

Freedom

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NOTES.

Good-bye, 1919!

In future years, when we are able to know more of the facts, we believe it will be found that more suffering was crammed into the past twelve months than into any previous year in the world's history. When the Armistice was signed in November, 1918, the war of arms gave way to the war by starvation. The blockade which existed during the war was intensified, so as to force the conquered to submit to the terms dictated by the conquerors. The flood of lies about atrocities committed by the Bolsheviks was poured out by the Entente Press for two reasons—first, to blacken the Bolsheviks in the eyes of the world, but also to hide the atrocities committed by the Entente Powers by means of their infamous blockade. Last January many people were looking forward to a Peace Treaty which would heal the wounds caused by the Great War, and bring an era of peace, however brief, to a world sated with horrors. Instead, we had at Paris a Conference where the representatives of Britain, France and Italy in particular schemed against each other in their greed for territory, utterly regardless of the misery at their doors. The "little nations," over whom so many crocodile tears were shed during the war, have been used as pawns in the game of "beggar my neighbour," and at the present moment half a dozen wars are in progress in Europe, forced on unwilling peoples by the Governments in power. The workers' revolts in Germany and Hungary have been drowned in blood, and from the Baltic to the Black Sea reaction rules supreme by means of the militarism which a credulous people thought would be swept away by the war.

The White Terror in America.

On another page we give an account of the war being waged in the United States against all those who seek to build a happier world by abolishing capitalism. The revolution in Russia has caused a perfect panic amongst the capitalists, and in their attempt to prevent the spread of Communist ideas in America they are using police and ex-soldiers to smash up every organisation that seeks to spread revolutionary thought. On December 21 many Russian comrades were deported from New York to an unknown destination, and on January 2 what is described as "a round-up of extremists" took place in many cities from New York to California, several thousands being arrested. All the aliens are to be deported, and those who are American citizens will be prosecuted under the Criminal Anarchy Law. The wearing of an I.W.W. button, or membership of the Communist Party, or the possession of Anarchist literature is sufficient to make one liable to prosecution. A comrade writes from New York: "Tyrannical as Britain is, not even in the suppression of the Irish does she excel the concerted, hypocritical wave of stifling laws being passed in this country. To merely be suspected of knowing a Radical is sufficient excuse for a police raid. They come in and just destroy everything wantonly, without rhyme or reason. There is a malignant wave of reaction setting in throughout America that promises to develop into a national Ku-Klux of Civil War infamy." Anarchists are denounced for saying that capitalism can only be overthrown by the use of force. We are told to look to a peaceful solution of social problems. The capitalists themselves prove the falsity of this view. They defend their privileges by force and fraud, and those who dare to strike at the root of exploitation and robbery will be attacked by these human tigers with all the forces at their command. They are the people who stand in the way of a peaceful evolution of society.

The Allies and Russia.

Clemenceau's statement that the Allies were going to put a ring of barbed wire round Soviet Russia should stop all the talk about the negotiations at Copenhagen leading to peace. The defeat of Denikin and Koltchak has upset the plans of the Allies for the present, but there can be no peace between Soviet Russia and capitalism. Lloyd George has created an impression that the British Government is opposed to intervention, but that France insists on continuing the war. We prefer to believe that Winston Churchill's view is the one held by the British Government. He says: "No one could tell what would emerge from Russia, but it would be something very menacing to civilisation, and especially dangerous to the British Empire. New forces were springing up in Asia Minor, and if Russian Bolshevism and Turkish Mohammedanism should join hands, the situation for Great Britain would be grave." Churchill means that the investments of the wealthy classes in Britain would be in danger, but if the workers of this country were really in free possession of the land in which they live and work, they should welcome the fact that the inhabitants of India and Egypt were going to throw off the British yoke and settle their own affairs in their own way. The Russian people will have quite enough to do for many years to repair the ravages of the war, without troubling about Turkey or India; but as long as the British people support the war against Soviet Russia, the Russians will retaliate by trying to cause trouble in India. When will the British workers take possession of the wealth they have created in their own country, and thus help in breaking up that monstrous weapon of exploitation, the British Empire?

Is a Labour Government Coming?

Labour candidates' greatly increased polls, added to their victories at Parliamentary and municipal elections, have set their hearts beating at the thought of taking their seats on the Government benches of the House of Commons. However much the leaders of the Labour Party may disagree about Bolshevism, Direct Action and Free Trade, they are all agreed that they could carry on the Government as easily, and draw their salaries as gracefully as the present Coalition crowd. If the next General Election should give a majority to the Labour Party, we can imagine the modest blushes of J. H. Thomas—or will it be Clynes, or Henderson?—when the King asks him to form a Ministry. And how retiring the other Labour men will be when the jobs are being handed out! No pulling of wires such as there was when the old capitalist Cabinets were being formed, but one desire only—the well-being of their country. How anxious they will be to show how proper and highly respectable they can be when they like. No damned revolutionary nonsense about them; nothing but sane and sober statesmanship. And the capitalists know it. Northcliffe's organs are quite prepared to welcome a Labour Government, for the same reason that they support Trade Union leaders against unofficial strikes—because they think that a Labour Government would be better able to keep the workers in order here when the waves of revolution are sweeping away capitalist institutions in other parts of the world. All the Labour leaders to-day—with a very few exceptions—are nothing but watch-dogs for the capitalists, and should the swing of the pendulum bring them into power they could safely be trusted to act as a barrier to the Social Revolution. But their Social Revolution would have been achieved!

"It is a common error in politics to confound means with ends. Constitutions, charters, petitions of right, declarations of right, representative assemblies, electoral colleges are not good government; nor do they, even when most elaborately constructed, necessarily produce good government. Laws exist in vain for those who have not the courage and the means to defend them. Electors meet in vain where want makes them the slaves of the landlord; or where superstition makes them the slaves of the priest.—MACAULAY.

THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENTARY ACTION IN THE MODERN LABOUR MOVEMENT.

On the 20th of July, 1870, Karl Marx wrote to Frederick Engels the following characteristic words:

The French need a thrashing. Is Prussia victorious, then State-power will be centralised, thus centralising the German working class. German preponderance will shift the centre of the West-European Labour movement from France to Germany, and one has only to compare the movement from 1866 till to-day in both countries in order to perceive that the German working class is superior to the French in theory and in organisation. Its preponderance over the French in the world-theatre would at the same time mean the preponderance of our theory over the one of Proudhon, etc.

Marx was right. The victory of Germany over France meant indeed a turning point in the history of European Labour movements. The libertarian and revolutionary Socialism of the proletariat of the Latin countries was pushed into the background by the new situation and forced to clear the field for the authoritarian and anti-libertarian theories of Marxism. The living, creating and unlimited development of Socialism had to give way to a petrified dogmatism, which pretentiously came forward as a new science, but which in reality is nothing else than a tissue of theological subtleties and fatalistic sophisms which dig the grave for every truly Socialist thought. And with the ideas were changed the methods of the Labour movement. Instead of the Socialist propaganda groups and economic fighting organisations in which the Socialists of the "Internationale" saw the germs of the future society, the natural organs for the socialisation of the means of life, now started the era of the Socialist-Labour parties and the Parliamentary representation of the proletariat. The old Socialist education, which spoke to the workers of the conquest of land, factories and workshops, was gradually forgotten and had to give way to the discipline of the party, which saw in the conquest of political power its noblest and highest ideal.

Michael Bakunin, the great opponent of Marx, perceived the changed position with a clear view and understood with a heavy heart that after the victory of Germany and after the terrible defeat of the Paris Commune a new chapter in the history of Europe had begun. Physically entirely broken and scenting death, which was very close on him, he wrote on the 11th of November, 1874, to Orgajow the following significant words: "Bismarckism—i.e., militarism, police régime and finance monopolies, united in a system which carries the name of the new Statedom—is conquering everywhere. Perhaps ten or fifteen years will pass in which this mighty and scientific abnegation of humanity will be victorious." Bakunin was mistaken in the length of time and was unable to guess that nearly half a century would pass before "Bismarckism" would be defeated, and that it would end in a gruesome world catastrophe.

Whilst the victory of Germany in 1871 and the terrible overthrow of the Paris Commune were the prologue to the decline of the old "Internationale," so the Great War of 1914 was to peal the death-knell of political Socialism.

And here we encounter a curious phenomenon which appears sometimes really grotesque, and can only be explained by the great lack of knowledge of the history of the old Socialist movement. Bolsheviki, Independents, Communists and others never tire of accusing the leaders of the old Social Democracy of blackest treason to the principles of Marxism. They accuse them of having suffocated the Socialist movement in the morass of bourgeois parliamentarism and of wrongly interpreting the position of Marx and Engels towards the State, etc.

The intellectual leader of Bolshevism, N. Lenin, has attempted to give these accusations a firm foundation by the publication of his well-known book, "State and Revolution," which is looked upon by his disciples, especially in Germany, as the revelation of unadulterated Marxism. By industriously collecting a mass of extracts from the writings of Marx and Engels, Lenin tries to prove that the "two founders of scientific Socialism" were always pronounced opponents of democracy and Parliamentary "morass-politics," and that all their efforts were directed towards the abolition of the State.

Now one must not forget that Lenin made this discovery only when his party, contrary to all expectation, found itself in the minority after the elections for the Constituent Assembly. Until then the Bolsheviki had taken part in elections, like all other parties, and anxiously avoided coming into conflict with the principles of democracy. In the last elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly, which they initiated with a grandiose program, they had hoped to get an overwhelming majority.

But when in spite of all this they remained in the minority, they declared war on democracy and dissolved the Constituent Assembly. And then Lenin issued his work on "State and Revolution" as a kind of justification.

Lenin's task was by no means easy. He was forced to make far-reaching concessions to the anti-State tendencies of the Anarchists, whilst at the same time he had to seek for proof that his action was by no means Anarchism but undiluted Marxism. The result was therefore that his work abounds with errors, which sometimes turn sound logic upside down. The following is one example: In order to bring the anti-State tendency of Marx into the limelight, Lenin cites the well-known passage from Marx's "Civil War in France," where Marx expresses his satisfaction with the Commune because it had begun "to eradicate the parasite State root and branch." But Lenin forgets to mention that Marx with this quotation, which is in crying opposition to his whole previous position on this question, was compelled by circumstances to make a concession to his Bakuninist opponents, with whom he was then in a keen fight. Even Franz Mehring, whom one cannot accuse of any sympathy with the Majority Socialists, had to admit this contradiction. He says in his last work, "Karl Marx: History of his Life": "As ingenious as this work is in detail, the ideas nevertheless stood in a certain contradiction with the opinions which Marx and Engels had expressed for a quarter of a century, and which they had already proclaimed in the 'Communist Manifesto.'"

But Bakunin was entirely right when he wrote at the time: "The impression of the rising of the Commune was so forceful that even the Marxists, whose ideas had all been thrown into a heap by this revolution, were compelled to raise their hats to the Commune. They did even more: in contradiction to all logic and their own innermost feelings, they made the program of the Commune and their own goal identical. It was a comical but forced travesty. They had to make it, or they would have been repelled and left by everybody, so powerful was the emotion which this revolution had created in the whole world."

What Lenin forgets to mention in his work, although it is for the question at issue of decisive importance, is the fact that it was Marx and Engels who tried to force Parliamentary activity on the organisations of the old International, and thus were the direct cause of the general stagnation of the Socialist-Labour movement in bourgeois Parliamentarism. The International was the first great attempt to unite the organised workers of all countries in one great bond, as far as it recognised the final goal as the economic liberation of the workers. But as the ideas and methods of the different branches varied, it was of importance to lay down the grand uniting points as guiding lines and to recognise the autonomy and independent activity of the various sections. As long as this was the case the International flourished with wonderful power in all countries. But the case soon altered when Marx and Engels attempted to force Parliamentary activity on the various separate national federations. This was first done at the disastrous London Conference in the year 1871, where both had a resolution adopted which finished with the following words:

Considering that against the collective force of the property-owning classes the proletariat as a class can only stand if it constitutes itself a separate political party in opposition to all parties of the propertied classes; that this constitution of the proletariat as a political party is necessary in order to secure the triumph of the Social Revolution and its final goal—the abolition of the classes; that the unification of the powers of the proletariat, accomplished already through the economic struggles, must also serve as a lever for the mass of this class in its struggle against the political power of its exploiters; reminds the Conference, the members of the International, that in the struggle of the working class their economic and political activities are inseparably bound together.

Had any single section or federation of the International adopted such a resolution, they would have had a perfect right to do so, because it involved nobody else; but when the General Executive forced such a resolution as binding on all members of the International, despite the fact that the question had not been brought before a General Congress, their arbitrary action, which stood in direct opposition to the spirit of the International, was bound to arouse the energetic opposition of all libertarian and revolutionary elements.

The infamous Congress at the Hague in 1872 crowned the work undertaken by Marx and Engels to transform the International into an election machine by a special resolution, which made it compulsory for the different sections of the International to strive for the capture of political power. Thus was the open split in the International, with all its fatal consequences for the Labour movement, directly provoked by Marx and Engels, and the period of Parliamentary activity commenced for the Socialist

movement, which unavoidably led into a morass and to the degeneration of Socialism.

When in 1873 the revolution broke out in Spain, the members of the International, who were Anarchists almost to a man, ignored the bourgeois parties and went their own way to bring about the expropriation of the land and the means of production in the spirit of the social revolution. General strikes and insurrections broke out in Alcoy, San Lucar, Barameda, Sevilla, Cartagena and other places, but they were bloodily suppressed. The longest to hold out was the naval harbour town Cartagena, which for several months was in the hands of the rebels, until it fell finally with the help of Prussian and British warships. On this occasion Engels, in the "Volksstaat," attacked the Spanish Bakuninists severely, and reproached them for not having joined with the bourgeois Republicans. How would the same Engels, if he were still alive, have criticised the position of his Bolshevik and Communist disciples in Russia and Germany?

After the Congress of Erfurt in 1891, when the leaders of the so-called "Jungen" (young ones) were expelled from the Social Democratic party because they had raised the very same accusations which to-day Lenin is raising against the "opportunists" and "Kautskyans," the oppositional elements founded their own party, which had as their organ the Berlin *Sozialist*. This movement was at the start dogmatically Marxian and represented ideas which were almost identical with the present Communist Party. If one reads, for instance, the book of Teistler, "Parliamentarism and the Proletariat," one finds the very same ideas as in Lenin's work, "State and Revolution." Like the Russian Bolsheviks and the members of the Communist Party of Germany, the "Independent Socialists" of that time rejected democracy and refused to take part in bourgeois Parliaments on the grounds of Marxian principles.

And how did Engels speak about these "young ones," who, like the "Communists" of to-day, were accusing the Social Democratic party leaders of treason against Marxism? In a letter to Sorge, dated 24th of October, 1891, old Engels made the following loving remarks: "The most contemptible Berliners, instead of being the accusers, went straight away into the dock and acted as miserable cowards and were compelled to work outside the party if they wanted to do anything. There are undoubtedly police spies amongst them, also disguised Anarchists who are out to do quiet propaganda amongst our people; side by side with the former there are asses, conceited students, failures and arrogant coxcombs of all kinds. All in all, hardly 200 people." One wonders with what caressing adjectives Engels would to-day stamp our "Communists," who styled themselves the "grave watchers" of the principles of Marxism.

It is impossible to characterise the methods of the old Social Democracy. Of these things Lenin doesn't mention a word, and his German friends still less. Our Majority Socialists have only to recall these things in order to prove that they are the true representatives of Marxism. And anyone who knows history must say that they are right. It was Marxism which initiated the Parliamentary activity of the working class and which moulded the internal development of the German Social Democratic Party. Only when our "Communist" friends of to-day realise this will they see that the way of social liberation leads not through but over Marxism into the happy land of Socialism.

R. ROCKER.

(*Der Freie Arbeiter*, August, 1919.)

DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

The death of Domela Nieuwenhuis robs the Free Socialist, or Anarchist-Socialist stage of one of its ablest and most energetic actors. For half a century he had been spreading, both by pen and word of mouth, a gospel in which he himself unquestionably had most sincere belief. He had, and properly, great influence; and he exposed most ably, and attacked quite fearlessly, Socialist politics. With Socialism itself, however, he seems never to have made the final break.

It will be seen at once that I am writing a critical notice and not a eulogy. Of eulogies we have, in my opinion, far too many. We gush over chosen heroes. We celebrate martyr-days with all the enthusiasm of Early Christians. In all this, to my thinking, there is only weakening hysteria and gross injustice to the masses whose martyrdom remains unsung.

Domela Nieuwenhuis was originally a Protestant pastor, and followed that occupation until he was 32 years of age. For some time previous, however, he had been drifting from the Church, speaking on the Labour question and writing on tendencies toward Socialism. He published subsequently a work entitled, "From Christian to Anarchist," but I permit myself to doubt

whether he ever took that uncompromising stand which stamps a man, once and for all, as completely emancipated; as one of those scientists who follow Truth wherever she may lead them. Jacques Mesnil, in *La Vie Ouvrière*, explains the situation by showing that the Protestant Church in Holland is often most liberal and unorthodox. He cites the fact that one of Holland's most noted Anarchists, a friend of Nieuwenhuis, remains to this day a pastor. I have the poorest opinion of that explanation.

Does it not strike our friend Mesnil that the reason why the Roman Catholic Church is to-day a great, an increasing and a terrible power, is precisely because she sets her face like granite against all compromise, requires unquestioning acceptance of certain dogmas, and, with the soundest logic, insists that he who opposes authority is a rebel? Has it never occurred to him that Protestantism has no real influence to-day precisely because it compromises; because it is free thought with strings on it; because it is the creed of men who would like to exercise their private judgment, but say timidly—"Provided my conclusions agree with Holy Writ"?

Nieuwenhuis himself was in the habit of insisting that there was a close connection between Protestantism and Anarchism, and of quoting St. Paul to prove it. There is. Protestantism was rebellion, and was put down as such with fire and sword. Protestantism started straight for the Anarchist goal of perfect Freedom, but stopped short, not having strength to make the journey. In my view, Anarchism also has stopped short and compromised with Socialism, precisely as freethinking Protestantism compromised with religion and the Roman Catholic Church. To-day there are millions who seek to reconcile Science and Religion, and think the work a noble one. I say that it is damnable.

From my standpoint, Nieuwenhuis was, in the domain of sociology, another Luther. Luther did powerful and useful work. He unmasked the abuses of the Roman Catholic priesthood, precisely as Nieuwenhuis unmasked the corruption of Social Democratic politics. But Luther believed that Roman Catholicism purified would be all right; and it never occurred to him that in the thing itself lay all the trouble. Nieuwenhuis's attitude toward Socialism seems to me similar.

I am sure he would have denied it; but that does not change the fact. I am sure he would have maintained that, as an Anarchist, he set the freedom of the individual first; but that is mere pious aspiration. The hard logic of the situation is that Socialism in all its forms—Syndicalism, and so forth—carries you inexorably to obedience to some central authority, be it only that of the group or trade union to which the worker must belong. Once started on that toboggan, you cannot stop.

That program, which kills Freedom, is breaking down. That frail tenement, built on sentiment, cannot weather the storms now striking it. The dominating forces, those who really love Freedom and mean to get it, will have none of such compromises. By far the greatest industry in existence, agriculture, will not listen to it for a moment; and even Lenin recognises that the peasants will not put their necks under the yoke of administrative authority, and insist on that personal liberty which possession of the land confers. I, as an Anarchist—but most decidedly not an Anarchist-Socialist—applaud their stand.

On the great questions now shaking society, Anarchism, as a movement, has not as yet made up its mind. For example, on the land question it has no settled policy, and its Press articles on that subject are habitually absurd. Of the money question it knows nothing, and its editors take refuge in the ridiculous generality that "money must be abolished." Of the fundamental distinction between invasion and resistance to invasion, on which the justification or condemnation of every war must hang, Anarchism, as a movement, seems never to have thought; and you will find the very man who cursed the Belgians for opposing Germany cheering Russia for sending her invaders flying. What will such a man counsel when the United States invades Mexico, as in all probability she shortly will?

Until our movement thinks out the principles by which such problems must be solved it cannot show its proper strength. In my view, it has not thought them out because it is, as yet, a mere outgrowth of Socialism and still yoked to Socialism's car. Socialism has no principles. It is partly an emotional and partly an opportunist movement, bent on twisting this way, that way and every way, that it may climb to power. To Anarchism continued alliance with it means, first, the abandonment of all clear thinking; secondly, gradual absorption and, ultimately, death.

Is this criticism hostile to Nieuwenhuis? It is not meant to be. I am most grateful for his life and work, just as I am for those of Luther. Both men stepped out of the ruck and pioneered ahead. To-day we are called on to advance much farther. Events they could not have foreseen are forcing us.

W.C.O.

Freedom

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THE WHITE TERROR IN AMERICA.

Nowhere in the world has the "war for democracy" brought such a wave of reaction as in the United States, and nowhere have such enormous fortunes been made out of the misery of the common people. It is said that 20,000 (twenty thousand) new millionaires have been made in the States since the Armistice was signed in November, 1918. With further great fortunes in sight, American Capitalism has started a bloody war on every organisation that dares to speak on behalf of the workers—Anarchist, I.W.W., Communist Party or Trade Union. Even the American Federation of Labour, whose president, Sam Gompers, is hand in glove with the Capitalists, has felt the heavy hand of the reactionaries.

Although our Anarchist comrades and the I.W.W. have always been persecuted by "law and order" in the States, the attacks on those and other organisations came to a head with the strike of the workers employed by the Steel Trust, who demanded better conditions and recognition of their Union. This strike was under the auspices of the A.F.L., but as soon as it started the Press raised a howl of "Bolsheviks!" "Anarchists!" "I.W.W.," and demanded police and soldiers to protect "the loyal working man in his right to labour without interference from the 'Reds,'" as they call all revolutionists in the States. The Steel Trust called out their gunmen and special constables, all meetings were forbidden, and free speech suppressed everywhere. In Gary the Cossacks galloped through a crowd of strikers and wounded 200 with their long bludgeons. Wherever strikers gathered they were likely to hear the sound of dashing hoofs and find themselves charged by the mounted police. In the coal strike which soon followed we read of miners in some districts being rounded up by the military, the leaders thrown into prison, and the rest of them forced to resume work. Most of the steel workers and miners stood up firmly against these methods, but now all are back at work again with few of their demands conceded.

But it was the I.W.W., the Anarchists, and the newly-formed Communist Party who had to bear the fiercest attacks. Aided by the American Legion (discharged soldiers and officers), the police started a nation-wide raid on all the offices, meeting-places, and papers of the above-named organisations. Many hundreds were arrested and charged, under the new Criminal Anarchy or Criminal Syndicalist laws, with plotting to overthrow the United States Government. Wearing the I.W.W. badge or membership of the Communist Party was in several cases sufficient evidence for judges to pass sentences of five, ten and even twenty years' imprisonment. For distributing leaflets protesting against intervention in Russia, one young woman and three men were sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment each. They appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, but a majority of these grave and reverend seigneurs decided that these brutal and atrocious sentences must stand. Twenty years for distributing leaflets!

The raids on the I.W.W. halls were marked by special brutality. The *Rebel Worker* (I.W.W.), of New York, November 15, gives the following particulars of a raid on November 7 by fifteen armed detectives on the hall of the I.W.W. Textile Workers at 519, East 12th Street:

"Secretary Nathan Birnzwieg was the first to feel the smashing hand of the dicks. Blow after blow fell upon Birnzwieg, and finally he fell under the shattering black jacks and could not rise. Carl Yacuk, another textile worker, was the next, and he too felt the mailed fist, the fifteen gunmen setting upon him all at once. Then Jim Kaledia was greeted by all the force behind the detectives' hands, and he too was somewhat bloodied up. On their way out, after searching the other members for bombs and revolvers, the dicks threw ink bottles, books and almost every movable article on the helpless Birnzwieg, and then, to complete the job, stamped upon him as they swept their clean and virtuous way out of the hall."

The *Rebel Worker*, of December 1, prints an account of a series of raids on halls on November 15. As the hour was late, three of the halls were closed, but the thirty to forty members of the Bomb Squad of the New York police broke in the doors and smashed everything possible. "The damage done in these halls amounts to more than five thousand dollars." These scoundrels representing "law and order" then went on to the general headquarters of the I.W.W. at 115, East 10th Street, where, after searching the fifty or sixty members present, they proceeded to destroy all the papers, pamphlets, books and letters. That accomplished, they ordered all but the two members who were arrested to leave the hall.

"The members started for the door, and as the first tried to pass out he was knocked to the floor by a crushing blow on the head. He crawled the rest of the way receiving kicks by the brutes who had now formed a gauntlet. The other members then crowded toward the rear and the officers circled around them beating them with black jacks, table legs and clubs. There were boys of 16 to old men of 60, and all were beaten the same. Some officers would strike at the knees of the fellow workers so as to cripple them, and the other officers would crush in their heads. The groans and cries were terrible, but finally ended. People on the street assisted the maimed to doctors and hospitals."

The same brutal methods were employed all over the country. At Los Angeles the American Legion raided the I.W.W. offices, assaulted the members, and destroyed all they could lay their hands on. The chief of police issued a protest on the grounds that he had intended doing the same thing himself! In many cities, bookshops that sold "Red" literature have been closed, the literature confiscated, and the proprietors charged under the Criminal Anarchy Law.

Emma Goldman and Alex. Berkman Deported.

Many Anarchists and Communists have been arrested, all those who are not American citizens being deported. Although both Emma Goldman and Alex. Berkman have been many years in America, they have been put on a ship with about two hundred other Russians, the captain sailing with sealed orders. The Government officials promised they would be landed in Soviet Russia, but as there is no open entry to Soviet Russia their fate is uncertain. The immigration authorities say that hundreds more are to follow. Our two comrades fought hard against deportation, but although they had only recently been released, after two years' imprisonment, the Attorney-General demanded their deportation on the ground that all the Bolshevik activities in the United States could be traced to this "nest of Anarchists"!

To us the whole business seems childish in the extreme. The "great" American nation, which boasts its intelligence and wealth and the freedom of its institutions, is now as panic-stricken as a flock of sheep at the sight of a wolf. We welcome it as a sign of weakness on the part of the American Government, and more things are unlikely than Emma Goldman's parting remark, that in five years' time she would be welcomed back to Soviet America.

Whilst all these atrocities are being perpetrated on American citizens by their own Government, the American Press is demanding intervention in Mexico on the plea that the Mexican Government is not able or willing to protect the lives and property of U.S. citizens in Mexico!

The fact that even the "moderate" Trade Unions are now being attacked should be a warning to the Labour Movement in this country, which frequently ignores attacks on the Socialist and Anarchist Press here as being none of their business. There is a profound truth in the I.W.W. motto: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

An American I.W.W. comrade, George Hardy, is willing to speak on behalf of the I.W.W. prisoners. Trade Union and Socialist branches are requested to write for particulars to *Solidarity*, 10, Tudor Street, London, E.C.4.

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A CHRISTMAS CAROL.

Despite the disclosures in the *Times* and the *Daily Mail* of the horrors of Bolshevik rule in Russia, it is certainly unlikely that the Bolsheviks have ever, or will ever, commit more horrible atrocities than the one the story of which is here related.

Russia is a large country and the numbers of its people are large. It is to be understood, therefore, that amongst them are those who oppose and contend against the Bolshevik régime. So it happens that these objectors are in some places courageous enough to express their opinions in public assemblies. Some little time ago an audience of 5,000 persons or more assembled in a square or sunken garden, to which there were only two entrances, to listen to two speakers who were to address them. The news of the meeting being held came to the ears of an officer in high command. (It is not suggested he is in any way related to either Lenin or Trotsky.) This officer thereupon marched his ninety soldiers and machine guns to the place, and without warning of any kind opened fire upon the densely-packed and unarmed crowd. At the end of ten minutes over four hundred of them were lying dead upon the ground, and the air was filled with the shrieks and groans of fifteen hundred more who were wounded.

This much has to be added to the story: The wounded people were left where they fell, and this officer in high command marched away with his men without attempting to render first aid. Thus, torture was added to massacre. The governor of the province has commended the action, and the officer in question has received promotion, which will be, in Bolshevik minds, generally approved.

This short and horrible story—authenticated as it is—is hereby presented to the *Times* and the *Daily Mail*. These papers may use it as they wish: to urge a continuation of the war with Russia, or to advocate that a similar course of action, prompt and speedy, would be most efficacious in quelling any further strike movement in our own country. Carried to its logical extreme, it would even be the surest antidote for the woes of Ireland. There is no social disease that will not yield to such a potent remedy. Prussianism even—as those papers have told us—has been destroyed by its means.

The subterfuge need, I think, be kept up no longer. The place, Amritsar, at which these things were done is not in Russia, but in India; the officer who ordered them is not a Bolshevik, but a general in the British Army; his soldiers were British soldiers, and his superior who commended him is the Governor of the Punjab, appointed by the British Government.

The names of Dyer and O'Dwyer will stink in the nostrils of all decent people as long as they are remembered; to use an often-quoted phrase, "they are not fit to live." I will not invoke the law upon them—for in it I have no faith—but from henceforth let no human man or woman touch them or speak with them! They are lepers! Fasten bells round their necks! Unclean! Unclean!

And to my contemporaries I would say in the clearest possible language, that those who associate themselves with those things, by such association testify with the utmost surety to their enmity to Humanity as a whole, and to Liberty, the aspiration of Humanity. An acid test by which enemies may be discovered from friends.

Of reasons why and explanations how, there are many. We refuse to listen to them. Our human feelings are outraged and violated. The attempted assassination of General French, in comparison with this massacre, is a trivial affair. Yet the people of Ireland must pay for the attempt at assassination—few of them being in the secret of it—while successful assassination in India receives commendation and reward.

And so the moral may be emphasised. It is popularly supposed that Parliament has vested in it the governance of this island and its Crown Colonies. Let us have an extended franchise, proportional representation, democratic control, say the "law-abiding" democrats—but this Amritsar affair demonstrates to every intelligent person that when we have all been sorted out and divided up and made voters of, the power to govern will still remain, as it always has done, in the hands of those few individuals who are governors. The title may be changed, the status remains the same. *Emperor Nero* becomes *General Dyer*, *King Herod* changes to *Governor O'Dwyer*, that is all. But, an' we are assured, when democratic government is begun, such happenings will not take place. It is assumed they will not take place. Those oppressors of common rights and free speech and small nations will lose their appointments and positions. Indeed! then into whose hands will the Labour Government put the practical administration of affairs? What has the Labour Party in the Commons done to even protest

against this abominable outrage? Not a man of them left his seat in protest, nor was one voice amongst them raised in denunciation.

Findings of Commissions, judicial judgments, votes of censure are of no importance when compared with the thing that is done. For the unrest in India, as in Ireland and Egypt, there is a cause. And that cause we believe is the inarticulate yearning in the hearts of men for Liberty. For its satisfaction no salves nor ointments nor plasters will avail anything. Neither can any tyrant—thanks to whatever gods may be—annihilate it.

But no man or woman with any shred of decency in him or her can hear without repugnance and disgust of such doings as Dyer has proved himself capable of. Nor can he or she afford to refrain from protest against them. It might have been the railwaymen of Tonypandy, or the miners of Featherstone, or the cotton weavers of Peterloo, or the cutlers of Sheffield who were treated in such fashion. In reality it was them and all of us who were murdered and outraged in that square at Amritsar! Or else "human solidarity" is a myth and not a reality.

The crimes of government! History is but one long record of the crimes of government! Dyer and O'Dwyer might afford to the Theosophists the evidence they require to establish the truth of the theory of reincarnation. JOHN WAKEMAN.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

SPAIN.

The printers and journalists of the Madrid Press went on strike through differences arising between the printers and the editors. The journalists united and published *Nuestro Diario* (Our Daily). The employers wished to publish *La Prensa de Madrid* (The Press of Madrid), but were only able to publish one number. *Nuestro Diario* appeared without interruption till the employers and editors climbed down. We congratulate the journalists on their triumph; also the printers, whose president is our old friend and comrade, Jose R. Romero.

At the time of the General Strike in August, 1917, a train ran off the rails near Bilbao owing to its excessive speed at a very pronounced curve. Notwithstanding, the first twenty-three persons who happened to pass by there were arrested. Amongst them were twelve women, the eldest being 25 years of age. The Attorney-General asked that the death sentence should be passed on sixteen of the arrested over 18 years of age, and penal servitude for life on the other seven under 18 years. After 27 months' imprisonment the Attorney-General withdrew the accusations against seven at the first sitting of the Court, and they were liberated. The other sixteen were acquitted by the jury against the wish of the Attorney-General. It is noticeable that the "Union General" has not given a farthing to those who were entitled to their relief, whilst on the other hand other prisoners in July, 1918, received 1,000, 2,000, and as much as 2,700 pesetas.

The second Congress of the Confederation begun on the 10th of December at the Theatre "La Comedia," in Madrid. It has been the most important workers' Congress ever held in Spain. It was attended by 465 delegates, representing 850,000 members.

According to *España Nueva*, where we read the account of the first two sessions, the majority of the delegates declared for Anarchist Communism.

FRANCE.

Although harassed incessantly by the police and refused the use of the Cirque de Paris, which had been taken and paid for our friends in Paris made a great success of their recent meeting on behalf of the Russian Revolution and the general amnesty. The Committee of Social Defence reports an attendance of from 15,000 to 20,000. It is in France, above all other countries, that we should welcome some energetic displays; for France, under the leadership of Clemenceau, has seemed bent on plunging into an Imperialism which would have as its chief aim the restoration of Tsardom and destruction of Democracy throughout Europe. Russia's heavy indebtedness to France has been dragging her steadily along that path. Millions of French peasants invested their savings in those fatal loans, and the French peasant does not abandon his savings without putting up a bitter fight. Constantly rising prices, and the enormous expenditures foreshadowed by the recent Budget, are having, it may be hoped, a sobering effect.

Sebastian Faure, his term of imprisonment over, has resumed his platform activities. Our movement in the past has owed much to his eloquence, clear-sightedness and energy. It is precisely now that the services of this tried veteran can be of the greatest value, and we congratulate our French comrades on having one of their best fighters again in harness.

Le Liberaire gives prominence to two long letters by an Austrian comrade living in Vienna. The sufferings of that unhappy city, whose very life the treaty-makers of Versailles appear determined to exterminate, have begun to excite, at last, the war-calloused sympathies of the outside world. Our comrade, a noted scholar and formerly a man of some independent means, relates simply that for months past—since the termination of the war, be it noted—he has been living almost exclusively on bread and water. Milk, coffee, chocolate, eggs, butter, cheese, etc., are held at prices entirely prohibitive to all but the rich. And even the bread itself! Such bread! Apparently the Allies have not cut off the city's water supply—as yet.

GERMANY.

Apparently the Spartacists are joining the Anarchist ranks and co-operating with the Syndicalists who have Anarchistic tendencies. Individualist Anarchism is also showing an activity somewhat unexpected. We note the recent formation of a Stirner group and the publication of two reviews edited along that line.

ANARCHISM AND BOLSHEVISM.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

Dear Sir,—The articles which have appeared in FREEDOM by various contributors on the subject of Anarchism and Bolshevism have been interesting, but have sadly fallen short of the most vital point. They exhibit by their very composition a failure to understand Anarchism, not only as a given ideal but as a tactic in human emancipation. The swift conquest of power by the Russian masses, resulting in the Soviet system, has broken down the Parliamentary leanings of British Marxists, and, re-enforced by a sprinkling of young Anarchists, they are now for Soviet rule in this country. In plain words, the consistent Social Democrats of yesterday are the consistent Sovietists of to-day. In 1912, "all else is illusion except the Social Democratic State"; in 1919, "all else is illusion except the Soviet Republic." An examination of Russia to-day reveals the skeleton of Emile Pouget's "Syndicalist Commonwealth" in embryo, and if this is a correct reading of Russian events then social reconstruction has been in model in Russia, following revolution in such a manner that one feels prone to conclude that Lenin and his followers have been forced to consider modern objections to the Marxist State. In frank terms, "Sovietism" is Marxian Social Democracy subject to constructional modification by Anarchist and Syndicalist criticism. If this is true, and it is, the place of Anarchist thought in human progress is firmly placed.

However, our ultra-Marxist friends are only part of the scheme of things, and are twisted and moulded in thought according to human direction of affairs. They are greater opportunists than the Labour Party, who hold to a platform of Social Reform as opposed to revolution. In two years Russia must pass through Bakunin's Federalism, and, as moral culture takes root, develop by degree Anarchist Communism.—Yours fraternally,

Willesden B.S.P.

FRED TYLER.

[We quite agree that Anarchist criticism has compelled the Bolsheviks and other Social Democrats to revise their ideas as to the place of the State in future society, but we certainly cannot be charged with having missed that "vital point." Year in and year out we have ridiculed the idea that the State can ever be a means towards Revolution, but we did not consider it necessary to join a Marxist organisation to carry on our propaganda. Mr. Tyler is a member of the strongest Marxist society in this country, which in turn is affiliated to the Labour Party. It would be a powerful microscope which would show the influence of Anarchist thought on the Labour Party. It is not even in favour of a Soviet Republic.—Ed., FREEDOM.]

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We thank all comrades and friends for their generous response to our appeal, and hope those who have not contributed will do so quickly. It will be seen that up to the present we have only received about half of the £50 which we asked for. We confidently appeal for the balance, to start us in the New Year with hearts free from financial anxiety. Besides, we have other pamphlets and books to print as soon as we can get the money to pay for the work. Collecting sheets will be sent on request. Sums received to date (January 3):

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
T. S.	0	5	0	S. C. G.	0	1	0
B. Black	1	0	0	J. D.	0	0	6
Newdigate Holiday Camp.	0	10	3	W. F.	0	0	6
Anarchist Propaganda Group	1	0	0	C. L.	0	0	6
E. C. Ballard	0	2	6	W. Lagsding	0	2	0
B. C. B.	0	4	6	F. Groves	0	1	0
B. L.	10	0	0	E. Lagsding	0	1	0
W. Brooks	0	1	0	C. Lagsding	0	1	0
A. G. Barker	0	2	0	A. Lagsding	0	1	0
Hans	0	10	0	K. Lagsding	0	1	0
Neuworth	0	5	0	R. Lowe	0	1	0
Degioanni	0	10	0	J. Franks	0	1	0
J. F. Gibson	0	2	6	C. Lagsding	0	2	0
E. M.	0	2	6	Mrs. Cole	0	5	0
S. Kamfmeier	0	1	0	J. Sellar	0	1	6
S. Zelitsky	0	1	0	J. A. Osborne	1	0	0
M. Modlin	0	1	0	J. P.	0	1	0
S. Moss	0	1	0	M.	0	1	0
A. F.	0	2	6	C. U.	0	1	0
Kessler	0	1	0	E. U.	0	1	0
T. G. V.	0	2	6	M.	0	1	0
W. M. S.	0	0	6	A. F. Wolfe	1	0	0
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P. Gracia	0	3	6	M. Callanan	0	1	0
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G. Ratcliffe	0	2	6	G. McDermott	0	2	0
Soboleff	0	10	0	P. Stephenson	0	1	0
H. Evans	0	0	6	W. Yeoman	0	1	0
Two French Comrades.	0	6	6	J. Foote	0	2	0
Cero	0	7	0	S. Houston	0	2	0
Mac	0	2	6	B. Eltringham	0	1	0
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L. W.	0	1	0	G. Colten	0	1	0
G. W.	0	1	0	W. H. Barnwell	0	1	0
B. W.	0	1	0	L. N. Wood	0	1	0
I. D.	0	1	0	J. Cornwell	0	1	0
J. B.	0	0	6	W. Morris	0	2	0
L. M.	0	1	0	G. McLean	0	1	0
D. G.	0	1	0	J. Beck	0	1	0
O. K.	0	1	0	G. Moorin	0	1	0
F. Suckewek	0	1	0	T. Duncan	0	1	0
H. Yashim	0	0	6	G. W. Tindale	0	3	0
Joe	0	0	6	W. J. Braddock	0	3	4
J. H. Ratten	0	1	0	H. G. Russell	0	2	6
L. Lewis	0	1	0	A. Sanders	0	1	6
R. Packer	0	0	6	H. Burgess	0	2	6
Phillip	0	0	6	B. Burgess	0	2	6
A. Rowe	0	1	0	W. Benson	0	2	6
D. Tapper	0	1	0	Alex. Smith	0	2	6
B. G.	0	0	6	L. G. W.	0	8	0
S. Goodman	0	2	0	J. W.	0	2	0
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Fr	0	1	0	W. C. O.	5	0	0
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(December 1—January 3).

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