchism are antithe- lame for such confusion

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ocialism" from "Instead ation in his "Individual te plain. Because therev cker bespeaks of himself and not as he is called. am well aware that there that Individualism and uthetical but are compli- ssue. We quote Tucker re work "Instead of a ndered myself a member sts, and I object to being it of it . . . simply be- of Karl Marx" (p. 364). . . . Socialism and An- sive not exclusive . . . v Anarchist is a Socialist v rests on authority, and destroy the former" (p.

tion for correction of the -l Marx was a Jew. If question of fact we there- of our editor in letting unless it be a matter of ee thereto John Spargo's Karl Marx: his life and at in the next edition our of the hurt done.

o know why the section ven representation. Surely Malchusians." "Solution l "Karl Marx Friend and contain matter for serious at the present time. Pos- old rise of an excuse of re." But in this case it he words of Oscar Wilde:

ngs we love kiss and the sword.

"Individual Liberty" will e the message of Anarchist ho in all probability would

wise unromantic tale of tremendous social impor- tance.

Savinkov does not project himself to the fore as a heroic figure, although he was that, and more indeed: rather he places his companions in more graphic roles, saving none of the glory as a mantle for himself. He carries the self-effacement of his life as a terrorist faithfully through the pages of his book. It is a journalistic account of plotting, execution and betrayal and must stand or fall bereft of any attempt at literary merit.

With all their cleverness, all their courage and perseverance, it seems inconceivable that the terror- ists could have been duped so many years by a single man, playing a double game. It seems the more incomprehensible still that Savinkov, so long personally associated with Azev should have been the last to doubt him and then to childishly give him time and opportunity to escape and die in peace twelve years after his spectacular exposure.

Savinkov is more than generous with Kaliavev and the others of this tragic little band who time and again courted death for an ideal that all too few care a snap of the finger to achieve. He grants Kaliavev many pages wherein to explain his utter abandonment of self in the plot against Sergius: why he refused to kill him on the first occasion how he killed him later, granted the widow an audience in prison after which she misrepresented the conversation, betrayed his confidence and finally how he reprimanded her before he gave his own life to the executioners of the Tzar. This portion of the book reads like a page torn from a manufactured drama instead of from the actual life of Russian revolutionaries.

The fortitude, patience and inefficiency of the terrorists is most remarkable. Their months of wait- ing, the eternal dodging of police, spies and soldiers the intense cold, the suspense and uncertainty, all these indescribable tortures and then to find that at the critical moment the equipment was too cumber- some or it failed them because of some flaw in the making, were enough to break the spirit of men and women less brave and determined than they.

No people have contributed more to the pages of human history in courage and self-sacrifice than those of Russia. For three centuries they suffered under the alien yoke of Romanoff's tyranny. Assassination was a worthy and necessary weapon; for when every other avenue of redress is closed, compression will break all bounds. This truth blazes forth from every page of history. But authority never learns! The Bolsheviks are superbly oblivious to it and Savinkov himself, disolved no better sense when, for a brief stretch, he became Minister of War under Kerensky.

Under the hand of an artist, Savinkov's data might be raised to heights that would inspire and explain the necessity of political murder under conditions such as those obtaining in Russia, then under the Tzar and now, under the Dictatorship. Terror- ism is not an aberration, by any manner of means rather it is one of the holiest of callings for which unhappily, all too few are made of the stuff to fol- low. A little more terror means considerable less tyranny.

Throughout the whole book, one is made to feel the craven character of man. Can any man, under any circumstances ever be trusted? Of course he can and the proof is contained in the long career of the Terrorist Brigade, but it proves another thing. It proves the danger of any organization devoted to the elimination of responsible government heads by sheer physical force. Where more than two people enter into a conspiracy, every other one may very well be a spy. Terror is safe only in the hands of the perpetrator and should never be part of a movement.

This is an extremely important document and a valuable asset to any revolutionary library. It depicts the duplicity of men, the cruelty of the insti- tutions they build, yet it never seems to have dawned upon these Socialist-Revolutionists that all government is steeped in tyranny. With all their hero- ism, with the waste of splendid human material, Russia still must suffer under the yoke of a machine which may require another party of the "people's will" to drive from the Kremlin.

The Terrorists wanted freedom from a form while they retained the essence of the thing itself

wish, although he was not a bolshevik, neither a communist, but a white guardist! Imagine! Fearlessly he met Mr. Stalin, who was at the moment peevish on account of such a boldness on the part of that young student. That was a great success for our author. Therefore he received the key to the secret chamber, where the destiny of Russia was molded. In this room he observed Mr. Stalin, as never before a man had opportunity to study the first man in the U. S. S. R. In his position as private-secretary he met the highest intellectuals of Russia. He was keen in his duties, but he was more on guard before the men of Politbureau, who were, and still are the real ruler in U. S. S. R. Mr. Stalin was the boss, and is still one, yet, he seldom read the documents he signed. That was at the time, when Mr. Trozky, and Mr. Stalin were fighting for the supremacy in Rus- sia. Mr. Trozky was very popular, but Mr. Stalin grasped the reins of power as soon as Mr. Lenin closed his eyes. Trozky still maintained his pres- tige as the foremost revolutionary, therefore, he thought, he could make, based upon his record, another Therimor, but Mr. Stalin got the best of him, put him into exile, close at hand, as to be able to grab him, whenever he would need him. Stalin is a very revengeful, and brutal man, who has no mercy with his opponents. He certainly cleared them all out of his road. In spite of the fact, that our author characterizes Stalin, he bows before his tactfulness in dealing with men with a few well selected words. Mr. B. Bajanow says boldly, that no soviets exist in Russia. The real rulers there are the men of Politbureau, and all other organizations are only pretensions. All the orders, all the appoint- ments are given out by the Politbureau, or: G. P. U.! This well appropriated organization can ar- rest anybody, deport whom they want to Siberia, and has killed many thousands of men, of whom no record exists, because the G. P. U. is the only court in Russia. Mr. Bajanow observed every move of it until he discovered, that Stalin's Stalwards were on his heels. That frightened him, therefore he looked for an escape across the border. That was harder to do, than he ever could imagine. Anyhow, after the author had served five years as high-classed offi- cial in Russia, he asked and received a permission from the Crimea for a hunting trip, which he used for his flight to Persia. But there too he met the G.P.U. men, who wanted his scalp. Some way, or other they came too late, because Mr. Boris Bajanow was already in the hands of the Persian authorities, who gave him a passage to India.

STEPHANUS FABLIJANOVIC.

MID-WEST CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 5)

and resolutions. The Russian anarchist movement already has a few such publications.

All these so-called manifestos alike, they all try to lead Anarchist in a smooth and clear way, but at present all that was said about manifestos and plat- forms and declarations nothing new has been added to the anarch-ist cause. About this the Progressive Club, sees farther in the future than the publishing of the manifestos and declarations.

Affiliation of I. W. M. A. of Berlin. The con- ference sends its greetings to the I. W. M. A. as the vanguard of the revolutionary labor movement, and pledge our moral support.

The conference did not act upon the last point on the agenda, because the manifesto was not fully adopted.

It accepted the following. The Anarchists as- sembled in a conference at Chicago, considering their position towards the labor movement, reaffirm their faith in the organization of the workers, insist on their right to propagate their ideas among the workers of all organizations, but repudiate most emphatically all dictatorship, dictatorship either on the part of the bureaucratic leadership or originating from political parties.

The Anarchist Mid-West Conference suggests that all groups who cooperate with other organizations, for mutual aims should see to it their due credit to recognition be accorded them. This would rebound to the advantage of the movement as a whole.

The Anarchist Mid-West Conference assembled in

Chicago, sends its fraternal greetings to the striking miners in Kentucky, W. Va., and Pennsylvania.

We also pledge ourselves to do our utmost to bring about the release of the imprisoned miners who are now under the shadow of the electric chair in Harlan County, Kentucky.

We send fraternal greetings to all veterans of the Anarchist movement and endorse the Interaid Fund.

Telegrams were received from: Toronto Free Society, Branch 339, Workmen's Circle; Ben Capes, St. Louis; Group Freie Arbeiter Stimme, Detroit. The conference sent a night letter to the Modern School Conference in Stelton, New Jersey.

The conference adjourned. The next conference to take place in St. Louis.

A. OLAY,
PAUL BOATIN,
Secretaries.

A LETTER FROM PEDRO VALLINA

EDITOR, ROAD TO FREEDOM:—

Government detention and the Crimes of Sevilla

Pedro Vallina, the generous man, indefatigable fighter for all causes of Justice, the revolutionary apostle is prisoner in Cadiz. He who has contributed in greater proportion with his work to this republic, more than those who have high positions, they persecute and imprison, with greater cruelty than during the extinct monarchy.

For over 3 days he has been incarcerated and held incommunicado in the Castillo de Santa Catalina. Besides which the lying officials have made calumnies and pretended to justify his detention. But the truth always comes out and of these lies there's nothing left. He was imprisoned and has not yet been given a declaration by any judge. He does not even know yet the causes for his detention. There is only the insidiousness that disappears before the light of truth. Vallina, who, is more persecuted than any other of the monarchists who were responsible for the catastrophes of the Annual and Xuaen (where 14,000 Spaniards fell)—and who complicated all the unfortunate accidents of the State, is writing from his prison, protesting serenely and energetically. Appeals to the honorable consciences and to the persons of right sentiments, to punish for the crimes committed in Sevilla, of workers assassinated right in the street. Here is the letter of Vallina:

Castile of Santa Catalina,
22-8-31.

To the Editor of the *La Tierra*. Dear Editor: I ask you to have the kindness to insert in *La Tierra* the telegram that I addressed to the President of the Constituents:—Cadiz: Bestiero, President of Constituents. I've been imprisoned before the catastrophes of Sevilla, being over 30 days sequestered in Castile without knowing the cause of the detention and without being asked for any declaration. Has Alfonso XIII. returned? I ask intervention. Vallina.

Permit me also to put in the columns of your periodical to send to the Spaniard of heart—and to invite the intervention against the impunity of the crimes of Sevilla and to install in Spain a regime of common sense and right thinking. Many thanks.

In the name of the cause of honor and liberty,
PEDRO VALLINA.

EDITOR, ROAD TO FREEDOM.

On behalf of Tom Mooney, his defense committee today issued a statement denying that either he or any of his friends had planned a mass meeting to protest the parole of Asa Keyes, former District Attorney of Los Angeles County.

The statement came in answer to a recently published news dispatch quoting Robert Whitaker of the Mooney Defense Committee to the effect that a mass protest against the release of Keyes had

meeting planned for October 11 is for the single purpose of protesting the prolonged imprisonment of Tom Mooney and will make no objection to the parole of Asa Keyes.

The statement also quotes a vigorous protest written by Tom Mooney against any idea of using the Keyes parole action in the Mooney pardon campaign. The Mooney letter reads in part:

"If I can gain my freedom only by slinging mud at fellow prisoners fortunate enough to win leniency, then I shall be content to remain in prison for the balance of my life. I certainly do not begrudge Asa Keyes the liberty that has been restored to him. As to his guilt or innocence, I have formed no opinion, and even if he were guilty, I would blame the system rather than damn the individual. There isn't a prisoner in San Quentin whose welfare I would sacrifice for my benefit regardless of what his status was outside."

The October mass meeting to be held in San Francisco will bring together men and women active in the pardon movement throughout the State.

Speakers will be heard from every city and county in California and the principal talks will be broadcast over KPO and KFRC.

TOM MOONEY MOLDERS DEFENSE
COMMITTEE.

FINANCIAL REPORT

August 1st to September 15th

Income from groups—	
Youngstown, Ohio	\$ 10.00
Rochester, N. Y.	5.00
Boston, Mass., (through Block)	18.44
Stelton, N. J.	8.00
Detroit,	25.00
Cleveland	7.50
Mohegan	5.00
Chicago—L. Gloss, \$2.00; S. Witz, \$2.00; B. Reitman, \$10.00; Rutstein, 6.00; K. Cohen, \$5.00; Ivanoff, \$5.00; S. Cohen, \$3.00; M. Zubrin, \$3.00; H. Miller, \$2.00; Peck, \$3.00; Krupnick, \$2.00; Olay, \$2.00; Lewin, \$2.00; Wolkoff, \$1.00; Dolgoff, \$1.00; E. Cunes, \$1.00; M. Cohen, \$1.00; small collec- tion, \$2.55	53.55
Total	\$132.49

Income from individuals—

P. Winkoffsky, P. Patrich, I. Isachson, B. Frumkin, D. Pearl, L. Golony, S. Brodsky, A. Rappaport, M. Dale, A. Bellow, S. Sher- man, L. Fagnani, A. Lubman, J. Armand, O. Landeck, C. H. Swartz, Tom, Brothers, T. Egges, S. Dinoff, C. Parsons, T. Schroeder, A. Nulko, E. Fort, T. Colosanto, J. D. An- gelo, A. Fatica, Luda Brothers, J. H. Brothers, L. Cummings, P. Kikke, A. Livchitz, R. Hochman, I. Cline, J. Hughes, C. Hill, A. Zeldes, H. Stuart, C. Polichuk, S. Cohen, F. Redy, Hapwood, C. Zappolo. (One dollar each)	\$ 42.00
S. Zigmund, B. Blumberg, Rabinowich, M. Churz, N. Puglache, W. Ringe, D. Lorenzi, A. Weber, J. Grigsby, Hartmans Studio, V. Beck, A. Jaspar, I. Bogin, M. Rosenbaum, R. Kruchkow, A. Antonetti. (Two dollars each)	32.00
A. Sosnofsky, Van Hisen, S. Sline. (Three Dollars each)	9.00
Spivacks, I. Beneqvit, Ben Capes, Murray Arm. (Five dollars each)	20.00
Thomas Wright, \$6.00; A comrade, 50c; F. Ballon, \$1.50; A. Falk, \$3.50; N. Nchicota, \$1.50; P. Vandyk, \$1.75; S. Engel, \$2.50; G. Scarceiaix, \$2.50; N. Y. Radio, \$11.50; H. Walker, \$3.00; Wanda and Vasia, \$10.00; From L. R., for H. H., \$16.65.	
Total	60.90

HARLAN SYNDICATE POSTPONED

Cases of 25 defendants in Harlan County, Kentucky, until the November term of Court, which will convene each of the accused the strike in force—\$5,000 to trial, and \$5,000 as a pe- Twelve murder cases gr of members of a raiding p in May by unidentified miles away. Nine other the Everts shooting have County, also 100 or more

Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel for the go to Kentucky in Novemb Arnold Johnson, represent dicted for criminal syndi his possession a Union le You Mean—Free Speech?"

THE ELITE C

(Continued)

The malefactors are n secution and penalty, impose themselves and the only ones to be seen room for only them.

All the so-called civil ticipated in the war, ar most bloody reaction: I many, Austria, Hungar Bulgaria, Czecho-Slova even Russia, shameful and cowardice toward F red, debased, they all wa brutal leader who shall la or stab them with his di

And that's logic. When nations are unc themselves be led to the who govern them, it mean less to freedom and unde

Thus, we can under times of social vileness, ism seems to regain the are at the pinnacle. We to see the triumphant power, where they erect n ing, theft and counterfe tal system.

That's where the who

LITERATURE REPO 15th TO AU

Income to previous Literatu	
Expenses of previous Literatu	
Deficit	
Income from July 15th to	
Sale of books	
Purchases	
Balance	

NEW Y

INTERNATION