

Freedom

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NOTES.

More Intensive War in Ireland.

The rumours of coming peace in Ireland prove to be without any solid foundation. In fact, it has been announced that more troops are to be sent across the Irish Channel and Cromwellian methods adopted if the Irish leaders refuse the new terms which it is said they have been offered. Cromwell's methods failed, as the present situation shows, as also failed the methods of extermination employed during the Tudor wars in the sixteenth century. Writing of that period, Mrs. Green, the Irish historian, says:—

"Torturers and hangmen went out with the soldiers. There was no protection for any soul; the old, the sick, infants, women, scholars; any one of them might be a landholder, or a carrier on of the tradition of the tribal owners, and was in any case a rebel appointed to death. No quarter was allowed, no faith kept, and no truce given. . . . Armies fed from the seaports chased the Irish during the winter months, when the trees were bare and naked and the kine without milk, killing every living thing and burning every granary of corn, so that famine should slay what the sword had lost."

As though this were not sufficient, in the following century Cromwell ravaged the country again with fire and murder, nearly half the population being killed; and in 1853, by order of the English Parliament, over 20,000 destitute men, women, and children from 12 years were sold into the service of English planters in Virginia and the Carolinas. And now, about three hundred years later, the same bloody and brutal methods are threatened against a people whose only crime is that they refuse to accept the rule of the English Government. Few people in this country take much notice of what is being done in their name in Ireland, but if they allow their rulers to practise these methods over there, it will encourage them to use them some day in industrial disputes here.

The Miners' Struggle.

We wish the splendid endurance shown by the miners had a more inspiring end in view than a living wage. We were hopeful at one time that such would have been the case, but as the fight drags on we hear of nothing except the possibilities and practicalities of a mysterious "pool" which is to equalise the bad and the worse wages of the various mining districts. It is impossible to work up any enthusiasm for a scheme to "stabilise" wages, for we know that in the long run such stabilisation means a bare living for the workers but ensures good profits for their exploiters. Under Capitalism, unless profits can be made for the mineowners there will be no work for the miners. One of the men's leaders is reported as saying that what they want is a scheme that will "enable them to pass into a permanent, durable peace consistent with a decent, honourable livelihood." That is a will-o'-the-wisp. There cannot be, nor should there be, permanent peace between the miners and their exploiters. The history of the workers has been one constant war fought to gain this decent livelihood, which the masters have always refused them. Such a thing is unobtainable under wage-slavery, and can only be possible when land monopoly and profit-taking are abolished and everyone works on a basis of equality to provide the necessities of life. Those leaders who speak of permanent peace on any other basis are fools or else rogues who wish to mislead the workers to gain their own ends.

More Prosecutions of Communists.

Urged on by the Duke of Northumberland and other property owners who feel the ground shaking beneath their feet, the Government continues to arrest and prosecute Communists and other agitators in all parts of the country. Speeches about the necessity of abolishing the capitalist system, which have been

made many thousands of times in the past without any prosecution arising, are now held to be "likely to cause sedition and disaffection," and must be put down by the strong arm of the law. Members of the Communist Party have been specially selected as victims, their offices and houses being raided, and they themselves hauled up before magistrates on most trumped-up charges, and fined or sent to prison. The *Communist* of May 28 states that there have been 61 arrests, 32 imprisonment sentences, 7 hard labour, 25 second division, 14 fines from £100 down, 17 are awaiting trial, 6 of these being in gaol. This list does not include the many charges of intimidation or unlawful assembly which have been brought against miners, in spite of the fact that the present struggle has been the most pacific that any one could imagine. Our rulers at one time ridiculed the repressive measures of other Governments, and believed in allowing the people to "let off a little steam," as they termed it. Their change of tactics shows that they think their position is too critical just now to allow them to take any chances, so the order goes forth: "Gag them!" And as they begin to feel more and more their insecurity they will redouble their persecution of all rebels. The ironical feature of the situation to-day is that whilst the capitalist Governments are throwing Communists into prison, the Communist Government of Russia is doing the same with the Anarchists. All Governments are the enemies of real free speech, and they all use the same argument—the safety of the State, by which they mean their own special privileges and power. This has been pointed out by Anarchists over and over again, but people are very slow to learn the lesson, and still dream of a Government that will bring them freedom.

Decoy Ducks.

Many organisations have come into existence of recent years to counteract the growth of new social ideas among the workers, their principal aim being to persuade them that the interests of Capital and Labour are identical, and that instead of going on strike the workers should meet their kind employers round a table and settle their differences harmoniously. These organisations are usually composed of some well-known employers and a few Trade Union officials who act as decoy ducks. One of these bodies, the Industrial League and Council, had a dinner on May 19, to welcome Viscount Burnham, proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*, as their joint-president with Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., of the Typographical Association, who was repudiated even by the Labour Party, and elected by Tory and Liberal votes. The keynote of the after-dinner speeches was the necessity of a propaganda of mutual goodwill between all classes and confidence between employer and employed. "The Red scourge was like corrosive poison, constantly undermining our social fabric." "Nature would not tolerate the conception of equality which filled the minds of many of our agitators." And a lot more stuff like that. But the League wants money to pay for this chloroforming of the workers, and "employers should realise that an investment in the Industrial League was really but an insurance premium." And the audience chanted "Hear, hear." They had a most enjoyable evening. There were many "decoy ducks" present, among them being A. Bellamy (Railwaymen's Union), E. H. Cronk (Clerks), D. Gilmour (Metalliferous Miners), G. Latham (Railway Clerks), R. C. Naysmith (Garment Workers), G. Titt (Workers' Union), John Turner (Shop Assistants), and F. Smith (Shipbuilders). The dinner took place at the Eccentric Club!

Only the free initiative of the people accomplishes anything that is good and lasting, and all power tends to kill that initiative. . . . We know whither every dictatorship, even the best-intentioned, leads us—to the Revolution's death. Finally, we know that this dictatorship idea is always merely the unhealthy product of that governmental fetishism which, like religious fetishism, has ever perpetuated slavery.

—P. Kropotkin (1882).

WHAT KROPOTKIN HAD TO SAY.

Vilkens's interview with Kropotkin can be treated more briefly than was possible in the case of that with Lenin. The latter was justifying centralisation of power, the creation of a vast bureaucracy, militarism, and the militarisation of labour. For that purpose he had to explain the difficulties with which the Communist Government was contending, and it would have been most unfair not to have published his explanation. He had also to set out the details of an enormous scheme for the conversion of the peasantry into a class of State employes engaged on mass production. That policy was necessarily a news item of the very first importance, because the peasants are an enormous majority in Europe's population; and the proposal to transform them into an industrial proletariat, looking to the bureaucracy for maintenance, represented a far larger contract than any modern Government has ventured to undertake. Of course, the project has been abandoned, the peasantry having displayed a power of resistance on which the Communist Government had not reckoned.

Kropotkin, on the other hand, had only to show that the compulsory tactics employed defeat the ends desired. "The Communists," he said, "with their methods, instead of starting the people on the road to Communism, will end by making the people hate its very name. They are sincere, perhaps; but their system prevents them from bringing into practice any Communistic principle; and when they discover that they are making no progress with their revolutionary task, they augur from it that the people are not ready to swallow their decrees, that time is needed, that detours must be made. . . . It is logical: the history of political Revolutions is repeating itself. The worst part of the business is that they do not recognise at all, and are not willing to recognise, their mistakes; and daily they are taking away from the masses a portion of the Revolution's conquests and putting it to the credit of the centralised State."

Kropotkin considered, however, that the experience of the Revolution could not be regarded as a loss, for it had awakened the Russian people, which is "now on the march toward better destinies." He thought that Bolshevism would not be able to count indefinitely on the support of the masses, for its methods tend to kill their interest; but it must not be forgotten that the Bolsheviks have a powerful army at their back. Nevertheless, they will fall through their own mistakes, and their policies will make it easier for the Entente to bring about the reaction it desires. That reaction the people dread, for everyone has an account to settle with the "Whites."

What, then, should the Russian people do? "Undoubtedly it must continue defending the Revolution, no longer with words but deeds; for the hostility of the bourgeoisie will be in proportion to the firmness of attitude the working class assumes. But we must not confuse defence of the Revolution with Idolatry. The world-proletariat ought to be preparing to better the example set by Russia." Kropotkin then cited numerous historical illustrations of centralist failures.

The conversation embraced also the revolutionary movement in France—always so dear to Kropotkin's heart. For the moment he was not sanguine, considering that the war had played havoc with the best elements in the movement, and especially the young men, "who are the elementary factor in every Revolution." Those still surviving have been weakened, he thought, physically and morally; but he trusted to the economic troubles resulting from the war to rouse them from their apathy.

Once again it is necessary to complain of the inaccuracy of critics. Mr. Sidney Warr, Junr., is the latest culprit. He accuses me of writing of "the views of Jean Grave, Sebastien Faure, and Kropotkin;" and asks why I did not give those of others whom he names. Now, I had not given the views of Jean Grave, Sebastien Faure, and Kropotkin. I had merely promised that I would do so in future articles, wherein I proposed to show how the Anarchist press of Europe stood toward the Dictatorship in Russia. FREEDOM is an Anarchist paper, and may properly record the opinions of leading Anarchists.

My articles have been based on what Lenin and Trotsky themselves have said and written, my object being to show that theirs is the Socialist philosophy. They do not believe, as does the Anarchist, in the free, self-governing individual. On the contrary, they believe in a strong centralised Government; in a dictatorial, authoritative State, which shall boss the individual and force him to do what the authorities want him to do. This is a most convenient belief for those who have clambered into power.

I am writing for Anarchists and not for Socialists. Between these two conflicting views of life there cannot be, and never should be, peace; for in every revolutionary movement the Socialists will work for the seizure, establishment, or strengthening of Government—the very thing all Anarchists most dread and hate. Lenin and Co., as Socialists and under the pretence of serving the Revolution, seized by force the Russian Empire. According to Ransome's latest book, "The Crisis in Russia" (p. 47), five men now run that Empire. The Revolution has been cheated, and, under new names and labels, Napoleon and his marshals are with us once again.

No one, I think, has explained all this so clearly as has Maria

Spiridonova; and unquestionably she has done so at grave peril to her life. In her "Open Letter to Western Workers" she shows how strong the Revolution was until Bolshevism betrayed it; for it was master in its own house, having the united support of urban and rural proletariat alike. With true Marxian bigotry Lenin and his followers set the town proletariat, who constitute only from 3 to 5 per cent. of the total population, against the unorganised peasantry, and to beat these latter into submission they availed themselves of the old bureaucracy, the old military caste, the old secret police. "Having at the start," writes Mme. Spiridonova, "committed the mistake of using the old governmental machinery for their own ends, the Communist Party added to it and erected it into a system." Against that system, in her opinion, 95 per cent. of the workers are now in open or secret revolt.

Let me quote again from Spiridonova. Of the peasantry, who idolise her, she writes: "The country's fundamental class, its land-workers, the only class that makes any creative economic change a possibility here, found itself brutally ousted from all participation in the Revolution. The peasants came to be regarded by the State simply as for exploitation; as furnishers of raw material, provisions, cattle, and man-power; and they were left without the least possibility of exercising any influence whatever on the country's Government."

The chief function of the Red Army is to keep the peasantry overawed and the Dictatorship in power. The army itself is terrorised and held together by the knowledge that for every desertion the family of the deserter is punished ruthlessly. As a whole, the Russian people ask only to be allowed to get back to the tilling of their fields and to the management by themselves of their own lives; but what they will continue to get, under the existing régime, is constant war and the parcelling out of their country to foreign speculators. Thus only can the Dictatorship hope to maintain itself in power, and in power the Dictatorship, of course, intends to stay. The Russian Empire is far too rich a prize to be abandoned without a desperate struggle.

W. C. O.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

France.

The Labour and Revolutionary press is occupying itself chiefly, in fact almost exclusively, with two subjects—the threat of another war and the Russian Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Recent events in Germany and Poland naturally force consideration of what is and should be Labour's attitude toward militarism, and on this the Young Anarchists have taken a bold stand and played an active part. *Le Libertaire* reports the putting up in the Seine Department of fifteen hundred copies of a poster headed: "Mobilisation is War. Do not go!" A few days later six thousand leaflets, reproducing the contents of the poster, were distributed in Paris. Four arrests resulted. Comment is passed on the fact that, in obedience to the orders of the Directing Committee of the Communist Party, *Humanité* had not a word of these arrests, while a meeting specially called to agitate the matter received merely a formal announcement in *L'Internationale* an hour and a half before it began. *Le Libertaire* is being prosecuted once more for anti-militarist articles contained in three recent issues, and summonses have been issued against Leccoin and other members of the staff.

Great space is given by the last-named paper to searching reviews of present conditions in Russia and to articles explaining the Anarchist hostility to the Lenin régime. In the issue of May 27 Sebastien Faure concludes the lengthy review published under the heading "My Opinion of the Dictatorship." Rhillon ends a powerful article, entitled "The Communist Aristocrats versus the People's Revolution," with an extract from Marie Spiridonova's recent "Open Letter to Western Workers," which bids the workers of the world to be on their guard against this latest plot. "It may have for you," she writes, "consequences more tragic than those resulting from the plots of the political thieves of the capitalist world. The domination, the hegemony of the Marxist Communist Party in Russia can end only, so far as the world proletariat is concerned, in a universal 'Extraordinary Commission.' [Would not this be substantially the League of Nations, which we always have opposed, as being merely a scheme to police the world?—Ed. *L. L.*] And in that gaol will perish all the best of your faith and thought; in it will be broken all the energy you have put into the attainment by yourselves of your ideal; and in it will be extinguished, under the fatal breath of autocratic centralisation, all possibility of realising your dearest aspirations for liberty. Fear lest, in escaping from the whip of the exploiter, you fall under that wielded by this machine you cannot control—the State in the hands of a Party."

Les Temps Nouveaux publishes in full this remarkable Spiridonova letter, devoting four pages to it. We trust it may be translated into numerous languages and circulated widely, for it is by one who knows and is personally beyond reproach. The same journal gives first place to an excellent article by M. Isidine, entitled "The Truth about Cronstadt." Judging by the numerous extracts from their own pronouncements, and from Trotsky's evidence in the past, the Cronstadt sailors have been, from the first, the steadfast upholders of the Revolution in its original and purest form; they made no alliances whatever

with outside powers, and struck solely in defence of the Soviets as against the centralised Dictatorship.

The French revolutionary press is exerting itself actively on behalf of the publication and circulation of Kropotkin's works. His daughter, Alexandra ("Sasha"), now in London, has been visiting Berlin and other capitals with that end in view.

Switzerland.

Le Reveil, usually not interested in politics, finds it necessary to note the crushing defeat suffered by the Communists at the late elections. The vote registered was pitifully insignificant, and not a single seat was won. It comments:—"The sad truth is that fifty years of scientific Marxist propaganda have brought about this beautiful result—the workers do not believe in Socialism, doubt their own capacity, accept their dependence on Capitalism, and limit their demands to a plea for a little less oppression." This paper is a caustic opponent of the Russian Dictatorship. It quotes, as eternally true, Proudhon's saying, that "a revolution is an organic thing, a thing of creation; while power is a mechanical thing, or one of execution." There has been some heated discussion in Switzerland over the Third International, and this *Le Reveil* properly welcomes as being, at least, a sign of life.

Italy.

The recent elections have received scant notice in the English press, and properly so, for they amount to nothing. In the new Chamber the Roman Catholics show a gain of six seats, the Liberals one of 39 seats, and the Socialists a loss of 22. In various municipal contests the Socialists are said to have made gains, but it is the conservative wing and marks no thought-upheaval. It is expected that some of these conservative Socialists, of the Turati type, will be invited to join the Government, and the general criticism is that they owe such success as they achieved to the excesses of the Fascisti, who attacked them with brutal violence. The workers, as distinguished sharply from the politicians, are reported as having lapsed into stolid indifference.

Norway.

A comrade who was in England for some years writes to us from Trondhjem as follows:—

"I appreciate very much the contents of *FREEDOM*, as it makes no compromise with authoritarian ideas.

"The conditions here in Norway are very much the same as in England. The number of unemployed here is comparatively as great. The employers are trying to reduce wages, and as a means, under the pretext of bad trade, they are closing factories and works, thereby starving the people into submission. In all trades the workers are well organised numerically in Unions, which are affiliated to the Socialist Party, but under a highly centralised system. Just now a strike of seamen and shipping engineers is about to commence against a reduction of wages, and all traffic on the sea may come to a standstill. A great many of the rank and file in the Trade Unions are enthusiastic for a general strike, but, remembering the position the leaders took up in the railway strike last December, I am afraid that it will come to nothing.

"On the question of the Moscow International a split has taken place in the Socialist Party; the great majority having declared in favour of it, a new party has been formed by the opposition. Both sides are making strenuous efforts to capture seats in Parliament at the General Election next autumn.

"A few years ago there was a fairly strong anti-militarist movement even in the Socialist Party, but under the influence of Moscow that has been dropped. Still, there are many objectors who prefer to go to prison rather than accept military service. Although not strong in numbers, we have an Anarchist organisation, spread in small groups over the country, called the 'Ungsocialist Forbund' (Young Socialist League), with a weekly paper, *Revolt*, published at Christiania. There is also a Syndicalist movement, with a weekly paper, *Alarm*, also published at Christiania. Both papers are doing good work for the anti-State and anti-authoritarian ideas, and working harmoniously side by side."

New Edition of Kropotkin's "Memoirs."

A Committee has been formed in New York for the purpose of publishing the works of Peter Kropotkin. The first will be "Memoirs of a Revolutionist," which is expected to be ready about July 15. The price will be \$2.50 (12s. 6d.), or \$2.00 (10s.) if subscribed in advance. Letters should be addressed to the Kropotkin Publishing Society, 24 Rutgers Street, New York City. We are willing to receive advance subscriptions at 10s., which must reach us not later than July 4. Address—Manager, Freedom Press, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W. 1.

Between 1914 and 1918 we blew away enough energy and destroyed enough machinery and turned enough good grey matter into stinking filth to release hundreds of millions of toilers from toil for ever.

—H. G. Wells.

UNEMPAYMENT.

This new word "Unempayment" is duly presented by its begetter to the English language with due ceremony.

The matter with the working folk of the country is that they are suffering, not from unemployment, but from "Unempayment." They have produced more than they require for their lives, and for the reason that what they have produced has been taken from them they are now in want, not of work, but of even the common necessities of life. A proper understanding of this truism, and the "problem of unemployment" ceases to be a problem at all; it becomes a mere figure of speech, a smoke-phrase invented to cover up what is being done.

Let the unemployed man take a spade, let him proceed to dig, and lo! in a moment he becomes an employed man. The solution of the problem becomes as simple as that. Land and spades are available; why then should men lament that they are unable to find work? It will be time for the lamentation to begin when they are unable to find land and spades. But when we consider the distorted education of the schools, paid for out of public money; the perverted teaching of the religious sects, the acts of confiscation and trespass which constitute the pleasure of the Houses of Parliament, the legal restrictions and anomalies of trade, the infernal mess, muddle, and make-believe in which we are all immersed, it is not to be wondered at that things are as they are. The time calls for men who will defy the Government and all its accessories; men who will refuse to be out of work when it means being out of the necessities and the comforts of life.

One thing can be said about the labours of the Labour Party, and it is that they are at least amusing. Not one of its members seems to understand the real reasons of unemployment, and no one who does will talk about a "solution for unemployment." There is no solution for unemployment; there never will be any solution for unemployment; in the most perfect organisation of society the mind of man has ever conjured, unemployment will still exist. In his romance, "News from Nowhere," William Morris has described how, to employ themselves, the dwellers in "Nowhere" must carve and paint and decorate the common articles of daily life in use amongst them. The real work of the world takes such an infinitesimal portion of time to do, and its harvests are so abundant, that every living soul may have abundance and yet be unemployed for the greater portion of his life. It is because the unemployed rich have more than abundance at the present time that the poor have unemployment.

Unempayment—that is the disease from which the working people are suffering. They have produced vast quantities of goods for which they have received no payment whatever. For instance, every year 300 million pounds worth of wealth is produced and handed over in its entirety to those people who are holders of War Loan stock. The whole of this wealth is produced by the application of labour to raw material and the earth, but, on the face of it, the labourers who have produced it get none of it. It is probably true that one-half of the monetary value of the commodities produced in this country in any one year becomes automatically the property of people who have done nothing at all in its production. Here is a simple explanation of the existence of poverty, to which unempayment leads.

And what the working folk ought to demand for themselves is the wealth of which they have been deprived. Even if they take this wealth in the form of credit notes (paper money), they will be much better off than they at present are. It is the writer's painful experience to sit upon a committee which exists to relieve cases of distress. Relief is given in the form of paper money. This paper money represents a demand that will be made upon the market, a demand which must be met by the employment of labour. So that to give relief is to lessen unemployment.

But as I have attempted to point out, unemployment is not a real problem at all. It comes with such distressing results, because of the fundamental robbery of the producing classes by the non-producing class.

JOHN WAKEMAN.

Just received from New York.

Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist. By Alexander Berkman. New edition. 12s. 6d.; postage 8d.

Selected Works. Voltairine de Cleyre. 10s.; postage 6d. Only a few copies left.

Anarchism and other Essays. By Emma Goldman. 7s. 6d.; postage 6d.

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LABOUR'S IMPOTENCE.

The organised Labour movement has never shown itself to be so impotent in the face of organised Capital as at the present moment, when its numerical strength is greater than it has ever been. At the Trade Union Congress last year the number of affiliated members was stated to be 6,500,000. Yet, in spite of its enormous membership, it is unable to prevent the miners being starved into accepting the mineowners' terms. For nine weeks the miners, with splendid endurance, have resisted the drastic wage-cuts made by their employers; but with the exception of the Triple Alliance fiasco and a few spasmodic attempts to put an embargo on the importation and use of foreign coal, not a finger has been raised to help them; and if the mine-owners and the Government maintain their present obstinacy, nothing can save the men from defeat, a defeat which will be shared by the whole of the Trade Union movement. That is a plain, blunt fact which may be very unpalatable, but one which must be honestly faced if we are to learn anything from it for our future guidance.

Why is it that the Labour movement is so helpless in spite of its numbers? Simply and solely because it has relied on the strength of its membership and not on the strength of its ideas. It has never gone to the root of the problems with which it is faced. Look at the position to-day. The foreign trade of this country has collapsed, and four million men and women are unemployed or working short time. The Trade Unions' exchequers are empty, and as most of the members have also exhausted their savings, they will soon be forced to accept almost any wages the employers care to offer. What is the organised Labour movement doing in the matter? As foreign trade can no longer provide a living for its members, has it any ideas about finding an alternative? Has it realised that in the land of this country, if properly utilised, we have ample means for providing food and a healthy and pleasureable existence for every man, woman, and child? In a word, has the Labour movement as a whole ever thought out an alternative to the capitalist system? Everyone knows that it has not. All its ideas and methods are capitalistic, and everyone of its precious reforms might be put into force to-morrow without disturbing the slumbers of the wealthy classes. Lord Northcliffe for some time spoke quite complacently of the probability of a Labour Government in the near future, and many capitalists belong to the Labour Party.

It is useless, however, to sit down and wring our hands over the bankruptcy of the movement. Let us recognise that up to the present moment only a very small proportion of the workers have been influenced or even reached by revolutionary propaganda, and that this educational work must be intensified and simplified if Labour is ever to be more than a reform movement, at the same time remembering that the strength of a movement lays in its ideas rather than in its numbers. Let us also realise the importance of laying stress upon the point that the new free society which we hope will replace Capitalism must be based on free access to the land, from which all wealth is drawn. The present spectacle of millions of workers standing idle, waiting for Chinamen to order new shirts or Russians to order new boots, is maddening to one who knows the possibilities of the soil of this country. It is a spectacle such as one would expect to find in comic opera. Yet this tragedy—for such it really is—is directly due to the fact that our forefathers allowed a few men to rob them of the land, the legality of which robbery we now recognise. This is the fundamental basis of all our social evils, and if our propaganda is to be effective we must always insist on free access to the soil as the most vital of all

questions. No people, no individual can be really free until that claim is granted. That is the one great lesson we can learn from the present-day impotence of the Labour movement, and it is one which we must drive home with all the energy we possess.

A LETTER FROM MALATESTA.

We are pleased to print the following translation of a letter in Italian from our dear comrade Malatesta, who is still in prison awaiting his trial, which is expected to take place some time this month. Writing early in May to a comrade in London, he says:—

"I should like to tell you many, many things, but—I do not know to what extent you are acquainted with affairs in Italy. Anyhow, you are aware I am in prison, and am naturally very anxious to have news from the friends I have left in London. Why don't they write to me? I can write but one letter a week, and generally I must reserve it for the things concerning my defence in the impending trial. I am allowed to receive letters, and everybody can write to me providing they don't expect to receive an answer.

"I am in very good health, and I await with impatience the day of the trial. Against my wish, the lawyers and my fellow-prisoners wanted to appeal against the decision which sends us for trial, and therefore it makes us lose a lot of time. Anyhow, it is not lost time, because I can study and write and prepare a work of some importance to publish when I shall come out. I have also permission to read papers, but only certain papers. If you send me some good book in English you will give me much pleasure. Apropos, how are you getting on with your German? All this month I have studied it very assiduously and I can now read anything. Remember me to all our friends in England."

Comrades who wish to write should address letters: E. Malatesta, Carceri di San Vittore, Milano, Italy. We hope he will receive a good batch from this country to cheer him up; but correspondents must remember that all letters are censored by the prison authorities.

May Day in the Land of the Pharaohs.

For the first time in the history of Egypt, May Day was celebrated this year by a procession and public meeting in Alexandria. Egypt is under the rule of the Union Jack, and there is neither free speech nor free press, and it was only after much trouble that the Jardin Rossette Skating Rink was hired for the meeting. The procession started at 10.30 from Mohamed Ali Square, and for two hours paraded the streets of the city. The Confederation of Labour, with their band, headed the procession, followed by other Labour organisations and various groups and political clubs. The "International" was sung, and cheers were given for the Free Commune, international solidarity, and the Social Revolution.

At the meeting all the 3,000 seats were filled, and many people had to stand. The chairman, an Egyptian, opened the meeting, and was followed by other speakers in French, Arabic, and Italian. Then our comrade Edward Zaidman was called on, and he made a powerful revolutionary speech in English. The chairman had spoken of May Day as a holiday for the workers, but Zaidman said it was not a holiday but a day of international protest against Capitalism and Militarism; a day on which to prepare for the Social Revolution and to organise the attack on Capitalism and its corrupt supporters—State, Church, press, police, prisons, and Labour fakirs. A day on which to begin the building of a new free society, without master or slave, where love, joy, and co-operation will conspire to create something worthy of mankind. The audience cheered our comrade again and again for his fearless speech, at the conclusion of which he sold FREEDOM—yes, FREEDOM!—*Arbeiter Freund*, and Anarchist pamphlets. Police, mounted and unmounted, were outside the hall, but there was no disturbance. Five thousand proclamations in Italian and 15,000 in Arabic were distributed throughout Alexandria.

This is only a beginning in Egypt, but with the aid of a few energetic comrades a strong movement could be built up. R. Z.

WE MUST AGAIN APPEAL.

You all know that bad trade conditions must affect FREEDOM as they also affect other concerns, and we know that many of you have a hard struggle to live just now. But there are some of you who can and would help us if you knew how great is our need. To such we appeal for immediate financial assistance. Two matters are pressing: (1) Our printing bills, (2) loans from comrades, which must be repaid. Our American comrades have promised to help. We hope you will join hands with them in the good cause. Those who cannot send money can help us and the propaganda by increasing the circulation of FREEDOM. Please send your cash to Freedom Press—and send it quickly. We are on the rocks.

Bolsheviks Persecute Anarchists.

Our comrades in Russia have sent us the following statement showing the fierce persecution to which they are being subjected by the Bolsheviks. It is a copy of a letter which they addressed to Lenin and other responsible leaders. We have often been criticised severely for our articles on the present régime in Russia, but we think the facts set forth below are ample justification for everything we have published. It must be remembered that many Anarchists went to Russia voluntarily to help the Revolution, in many instances fighting in the Red Army against the White adventurers who were supported by the Allies. In return for their efforts, the Bolsheviks now persecute them and even refuse to allow them to carry on a purely theoretical propaganda. We hope comrades everywhere will spread this statement broadcast among Socialists and Communists, as showing what the Dictatorship of the Proletariat means in practice. This lesson should be driven home in this country, where many are still under the delusion that there is some semblance of freedom in Russia. The Communists in Russia are proving themselves to be the real counter-revolutionaries.

V. I. Lenin, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, the Communist International, the All-Russian Central Council of Industrial Unions, the International Council of Red Labour and Industrial Unions.

Copies to: The Council of People's Commissaries, the Moscow Council of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

The undersigned Anarcho-Syndicalist organisations, after having carefully considered the situation that has developed lately in connection with the country-wide persecution of Anarchists in Moscow, Petrograd, Kharkov, and other cities of Russia and the Ukraine—including the forcible suppression of Anarchist organisations, clubs, publications, and so forth—hereby express their decisive and energetic protest against this unprecedented crushing of not only every agitational-propagandistic activity, but even of all purely cultural work by Anarchist organisations.

The systematic man-hunt of Anarchists in general, and of Anarcho-Syndicalists in particular, with the result that every prison and jail in Soviet Russia is filled with our comrades, fully coincided in time and spirit with Lenin's speech at the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party. On that occasion Lenin announced that the most merciless war must be declared against what he termed "the petty bourgeois Anarchist elements," which, according to him, are developing even within the Communist Party itself, owing to the "Anarcho-Syndicalist tendencies" of the Labour opposition.* On the very day that Lenin made the above statement numbers of Anarchists were arrested all over the country, without the least cause or explanation. No charges have been preferred against any of our arrested comrades, though some of them have already been condemned to prison sentences, without hearing or trial, and in their absence. The conditions of their imprisonment are exceptionally vile and brutal. Thus one of the arrested, Comrade Maximov, after numerous vain protests against the incredibly unhygienic conditions in which he was forced to exist in the Taganka prison,† was driven to the only means of protest left him—a hunger strike, which he declared on April 1. Another comrade, Yarchuk, released after an imprisonment of six days, was soon rearrested, without any charges being preferred against him on either occasion.

According to reliable information received by us, some of the arrested Anarchists are being sent to the prisons of Samara, far away from home and friends, and thus deprived of what little comradesly assistance they might have been able to receive nearer home. A number of other comrades have been forced by the terrible conditions of their imprisonment to declare a hunger strike. One of them, after hungering twelve days, became dangerously ill.

Physical violence, even, is practised upon our comrades in prison. The statement of the Anarchists in the Bootirka prison, in Moscow, signed by thirty-eight comrades and sent to the Executive Committee

* The section within the Communist Party which considers it necessary and vital to turn over the management of production and distribution to the industrial Unions. By the decision of the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party this so-called Labour Opposition was dissolved. The decision stated that "propagation of the principles of the Labour Opposition is incompatible with membership in the Party." See also concluding speech of Lenin on the report of the Central Committee of the Party at the above-mentioned Congress.

† Solitary confinement in a damp cell, without bed, mattress, or covering.

of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission on March 16, contains among other things the following statement: "On March 15, Comrade Tikhon Kashirin was brutally attacked and beaten in the prison of the Special Department of the Extraordinary Commission by your agent Mago and assistants, in the presence of the prison warder Dookiss."

Besides the wholesale arrests and the physical violence toward our comrades, the Government is waging systematic war against the educational work of all Anarchist organisations. It has closed a number of our clubs, as well as the Moscow office of the Anarcho-Syndicalist publishing establishment "Golos Trooda."

A similar campaign of man-hunt took place in Petrograd on March 15. Numbers of Anarchists were arrested without cause, the office and the printing place of "Golos Trooda" were closed, and its co-workers imprisoned. No charges have been preferred against any of our arrested comrades, all of whom are still in prison.

The Council of People's Commissaries lacked the courage to go on record in reply to the protest of the Anarcho-Syndicalist group "Golos Trooda" against the havoc wrought in its publishing establishment by the agents of the Extraordinary Commission. The Council "unsealed" the Moscow office without even giving notice to the organisation involved, and had the premises searched in the absence of representatives of the group. The demand to "unseal" the Petrograd office and the printing office of "Golos Trooda" remained without results.

The virtual suppression of the publishing work of the Anarcho-Syndicalist group "Golos Trooda" also paralyses the main activity of the Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee, namely, the publication of the works of Kropotkin. Endless obstacles are, moreover, placed in the way of the general work connected with the Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee, as in the matter of housing, telephone connections, and so forth.

These unbearably autocratic tactics of the Government towards the Anarchists (going even to the extent of confiscating the wreaths on the Kropotkin grave for use at other funerals) is unquestionably the result of the general policy of the Government, in the exclusive control of the Communist Party, in regard to Anarchism, Syndicalism, and their adherents.

This state of affairs, where the Anarchists are completely deprived of the opportunity to carry on systematic work of any kind, and in the absence of any guarantees that even our purely cultural and educational efforts—such as publishing, the organisation of the Kropotkin Museum, and so forth—are not to be suddenly and deliberately destroyed, is forcing us to raise our voice in loud protest against the panicky brutal suppression of the Anarchist movement by the Bolshevik Government.

Here in Russia our voice is weak. It is stifled. The policy of the ruling Communist Party is designed to destroy absolutely every possibility or effort of Anarchist activity and propaganda. The Anarchists of Russia are thus forced into the condition of a complete moral hunger strike, for the Soviet Government is depriving us of the possibility to carry out even those plans and projects which it itself only recently promised to aid.

Realising clearer than ever before the truth of our Anarchist ideal and the imperative need of its application to life, we are convinced that the revolutionary proletariat of the world is with us.

Anarcho-Syndicalist League "Golos Trooda":

(Organisation Seal.) A. SHAPIRO, Secretary.
A. TEVETKOV, Publication Manager.

Russian Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists:

(Seal confiscated by the Extraordinary Commission.) S. MARKUS, Member Executive Committee.
(Two other members in prison.)

League of Anarchist Propaganda:

(Seal.) ALEXEY BOROVY, Secretary.

We fully concur in this protest:

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.
EMMA GOLDMAN.

Moscow, April 21, 1921.

EMMA GOLDMAN WANTS TO LEAVE RUSSIA.

In a short note which has reached us through a friend who left Russia last month, Emma Goldman says:—"I have often wanted to write you. But it is quite impossible to write as one would like from here, and one cannot write superficially. I hope some time in the near future to write fully."

In a private letter to another comrade she states that Berkman and herself have definitely decided to ask to be allowed to leave Russia.

It is for the benefit and protection of their employers that our young men must, in the last analysis, enlist.—*President Wilson.*

Anarchists and Bolshevism.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

COMRADE,—The views expressed in FREEDOM against Bolshevism, though Anarchistically true to principle, are unrealistic to an extent dangerous to the advancement of revolutionary consciousness. Anarchism is the purest ideal I know of. Still, the ideal should not alienate us from sympathetic co-operation with revolutionary comrades who, while not exactly seeing eye to eye with us, are primarily out for the same first object as ourselves, *i.e.*, the overthrow of the capitalist system. Many Anarchists withhold support to any working-class organisation which they consider is not libertarian enough in principle. The result of this "intellectualist" alienation is that the rest of the relatively revolutionary proletariat come to distrust all those espousing Anarchism.

Comrade Tyler's criticism in April FREEDOM of the Communist Party is merely carping. The party is an agglomeration of various Communistic shades of opinion, from the State Socialist to the Anarchist, with a strong Bolshevik current throughout. Reactionary elements there are—what organisation is free from such? Let us rather aid the sincere revolutionary Communists within than call them names from without. It is not my purpose to defend the Communist Party; I am not a member even; but whatever criticism any of us may offer, we must recognise that it is the only revolutionary organisation of any consequence in this country. Tyler recognises that "power and organisation may be necessary" to meet our class enemies. Good. But I am sorry that the Freedom Group do not recognise that, the complexity of existence within the capitalist system being what it is, it will be utterly impossible to realise Anarchist Communism at a jump. Russia could not have been, and so have remained, Anarchistic in system whilst being forced to fight the world's capitalist-imperialist combines.

When replying to Tyler, you say that "when the workers gain the land and their freedom they will be able to manage their own affairs better and more happily than under even the most benevolent of Governments." Granted; but in the struggle for land and freedom the workers will have to face the reality that the overthrown class's allies outside the rebellious country, and their counter-revolutionary agents within, will fight tooth and nail to regain their positions of privilege, and use the most crafty and brutal methods to crush the Revolution and its insurgent defenders. Hypercriticism is useless except to our class enemies. There is only one way out. We must perforce acquiesce in much that is distasteful, meanwhile giving our whole beings to the battle for the Revolution's defence. We can aid towards greater enlightenment our comrades in the battle; afterwards they may aid us, because they will recognise our sincerity, will trust us, and we shall all go forward perfecting our system, whatever it may be, profiting by our mistakes and our experiences; then, not till then, will Anarchism have a real chance.

We all regret that the Russian comrades have drifted away from their original Soviet system. Certain news, such as the repression of Anarchist propaganda, the imprisonment of Anarchist comrades (about which we need to know the whole truth before we can reasonably judge matters), the taxing of the peasantry, the retention of the wages system, the granting of concessions to capitalist enemies, hurt us deeply, and it is hard to explain satisfactorily. Yet, personally, I would feel a coward if I merely stood aside to criticise their shortcomings when I might be helping them in the only thing that matters first: the educating of my fellow-slaves towards a class-conscious understanding of their economic interests, and the agitation towards rank-and-file organisation aiming at the overthrow of the Capitalist State.—Yours fraternally,

C. B. JIMACK-WARWICK.

[Our correspondent argues in the same way as Socialists have argued for many years. How often have they told us: "Our ideal is Anarchist Communism, but you must first pass through Social Democracy." It is quite a new thing, however, to hear it from the lips of people claiming to be Anarchists. The writer regrets that "the Russian comrades have drifted away from their original Soviet system," and "certain news" about their other backslidings "hurt us all deeply." Really such remarks make us tired. Did he expect a Dictatorship and Workers' Councils or Soviets to exist side by side? And how can a Dictator feed the army and the bureaucracy without taxing the peasants? Did our correspondent expect their food to rain down like manna from the skies? Every Government lives on taxes, and a Bolshevik Government has to do likewise. We deny that the Bolsheviks are out for the same thing as Anarchists. With us the abolition of the Capitalist State is a means to an end—freedom and equality. With the Bolsheviks the end is a strong centralised Government, which is to "wither away" after "many generations"—according to Lenin. Evidently it is to die of old age! If the writer really believes that by working with the Bolsheviks they will "recognise our sincerity" and trust us, let him read the appeal of our Russian comrades which appears on another page of this issue. If that does not alter his belief, his case is hopeless.—ED. FREEDOM.]

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR EDITOR,—Many thanks for the generous space allowed me in your May issue. You say I quote people who visited Russia over two years ago; but what of George Lansbury, of Mrs. Crawford, and of Mrs. Sheridan? I maintain that such people agree that the Bolsheviks are sincerely working for the good of the Russian workers; therefore Owen's contention to the contrary is incorrect. I do not advocate the means and methods I hate; I only warn your readers and the world that if they fail to adopt Free Communism by force of reason and recognition of human mutual aid, inevitably a dictatorship of the masses or the masters will take place. It will take place against our wishes; we shall not be to blame, but the apathy or opposition to Communism of the greater part of the community. I am not hopelessly confused; I know what I want and how to get it; but my question remains still unanswered—how to get the people to accept Free Communism. In my opinion, irrespective of what we desire, it will come by dictatorship, or by political and industrial action and organisation without dictatorship. Freedom is impossible without the constant keen interest of the people in their own communal affairs. The great need of to-day is a cheap pamphlet explaining the case against Capitalism and for Free Communism. Such a pamphlet should not discuss methods or party quarrels; just a simple statement with objections answered.—Yours fraternally,

SIDNEY WARR, JUNR.

[We wish Mr. Warr would read carefully what appears in FREEDOM before criticising it. It was not Wm. C. Owen, but Vilkins, whom he quoted, who said the Russian Bolsheviks were seeking to impose a heavier yoke on the masses. Owen replies in another column. Again, we did not say that Mr. Warr advocated means and methods he hated. We said: "He seems to think that he may reach his goal by the means he detests." Last month he said: "I hate dictatorship." In the above letter he puts the question: "How to get the people to accept Free Communism?" And answers: "In my opinion, irrespective of what we desire, it will come by dictatorship" or some other means; which proves the truth of our remark. If Free Communism is coming, "irrespective of what we desire," what is he worrying about? Yes, "hopelessly confused" is the correct term.—ED. FREEDOM.]

To Correspondents.

RUSSIAN.—Your letter was too late for this issue. May appear in our next.

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