

Freedom

Vol. XXXVI.—No. 398.

AUGUST, 1922.

MONTHLY: TWO PENCE.

NOTES.

The Hague Conference Fails.

The failure of the Conference at The Hague was not the fault of the Russians, but was due to disagreement among the members of the non-Russian Committee. Trade with Russia will grow steadily, however, in spite of the failure of Genoa and The Hague. The possibility of making immense profits from the exploitation of the raw materials and the workers of Russia is attracting concession-hunters from all parts of the world. In the leading industrial countries there are many millions of pounds awaiting investment, and the prospects of huge fortunes is a bait which will lure many capitalists to try their luck. They will not worry whether Russia will pay her debts, or whether the poor French peasants will get back the money they lent the Tsar. Even Poincaré is more anxious about the peasants' votes than he is about their money. All the big oil interests are working together, and a news report says the Russians have offered to concede the exploitation of all the oil districts to one organisation on the understanding that it settles the claims of all the pre-Revolution proprietors. So where the politicians failed the capitalists may succeed. Stinnes, the German industrial magnate, once said scornfully: "We are merely losing time through the chatter of politicians who are wound up like automats by Parliament and the newspapers. What we need is a conference of business men who can talk together without hate." And the Bolsheviks are ready to do business with any one who can put up the cash. The Kremlin is now a bargain counter where concessions for oil, timber, coal, iron, and other raw materials can be obtained cheaply provided you forget the seller is an undischarged bankrupt. And his agents abroad speak with enthusiasm of the "industrious and intelligent population" of Russia "eager to be exploited at lower wages than can obtain in any white man's country." Yes, trade with Russia will grow, and the only trace left of the Revolution will be that the Bolshevik State will share with the capitalists the profits wrung from the deluded and disillusioned workers and peasants.

Prisoners of War.

The two Irishmen, Reginald Dunn and Joseph O'Sullivan, who shot Field-Marshal Wilson have been sentenced to death. Considering the number of centuries Ireland has been at war with England, and considering also that Irishmen have never recognised the rule of England, these men must be regarded as prisoners of war, a war in which the shooting of Wilson was an incident, even though it took place in England. The judge, in a very high-handed manner, refused to allow the accused to read a statement they had prepared in their defence. This statement has since been published, and in it the accused say they shot Wilson because he was partly responsible for the murder and persecution of the Catholics in Belfast. If two Englishmen had gone to Dublin last year before the Treaty and had shot Michael Collins, it is quite certain that the English Government would not have hanged them. Neither should these men be hanged for shooting Wilson. Dunn made a short speech from the dock, in which he said he took part in the European war, "fighting for the principles for which this country stood. Those principles, I found, as an Irishman, were not applied to my own country, and I have endeavoured to strike a blow for it." O'Sullivan said all he had to say was contained in the statement. The judge, in refusing to allow the reading of the statement, said it was a justification of the right to kill, and he would not allow the Court to be used for such a purpose. He then put on the black cap, sentenced the two prisoners to be killed, and proceeded to justify his right to do so! Could inconsistency go further?

Miners without Bread.

The closing of foreign markets and the consequent unemployment are working havoc among the workers to-day. Few of the unemployed have any savings left now, and their plight is pitiable. In normal times a man out of work could fall back occasionally on the generosity of his friends or fellow-workers, but in a crisis like the present even those at work feel the pinch and are unable to help others. The suffering and starvation in all parts of the country to-day is terrible, but the mining districts have been hit the hardest. South Wales miners are in a truly desperate condition. A comrade writes to us:—

"This little valley where I am living, which was always looked upon as one of the most prosperous in the whole coal-field, has at last been brought to realise what Capitalism means. A place where every third householder was owner of his own house has now, for the first time in its history, been compelled to seek State aid. One colliery has been closed down for over a year; others have been working only a few days a week for some time. The one where I have been employed has been stopped for over three months, adding another 500 to the ranks of the unemployed, most of whom now know what it means to be without money to buy bread."

It is reckoned that about 100,000 miners will never get work in the mines again. And being landless, they must live on charity or starve. Zoroaster summed up their position many centuries ago. "To one who does not till the soil the soil says: 'Because you do not till me with your right hand and with your left hand you will always stand by the door of strangers in the crowd of other beggars and feed on the refuse of the rich.'" Many of these miners fought in the War to defend the land. Let them now demand the use of the many idle acres to produce food for themselves and their families.

Fabric Gloves Sham Fight.

The debate in the House of Commons on the Board of Trade Order imposing a duty of 33½ per cent. on fabric gloves is a striking instance of the ease with which excitement can be worked up over comparative trifles while greater issues are ignored. This Order has been issued to serve the interests of a small group of English manufacturers of fabric gloves, who look upon Protection as a means of filling their own pockets at the expense of the purchaser. Of course, it is a case of sheer highway robbery, with the assistance of the State; but, compared with other State-aided robberies which go on every day, it is a mere fleabite. For unadulterated brigandage nothing exceeds the toll taken by landlordism, but some of it is so concealed that few notice it, or, if they do, the toll has been taken for so many years that they think it is a necessary evil. One instance will show how it works. A trainload of coal is brought from the Midlands to London. Every mile it travels it pays a toll to the descendants of the men who owned the land on which the railway was built, and as long as private property lasts this toll will be exacted. As it is hidden in the rates for carrying the coal, it is not noticed; but if it were taken in lumps of coal, every one would see the robbery. Imagine a train starting from Yorkshire on its way to London with a load of 500 tons of coal. Imagine also the original landlords' descendants standing at different points of the line and each one taking from the trucks a portion of the coal equivalent in value to his money toll. By the time the train had reached London its load would have been reduced by about 50 tons. In effect, this is what happens every day, year after year, to every train on every railway. Yet no one kicks up a row about it in the House of Commons. But the squabble over the paltry fabric gloves duty filled the papers for days, and we were even told that the Coalition Ministry was in danger of dissolution. We do not believe it. These sham fights over trivialities serve to distract attention from the enormously greater robberies made possible by land monopoly.

THE STORY OF BOLSHEVIK TYRANNY.

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

(Continued from last month.)

THE TRADE UNIONS.

The much-praised achievement of the Bolsheviks in the matter of Trade Unions reminds me of Mrs. Alving's remark in Ibsen's "Ghosts": "I only wished to pick at a single knot, but when I got that undone the whole thing unravelled out. And then I understood that it was all machine-sewn."

Among the first things called to one's attention when one arrives in Russia are the Trade Unions. Think of it, seven million workers organised into one body, having their magnificent labour temples, their educational and cultural courses, their grand meetings and concerts. What other country can make such a showing? You are overwhelmed. But no sooner do you begin to pick at one knot when the whole seam unravels out. You come to see that Trade Unions, more than any other Bolshevik institution, are machine-sewn—sewn by the machine of the Communist State.

In fact, it is most confusing to talk of Trade Unions under the Bolshevik régime. After all, Trade Unions have a definite historic meaning, at least to workers outside Bolshevik Russia. They represent, in their conservative sense even, the fighting arena of organised Labour for economic improvement. In the revolutionary sense the Trade Unions, or rather the Industrial and Syndicalist Unions, are the economic training school of the militant masses for the overthrow of exploitation and the management by the workers of production in a liberated society.

Yet neither in the conservative nor even in the revolutionary sense do the Trade Unions represent in Russia the needs of the workers. What they really are is the coerced and militarised adjunct of the Bolshevik State. They are "the school of Communism," as Lenin insisted in his thesis on the functions of Trade Unions. But they are not even that. A school presupposes the free expression and initiative of the pupils, whereas the Trade Unions in Russia are military barracks for the mobilised labour army, forced into membership by the whip of the State driver.

The Trade Unions in Russia, though young in years (they came into being in 1905), were very militant organisations. They had to be in order to withstand the cruel persecution under the Tsar. But though they led an underground existence most of the time, they were none the less an important factor in the economic struggles of the Russian worker. That fact was demonstrated forcibly early after the February revolution.

The Trade Unions, imbued with the new spirit that had come to Russia, were not content with mere political changes. Their aim was to get the workers in possession of the economic structure of the country. Even before the workers expropriated the shops and factories the Trade Unions had organised shop and factory committees for the control of the industrial life of the community.

These committees later gave way to the All-Russian Trade Union Soviet, which worked in close union with the other Soviets. In other words, the Trade Unions were, even before the Bolshevik régime, the organised expression of the demands and aspirations of the workers. Thus, the third Conference of Trade Unions, held in Petrograd in July, 1917, already sent 210 delegates representing a membership of 1,475,425.

The advent of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat quickly made itself felt in the Trade Unions. Adherence to labour organisations became compulsory, every one who worked being automatically enrolled in the Union and compelled to pay for the pleasure, whether he enjoyed it or not. The 3 per cent. dues were simply deducted from his wage, so that the Russian worker had to stand the cost of the very organisations which destroyed every symptom of initiative and self-direction in the Russian Trade Unions.

The All-Russian Trade Union Soviet consists of 120 members. Its Central Executive Committee has eleven members, and practically only Communists can get elected to either body. The result is that the Trade Unions have become a mere branch of the State machinery, completely controlled and directed by the latter in its policies and functions. The average member has no say whatever in the activities of his organisation, nor are regular meetings of the Union held, in the Western sense, except such as are thoroughly dominated and managed by the Bolshevik faction in each Union.

If any Union should venture to exercise the function of a real Union it is quickly given to understand that, whatever Trade Unions may do in Western Europe or America, in the Communist State they must obey the law and keep their mouths shut.

To illustrate. The bakers of Moscow, representing a large and militant Union, went on strike in the summer of 1920 for an increase of their bread allowance. The Government did not trouble itself much about the matter. The striking local was simply dissolved,

its leaders expelled, and some of the most active members arrested. The more prominent of the spokesmen of the strikers were forbidden to participate in any Union gatherings and deprived of the right to hold office.

Similar tactics were followed by the Bolsheviks in various other strikes. An interesting incident of this character was the Moscow printers' difficulty. In their case it was not even a strike; it was merely the "impudence" of having called a meeting to which members of the British Labour Mission, then in Moscow, were invited.

At that meeting Chernoff, leader of the Social Revolutionists, and Dan, a prominent Menshevik, committed the unpardonable sin of telling the British Labour men a few facts about the Trade Union and labour conditions in Russia. Immediately after that all the officials of the Printers' Union were suspended and some of them thrown into jail.

Throughout the country, in all official papers, the Moscow printers were heralded as counter-revolutionists, traitors, and "skimmers of labour," and denounced in bitterest terms that served to awe and terrorise the rest of the proletariat of the country.

So absolute and crushing is the tyranny over the Trade Unions that the least protest is denounced as a breach of revolutionary and labour discipline and a crime against the Revolution. When, during the Petrograd strikes of 1921, the workers of the Baltic shops protested against the arrest of twenty-two of their members, they were told by Antselovitch, the chairman of the Petrograd Trade Unions, that they all belonged in the Cheka, and several days later a raid took place at the shops, resulting in the arrest of numerous workers.

In short, the Trade Unions in Bolshevik Russia have been entirely absorbed by the State and have no other meaning or function than to do police duty for the State.

Naturally, such conditions could not last very long without arousing the most bitter discontent on the part of the workers. In fact, in 1920 this discontent became so general and threatening that the Government saw itself compelled to give serious consideration to the situation. The issue of the functions of the Trade Unions was taken up by the end of 1920, and it soon became apparent that even within the Communist Party itself there raged conflicting views on that important question.

All the leading Communists participated in the heated verbal contest which was to decide the fate of the Trade Unions. The theses presented disclosed four main tendencies.

First, the Lenin-Zinovieff faction, which held that "the Trade Unions have only one function under the Proletarian Dictatorship"—that is, to serve as schools of Communism.

The second tendency was represented by Riasanoff and his adherents, who insisted that the Trade Unions must continue to function as the forum of the workers and their economic protector.

The third faction was that of Trotsky, the military genius who can think only in terms of militarism. He advanced the thesis that the Trade Unions will in time become the managers and controllers of the industries, but that for the present the Union management must be appointed by military methods.

Last, and most important, was the Labour Opposition led by Mme. Kollontay and Schliapnikoff, who really represented the actual sentiment of the workers and had their support.

This Opposition insisted that the militarisation of the Trade Unions had destroyed the interest of the workers in the economic reconstruction of the country and paralysed their productive capacity. They demanded the liberation of the masses from the yoke of the bureaucratic State and its corrupt officialdom, and giving the people opportunity for the exercise of their creative energies.

They pointed out that the October Revolution had been fought to enable the masses to be in control of the industrial life of the country. In short, the Labour Opposition voiced the accumulated protest and discontent of the rank and file.

It was a battle royal, with Trotsky and Zinovieff chasing each other over the country, in separate special trains, to disprove each other's contentions. In Petrograd, for instance, Zinovieff's influence was so powerful that it required a big struggle before Trotsky received permission to address the Communist local on his views about the controversy.

The latter engendered intense feeling and came near disrupting the Communist Party. But God loves Lenin. Always when his structure begins to totter the Lord sends him some prop. The great labour unrest and numerous strikes in Petrograd in February, 1921, and the Kronstadt insurrection proved that prop. Communist unity was to be maintained at all cost. And so the Little Father took his unruly children, one by one, and taught them their manners.

Lenin denounced the Labour Opposition as Anarcho-Syndicalist,

middle-class ideology, and ordered its suppression. Schliapnikoff, one of the Opposition's most influential leaders, was referred to by Lenin as a "peevish Commissary," and was subsequently silenced by being made a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Mme. Kollontay was told to hold her tongue or get out of the party, and her pamphlet—setting forth the views of the Opposition—was suppressed.

Some of the lesser lights of the Labour Opposition were given a vacation in the Cheka, and even Riasanoff—an old and tried Communist—was suspended for six months from all Union activities. As to Trotsky, whom Lenin held up to the party's scorn as an "ignoramus in fundamental Marxism," he was hustled off to Kronstadt to bring there the "peace of Warsaw." Lenin and his saint, Juste Zinovieff, scored a victory. The Trade Unions remained the "school for Communism."

The new economic policy is fast reshaping the whole structure of Russia. The Trade Unions are among the first to feel its effects. At a session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, held in Moscow in December, 1921, the functions of the Trade Unions under the new economic policy was discussed. A commission consisting of Lenin, Rudzyutak, and Andreyeff was chosen to prepare a thesis on the subject. Later their thesis was accepted, as usual, unanimously by the All-Russian Central Soviet of Trade Unions.

The thesis speaks volumes for Lenin's capacity to shed his skin. Among other things it contains the following:—

(1) Compulsory enrolment of the workers in the labour organisations brought about bureaucratic deterioration of the Trade Unions and alienated them from the masses (for saying the same things many workers had been denounced as counter-revolutionists and "skinners" and were sent to the Cheka); it is therefore now necessary to establish voluntary membership in the Unions.

(2) The workers joining Unions must not be interfered with or harassed on account of their political or religious faith. (Shades of the numerous victims who were discriminated against and browbeaten because of their political views unsympathetic to the Bolsheviks!)

(3) The economic reconstruction of Russia necessitates the strictest concentration of power in the hands of individual management; therefore the labour Unions must not seek to control the industries leased or owned by private capitalists.

It is evident that the new economic policy, supported by Lenin's thesis on the role of the Unions, is opening the door to new labour problems and inevitable conflicts. The settling of all coming labour conflicts will be in the hands of a "higher body," outside of the Trade Unions. Lenin's commission has already indicated that this "highest authority" of forced arbitration of labour disputes is to be no other than the Communist Party and the Third International.

It is apparent that the Communist International means to preserve its domination of the Labour movement of Russia, while it is at the same time bending every effort to gain control of the Labour organisations in Western Europe and America.

Meanwhile the Russian worker, under the new economic policy, is faring even worse than since the Revolution began. He has lost even those guarantees, few as they were, that accrued to him as a result of the revolutionary changes. Especially is this true in regard to the hours of work.

The eight-hour day, practically universal in Russia for the last four years, has now been abolished *de facto*. According to the official organ, the Moscow *Pravda*, of December, 1921, the situation is as follows:—Only 86 out of 695 industrial establishments have retained the eight-hour day. In most of the others work continues nine hours; in 44 establishments the workday is ten to twelve hours long; in 11, fourteen to sixteen hours; in 44 workshops no regular hours exist. Even children have been found, in some places, to work twelve to fourteen hours. The bakers are the most exploited and work longest hours, from twelve to eighteen.

These data refer to conditions in Moscow, the capital of Russia. In the provinces the situation is even worse. Thus, in the Don coal district the miners remain at work sixteen to seventeen continuous hours. In the State leather factory in Vitebsk twelve hours constitutes the normal workday; in the Astrakhan fisheries, according to the local representative at the Second All-Russian Conference for the Protection of Labour, the workday is virtually unlimited.

It can be thus seen how the new policy of State and private capitalism is showering its blessings on the Russian worker.

The Russian Revolution, however, has not been entirely in vain. It has uprooted many of the old notions of the Russian masses, and the worker is no longer the docile slave he used to be. He has been fed on politics *ad nauseam*; he no longer believes in it. Now that he will be able to combine with his fellows in new Labour organisations he will no doubt try more direct methods to assert himself.

Lenin and his retinue are sensing the danger. Their attack upon and the persecution of the Labour Opposition and the Anarcho-Syndicalists are continuing with even greater intensity. Is it that the Anarcho-Syndicalist star is rising in the East? Who knows—Russia is the land of miracles.

[Conclusion.]

VOTE FOR DICTATORSHIP.

At the Saint-Etienne Syndicalist Congress last month the politicians triumphed, the motion in favour of uniting with the Moscow International being carried by 779 votes as against 391 for independence. The battle lasted six days, and the standard around which it raged was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. We have read with deep admiration many of the speeches, reported very fully by *Le Libérateur*. As it seems to us, Colomber, Lecoin, Borghi, Totti, and many others, all voicing the Anarchist standpoint and declaring that State Autocracy and Revolutionary Syndicalism are irreconcilable, left the Dictatorship without a leg to stand on. Totti's address, delivered at the very close of the debate, created an impression so profound that the Congress unanimously decided that it should be printed and circulated as a propaganda document. After which a majority of the delegates denounced by their vote the very truths they had applauded and endorsed! Undoubtedly, as *Le Libérateur* remarks, they carried out the imperative mandates they had received, not so much from the Syndicalist bodies they professedly represented as from the Communist Party and the Executive in Moscow.

Of course, this vote settles nothing. What it actually does is to drag into a still larger arena a conflict that, from the first, was irrepressible. There it will be fought out more vigorously than ever, and sooner or later the entire international proletariat, now hopelessly bemuddled, will reach a clear conception of the situation and take its definite stand. By all this the revolutionary propaganda will profit enormously.

The defeated Anarchist minority acted effectively and promptly. They formed instantly a Committee for the Defence of Syndicalism, and it issued immediately a powerful appeal. We expect to deal with this whole question at much greater length next month.

The International Modern School.

On Sunday, July 7, the International Modern School broke up for the summer holidays. The day prior to this the children were given an outing to the Zoological Gardens. The threatening aspect of the morning kept most of the children away, unfortunately; but the Clerk of the Weather seemed favourably inclined towards the School and did not give us the wet blanket he threatened us with. A most interesting and instructive day was spent with the erstwhile inhabitants of mountain, forest, and prairie, to say nothing of the dwellers in the "waters under the earth."

The vacation is going to be a long one—and necessarily so. Till now all the work of the School has been left to the few who have given up every Sunday afternoon and an evening every week to the work since the School opened in March, 1921. True, the task of teaching the children must be left in the hands of those who understand them and are most capable of giving them instruction; but there are other capacities in which people in the movement could be useful if they cannot teach. Whilst we do not wish to swell the Management Group till it becomes cumbersome, we are always glad to receive suggestions from people interested. There is always something that could be done. The School Magazine, for instance, could very easily become a monthly instead of a half-yearly if we could get assistance. A word in this respect will not be out of place. When we first suggested the Magazine we expected that we should have great difficulty in getting our pupils to contribute regularly. The very opposite, however, is the case. The articles are pouring in more rapidly than we can publish, and since we cannot make a large volume of each number we are often at a loss as to which to leave out without giving offence to our contributors. A monthly magazine would, of course, solve that difficulty, but it would also create another. We cannot give up sufficient time to print all the copies ourselves, and to give it to the children means an adult in attendance. Finally, there is the expense. We have a duplicator, and comrades who know anything about a Gestetner could assist here, whilst comrades who have duplicators could also help at home. This would reduce the expense enormously. The Magazine is most essential as it keeps alive the children's interest in the School.

Then there is always room for teachers—we need every one who is capable of teaching in subjects of all kinds suitable for pupils of a Ferrer School. We owe much to the lecturers who have been coming frequently from the Labour College and to those friends who give up so much of their time in teaching the "Blue Bird" ballet and play. Our comrade Whyce still gives the Esperanto lessons on Tuesday evenings.

It is rather surprising that not many parents show an interest in the children, but it is to be hoped that when the School reopens in the beginning of September all will show a greater interest than they have done in the past and that they will also keep open Saturday, October 7, for the Dance in aid of the School. The Group will meet at 62 Fieldgate Street, Whitechapel, every Wednesday evening during the holiday.

A. GILBERT.

FREEDOM.

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, Twopence; post-free, 2½d. Annual Subscription, 2s. 6d. post-free.
U.S.A. and Canada, \$1.00. France and the Continent, 2s. 6d.
Wholesale price, 1s. 6d. per dozen (13) post-free in the United Kingdom.

All communications, exchanges, etc., to be addressed to
Freedom Press, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.1.

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

Notice to Subscribers.—If there is a blue mark against this notice, your subscription is due, and must be sent before next month to ensure receipt of paper.

Money and Postal Orders to be made payable to FREEDOM PRESS.

No Sacrifice Too Great.

The Anarchist movement has now at its command opportunities of which, only a year or two ago, its greatest optimists would not have dared to dream. Everything is working for it. Everywhere the economic chaos deepens and broadens. Everywhere the efforts of Governments to restore order to a society based on the disorderly come more and more disastrously to grief; and everywhere the masses, whipped by the agony of their suffering into that awakening we have been labouring for so long, begin to understand. The old credulities are dying. The worn-out faiths are tottering into their graves. Few are those who still believe in the would-be redeemers they trusted in the past so blindly. Instinctively they know, at last, that in their own hands alone salvation lies.

A great movement of revolt is now impending. The dam cannot hold much longer, and it will break because the masses are weary of propping up its rotten timbers. They want it to break. They want the flood of their all-righteous discontent to have full vent; and with those who seek to divert it into channels wherein its energies will be wasted their patience is exhausted. They are sick of the politician and his lies. It is impossible for them to have any confidence in those who trim their sails to every wind, and are all things to all men, that they may catch the vote. Such people give the masses only empty words, and to-day the masses know it.

This, as we see it, is the core of a situation which has developed with unparalleled rapidity because events of unparalleled magnitude have forced its growth. We try, above all things, not to deceive ourselves, but we try also to look below the surface and gauge those underlying currents which are always the deciding force. We feel very certain that things cannot hold together much longer; that, at a date which cannot be far distant, the masses will have to assert themselves, and that this great crisis we must be preparing ourselves to meet. We shall have no choice. Either we shall get the masses on our side, and triumph with them, or they will crush us out of existence as an impotent minority and history will bury us out of sight.

We think this is recognised far more clearly on the Continent than it is either here or in the United States. In France, in Italy, in Germany, and in Spain, for example, there is great activity in Anarchist circles; and there is also a wonderful development of clear, uncompromising, vigorous thought. There it is understood distinctly that the Anarchist movement deals with slavery as a whole; stands for complete economic freedom, because without that nothing can be accomplished; stands also for the abolition of the monstrous governmental machinery by which Special Privilege maintains its monopoly of opportunity and perpetuates that social inequality which is the root of all our ills. It is, we believe, accepted frankly that the masses will support us only so far as they are convinced that we are working whole-heartedly for the complete abolition of the slavish system now crushing them out of existence.

Evidently time is growing short, and every one of us should now be working as he never worked before. The propaganda must be enlarged incalculably, because in a movement of proportions so gigantic small efforts produce practically no results. It must be clarified, simplified, and concentrated on essentials, because vacillation and obscurity are always fatal. We must stand firmly on our feet, and say, boldly and unwaveringly, that we, at least, are out for the whole thing.

For such a propaganda the events of the last four years have

cleared the way; and of all those events the most conspicuous is the failure of the innumerable Socialistic compromises which have sought—how foolishly! how insanely!—to free the masses by strengthening the very governmental machinery that holds them enslaved. That failure must be acknowledged frankly, and from alliance with a stupidity so weakening we must emancipate ourselves, once and for all.

We have endeavoured to explain, as simply as possible, what FREEDOM believes in and what FREEDOM stands for. As a paper it is a small affair, but as a rallying-point for great forces now in the making its importance should be immense. For the moment it faces single-handed a world of foes who, in a near to-morrow, when they come to understand themselves, will be its ardent and unflinching friends. It is for their sakes that we wish its flag to be kept so flying as that all the world may see it. It is for the sake of the Anarchists themselves that we wish them to hold this fort; but, above all, it is for the overthrow of human slavery we plead. For that no sacrifices can be too great, and only by continuous and heroic struggle can a prize so magnificent be won.

TCHITCHERIN THE GRAND.

Le Réveil publishes the following, reprinted from *Lavoro*, of Genoa, a Socialist-Bolshevist paper:—

“Tchitcherin is preparing to leave. This evening or to-morrow morning he will start for Moscow, by Milan and Brenner. It seems that the proposed visit to Rome has been abandoned definitely, for reasons unknown. Before leaving Genoa Tchitcherin desired to pay the authorities farewell calls. He has been to the Prefecture, to the Town Hall, and to the other public offices, and at all he has expressed his satisfaction with the reception accorded him and the special consideration he has received. Yesterday, at the Eden Palace, he expressed his special gratitude to the heads of the police service. There were present at the reception Commissioner of Police Silvestri, Vice-Commissioner Orsini, the chief of the Commission's cabinet. Advocate Romano, Delegate Cilento, and other officials.

“Tchitcherin praised the services rendered by the Italian police, and particularly those of the guard organised for the protection of the Russian mission. He pronounced himself enthusiastic over our organisation, and, in conclusion, regretted his inability to decorate the chiefs and police officials with a Russian order, inasmuch as the only honorary distinction existing in Russia was the Order of the Red Flag, and this is reserved for those who fight in defence of Russian territory or have accomplished other deeds of valour. However, he made good the lack of decorations by the announcement that he would give each a modest souvenir, in the name of the Soviet Government. Accordingly he presented Commissioner Silvestri with a magnificent cigarette case of solid silver, incrustated with gold and rubies, and having engraved on it an affectionate inscription. He gave the Vice-Commissioner a cigarette case of solid silver, and made similar presents to the chief of the cabinet, to Delegate Cilento, and to the Commissioner of Safety, de Bordighera, who had in charge the watching over the Hôtel Impérial, at Rapallo.

“The officials greatly appreciated the gifts and thanked Tchitcherin for his courteous remarks and eulogies of the Italian police—especially the Genoese safety branch. Refreshments were served and the ceremony ended. Besides the cigarette cases Tchitcherin gave each a large photograph, with an inscription and autograph. In addition to the inscriptions, all the photographs have on them the Soviet arms—a hammer and sickle crossed—with the motto, ‘Soviet Federal Socialist Republic.’

“A gold cigarette case was sent by Tchitcherin to the acting commissioner of police in Rome, Commander Secchi, who was chief of police services throughout the Conference. Another silver cigarette case was sent to the vice-commissioner of Naples, Commander Gaggiano. Four cigarette cases of solid gold, incrustated with brilliants and diamonds, were presented to four great Italian personages, one of them going to the Marquis de Nobili, of the Italian delegation, who acted as liaison officer between it and the Russian mission. To whom the other three precious cigarette cases went we have not been able to learn.

“Tchitcherin also gave all the police who acted as his constant escort his photograph and autograph.”

We have always maintained that all Governments were birds of the same feather. But with what evident gusto this Socialist-Bolshevist journal chronicles these lordly proceedings!

Persecution of Russian Anarchists.

AN APPEAL TO INTERNATIONAL LABOUR.

A most vital question has of late been agitating the minds of the workers—the question whether the Bolshevik Government of Russia, and the Communist Party directing it, are still revolutionary and inspired by the best interests of the proletariat.

If in the past opinions were divided on this question, no doubt can remain now as to the true character of the Bolshevik régime. Every intelligent worker who has followed the evolution of the Bolshevik Government must have been forced to the conclusion that the Bolsheviks have long since lost their revolutionary character, that the ideals and purposes of the October Revolution have been sacrificed, and that the sole aim of the Bolshevik Government now is to make peace with Capitalism and the international bourgeoisie.

One by one the great aims and objects of the October Revolution have been compromised and betrayed, literally sold on the market of International Capitalism. In its foreign as well as its home policy the Bolshevik Government has at last achieved equality with the other great Powers. It follows the same purposes and ends, uses the same means and methods as any other capitalistic Government, acknowledges the “benevolent humanity” of existing Governments, shakes hands with kings and popes, and sits at the common table with the oppressors and exploiters of the international proletariat.

Is any one so blind as to believe that this terrible betrayal of the Revolution is prompted by the best interests of the Russian people? Is there any one to believe that the Revolution may be betrayed to save the Revolution? That the workers may be enslaved to Capitalism for the benefit of the proletariat?

It is high time to distinguish clearly between the true interests of the people of Russia and the game played by the Bolshevik Government. The Russian Revolution—the labouring masses of Russia and their revolutionary ideals—is *one* thing; the Bolshevik Government is *another* thing, and a very different one. The Communist Party has exploited the Russian Revolution to possess itself of political power. Now the sole aim of the Bolshevik Government is to *retain* that power. Therefore it is sacrificing the last vestiges of the Revolution to secure the recognition of the other Governments of the world.

Let no man ever again confound the Bolshevik régime with the working masses of Russia and their great Revolution.

At home and abroad the Bolshevik Government is following the same exclusive object: to secure itself as the only and absolute power in Russia. It is in pursuit of this aim that Bolshevik emissaries are dancing attendance upon kings and capitalists abroad, while at home every liberty of the people is crushed and the last spark of revolutionary spirit stifled with ruthless hand. Political recognition abroad cannot make peace with revolutionary effort at home. Therefore every revolutionary word and thought is now being crushed with greater severity than ever before. The workers of Russia are being hopelessly enslaved to the resurrected bourgeoisie, chained to the chariot wheel of private and State capitalism, and their every protest stifled by the iron hand of an autocratic Government masquerading as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Nothing is more dangerous to a revolutionary party in its evolution towards reactionary government than the revolutionary forces of the country. For that reason the best revolutionary elements are being hounded with veritable Asiatic ferocity and exterminated root and branch.

The wholesale arrests of revolutionists of every party, the much-heralded trial of the Social Revolutionists, and the continuous flood of denunciation and accusation poured by the Bolshevik press throughout the world upon every critic of their régime—these are links in the chain of Bolshevik reaction that is being wound ever tighter around the bleeding body of the betrayed Russian Revolution and the people. But most barbaric of all is the persecution of Anarchist thought and ideas in Bolshevik Russia. Indeed, with reason: for Anarchists, as the most uncompromising revolutionists and staunchest defenders of the revolutionary ideals and aims, are the most dangerous enemies of Bolshevik tyranny and the greatest handicap to its reactionary work.

From the dungeons of the Tcheka, from the prisons and jails of Bolshevik Russia, the cry of our comrades for help is sent to the workers of Europe and America. None more hounded and tortured, none in greater need of the solidarity of the international proletariat

than the martyred Anarchists of Russia. With their blood they had sealed their devotion to the Revolution. By the thousand they had died for it in every revolutionary struggle and on numerous fronts. Scores of them have been shot by the Whites, and no less of them fell by the hand of the irresponsible Tcheka. Now numbers of them are languishing in the prisons of the Bolsheviks or slowly dying of the dreaded *tsinga* and hunger in exile in Turkestan or in the frozen Archangelsk regions. No crime can be charged against them, no accusation brought, save devotion to the ideals of the Revolution and their loyalty to the interests of the working masses of Russia.

No other persecuted revolutionists have greater claim upon, or more need of, the aid of the workers of the world. Other Socialist elements may depend upon the help of liberal and reformist political parties outside of Russia. Thus the protest of the liberal public sentiment of Europe has saved the lives of the arrested Social Revolutionists in Russia, and forced the Bolsheviks to stay their murderous hand and bring the accused before a public tribunal. But the Anarchists, Anarcho-Syndicalists, and other Left Wing revolutionists are never given even that modicum of justice. They receive no trial, and are frequently shot without any charges brought against them.

The situation with regard to our comrades in Russia has reached a point that demands the most prompt and energetic action by the organised labour of the world. Only the workers possess the power to force the Bolsheviks to change their tactics with regard to the Anarchist and Anarcho-Syndicalist movement of Russia. Most of the Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists are in prison or exile now, and only a few days ago word reached us of new arrests of our comrades in Petrograd and Moscow.

None but framed-up charges, irresponsible accusations of “banditism,” have been brought against our comrades arrested long ago, such as Askaroff, Olga Taratuta, A. Baron, or the murdered Lev Tchorny, and others. Just so it may be expected that similar fake charges will be manufactured against the newly arrested comrades, among whom are such tried revolutionists as Rubinchik, of the “Golos Truda”; Kolabushkin, upon whom for years rested the responsibility of supplying Petrograd with fuel; Nikitin, his assistant, and a number of others.

It is the evident intention of the Bolshevik Government to exterminate the last vestige of revolutionary thought and effort in Russia, and it is up to the workers of the world to cry “Halt!” to this heinous work.

International Labour has the power to accomplish its will. The Communist Party of Russia, and with it the Communist parties of all other countries, are clamouring for the *United Front of Labour*. Well, then, let them give the first proof of their sincerity by ceasing their persecution of revolutionary Syndicalism within Russia! The Communists seek the co-operation of the revolutionary Syndicalists in Europe and America. Let the *first* and *sine qua non* condition of such co-operation be the *immediate Liberation of all Revolutionary Political Prisoners* under the Bolshevik régime. Shame upon a would-be “revolutionary” Government whose prisons are filled with political and labour prisoners, and that at a time when civil war is at an end and when the Government is making peace with Capitalism and the bourgeoisie.

Workers of the world, let your motto toward Russia be: *Liberty, immediate and unconditional, for all Revolutionary Political Prisoners!*

The cause is noble, the time urgent. It is the duty of every Labour organisation, every revolutionary Union and Syndicalist body, and of all revolutionary organisations in general, to take immediate action in this matter. The spirit of the Revolution is calling to you, the needs of revolutionary Labour solidarity demand it of you.

With a view to effective co-operative effort, we submit the following suggestions for the consideration of every organisation:—

1. A *Release Week* to be organised and carried out in every country, during which week public meetings are to be held and resolutions passed demanding the liberation by the Bolshevik Government of all revolutionary political and labour prisoners.
2. Copies of the *Resolutions* to be forwarded to the chief Russian representatives, trade and political, in the given city and country. Copy of resolutions also to be sent to the local Communist branch, and to the International Secretary of the

Russian Release Initiative Committee at the following address:
Fritz Kater, Kopernikusstr. 25 II., Berlin O. 34.

3. Registered copy of resolutions to be forwarded to each of the following:—Central Committee of the Communist Party, Moscow; Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Third International, Moscow; General Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Red Labour International, Moscow; Secretary of the Central Council of the All-Russian Trade Unions, Moscow; the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Workers' and Peasants' Soviets, Moscow; Lenin, President of the Soviet of People's Commissars, Kremlin, Moscow.
4. A systematic press campaign to be initiated in every country in behalf of *Russian Political Release*.
5. An International Syndicalist Committee to be organised for further work in this direction. The Committee to consist of representatives of the revolutionary Syndicalist and Labour bodies, two from each country.
6. The demand to be made upon the Bolshevik Government that the arrested be given public trial, at which they must be entitled to be represented by legal aid of their own choosing, including legal representatives from other countries.
7. The International Syndicalist Committee (paragraph 5) should have the right of entry to Russia, personally or for its representatives; full liberty and facilities for investigation of all cases of arrested revolutionists, representatives at hearings and trials, as well as unhampered communication with the arrested, their witnesses and friends.
8. The matter of Russian Political Release to be put on the agenda of every coming National and International Labour Congress.

With fraternal greetings,

LEONARD D. ABBOTT, ALEXANDER BERKMAN, C. J. BJORKLUND, MICHAEL COHN, SEBASTIEN FAURE, EMMA GOLDMAN, T. H. KEELL, HARRY M. KELLY, G. MAXIMOFF, MAX NETTLAU, R. OESTREICH, WM. C. OWEN, ANGEL PESTAGNA, PIERRE RAMUS, RUDOLF ROCKER, A. SCHAPIRO, VOLINE.

[The following countries are represented by the above Comrades: U.S.A., Sweden, France, England, Russia, Germany, Austria, Spain. At the time of publication other countries had not sent in their replies.]

"Umanita Nova" and Ourselves.

We regret exceedingly that a paragraph in our Italian notes last month has given offence to our good comrades of *Umanita Nova*. In dealing with the complaints of fathers in Italy that their sons, originally conscripted for eight months only, had been kept with the colours for eighteen months, our contributor wrote: "*Umanita Nova* solemnly counsels patience. 'The Genoa Conference has been working for peace.'" This, of course, was intended for gentle sarcasm, aimed at the fretful fathers. But our comrades in Rome have taken it seriously, that we meant they really had counselled patience. We thought the gibe about the Genoa Conference, which was quoted from *Umanita Nova*, made the sarcasm plain to every one. But as our comrades have not read it in that light, we hasten to assure them that we had no intention of misrepresenting their attitude, and have always appreciated their efforts to stimulate active resistance to the oppression of the Government and the capitalists.

AN APPEAL FOR "FREEDOM."

We are pleased to say that now that comrades realise the danger of FREEDOM's position they are coming to the rescue. We want £50 more in the next two months to keep us off the rocks, and we hope all our readers will do their utmost to raise that amount. The following sums have been received since our last issue:—

Isaacson 4s. 3d., T. S. Crosby 4s. 3d., H. G. Russell 10s. 6d., G. A. R. (Bath) 1s., Blanco 2s., H. Compton 2s. 6d., Per G. W. Tindale 10s., Wm. C. Owen £1, F. Goulding 1s., R. Gundersen 2s. 6d., Morris 10s., Mouri £1, G. P. 1s., K. Siebel 4s., A. G. Barker £1, W. M. S. 2s. 6d., Shtiglitz 1s. 6d., M. Lenoble 2s. 6d., Isenstone 1s., Levy 2s. 6d., L. G. Wolfe £1, Proceeds of Tea Party £5 18s. 7d., A. Sanders 2s., Bristol Comrades 10s., E. R. £5, A. J. R. 10s., A. D. Moore 2s., Norwich Comrades 10s., W. H. Sikes 10s. 9d.

Fabbri Answers Bucharin.

Nicola Bucharin is a prominent figure in the Russian Communist Party, and Arthur Ransome picks him as one of the two men most likely to succeed to Lenin's place. According to Ransome, he comes of a noble family and is extremely well educated, being the author of numerous propaganda books and pamphlets. The latest of these works is entitled "*Anarchism and Scientific Communism*," and its publication has wrung from Luigi Fabbri, author of "*Dictatorship and Revolution*," a powerful reply.* Such a reply had to be made, not on account of Bucharin's personal importance, nor on account of the extraordinary virulence of his attack, but because the Communist Party in Italy had seen fit to distribute his book broadcast among the masses. In the interest of the masses we are bound to expose misrepresentations so gross and venomous, the more so as the party's editors recommend Bucharin's work as one "of marvellous clarity, which grinds to dust the inconsistencies and absurdities of Anarchism's doctrines."

The first part of Fabbri's answer is devoted mainly to quotations from Bucharin's book—the fairest method of controversy that can be adopted, since it allows the opponent to justify or convict himself out of his own mouth. And the first quotation is from Bucharin's opening statement, in which he declares emphatically that he is not "conducting a polemic against the Anarchists as being law-breakers, criminals, bandits, etc." After which he kindly remarks that "from the Anarchist groups come those who expropriate that they may fill their own pockets," and that "around the Anarchists crime gathers." Where to he adds indignantly that "they are exploiting the Revolution for their own personal advantage."

Bucharin then explains that Anarchism is "a product of capitalist society in dissolution"; that it is "a species of infection which spreads chiefly among the social mill-dust, among atomised individuals who have become de-classed, who exist solely for themselves, who do not work, who are organically incapable of creating a new world and new values; proletarians, petty bourgeois who have been ruined, intellectual decadents, impoverished peasants, and so forth." A little further on he speaks of the "lazy and vagabond proletariat—the ragged Plebs"; and he decides that it is they who furnish Anarchism with its "social basis."

Somehow it does not look to us much like an argument, and we imagine that those of our readers who may be in the habit of attending Communist Party meetings will recognise the style. Nevertheless it leads up to a conclusion which is nothing more than this—"All the other strata among the poorer classes are capable of becoming agents of the Revolution only in proportion as they follow the proletariat's lead." He then defines "proletariat" as being that section of the workers "which has been welded together by the mechanism of production on a grand scale."

Most properly Fabbri pays scant attention to this absurd painting of the Communists as self-sacrificing angels and of the Anarchists as heartless fiends. As to that he is content to trust the judgment of the masses and to allow the record to speak for itself. He points out, however, that the contention that all the world must take orders from the big-workshop workers is the very development against which Bakunin warned us, his prophecy being that a small minority of industrial operatives might seek to exploit and dominate the masses of the poor. Has the evolution of the Trade Union movement given us no hint of that as a possibility? Have we forgotten how *Vorwärts* and other leading Social-Democratic organs were accustomed, in the hour of what they conceived to be their coming triumph, to denounce and ridicule the "lumpen proletariat" as no fit comrades for the organised, class-and-party-conscious worker? This Dictatorship ambition has not sprung suddenly into birth. Its gestation has been a long one, and all the steps in its evolution can be easily traced.

Having for his philosophy this scorn of the individual who is not so fortunate as to be in the service of Big Business, it was perhaps inevitable that Bucharin should commit himself definitely to the statement that "the Anarchists join hands with the bourgeoisie and those parties that are co-operating in their opposition to the proletariat's power." Fabbri waves it aside contemptuously as being rubbish, and so do we. The actual fact, of course, is that Socialism

* *Anarchia e Comunismo "Scientifico."* By Luigi Fabbri. Con una Appendice di Enrico Malatesta. Milano: Libreria Editrice "Tempi Nuovi," Via Goldoni 3.

nowadays gets a constant hearing both in the press and on the platforms of the bourgeoisie, sits at the council tables of Cabinet Ministers, and is granted ready admission to the palaces of Kings. Anarchism, on the other hand, is the universal outlaw, the leper, the heretic whose every utterance and very existence are taboo.

The bulk of Fabbri's booklet, 54 closely printed pages, is devoted to a demonstration of the extent to which modern Socialism has departed from the anti-State philosophy Karl Marx originally proclaimed, and to a refutation of Bucharin's self-created assumption that "the Anarchist ideal is the little commune," which he regards as fatal to those schemes of big industry with which he is obviously obsessed. There is no warrant for that assumption, the contention of Anarchism's most noted exponents being that industrial freedom would lead immediately to co-operation on a gigantic, world-wide scale.

There is also no warrant whatever for Bucharin's assumption that no single community or nation can free itself, that industrial emancipation must wait "until the proletariat shall have liberated all the world," and that meanwhile "provisional dictatorship" must continue. What guesses! How convenient a theory for those who have scrambled already into the seats of power to the cry of "All power to the Workers' and Peasants' Soviets!" Under the influence of such a doctrine never-ending vistas of hopes deferred stretch out heart-breakingly to the crack of doom. Fabbri has no difficulty in banishing that melancholy prospect, and he points out that in his country, Italy, in 1919-20, the greatest enemies to successful action were those oratorical revolutionists who moaned lugubriously that such action was "destined to failure unless the Revolution came also in all the other nations."

By a searching historical analysis Fabbri shows conclusively that the principles now professed by the Communist Party are merely the State Socialism which the Jacobins of the French Revolution vainly tried to erect into a permanent system, as Louis Blanc tried vainly half a century later. The names, and to some extent the tactics, have changed; but the thing itself, the mother-idea that governs all Communist Party thought, remains exactly as the Jacobins formulated it nearly a hundred and fifty years ago. That idea is, of course, that a central power, the State, is necessary both to the realisation of the Revolution and to the subsequent functioning of society as a collective whole. Fabbri puts the Anarchist position in a nutshell when he declares that "the all-important thing is that, on the morrow of the Revolution, no one shall have it in his power—economic or political—to exploit the labour of another." In other words, the abolition of Monopoly is the Revolution's proper aim, and certainly not the enthronement of the most formidable of all Monopolists, a powerful, centralised Government controlling all the means of life. On this subject he has some powerful passages which reproduce in more modern language what Warren, Godwin, and others expressed so clearly a century or more ago. In reality, neither on the State Socialist nor on the Anarchist side has the tradition been broken, and to assume that the present quarrel is a new one is merely to confess ignorance of that magnificent literature the revolutionary movement has begotten, and to-day forgets. In this connection Fabbri reminds us that as far back as 1876, at the Italian session of the First International, held in Florence, Malatesta moved and carried a resolution declaring that only Anarchism, in the sense of free and voluntary association, could bring in a régime of Communism and guarantee its permanency as a higher form of social life.

A brief but admirably worded appendix by Malatesta emphasises the main argument of this valuable work.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION SERIES.—No. 1.

The Russian Tragedy.

(A Review and an Outlook.)

By ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

With Introductory Sketch of the Author by Emma Goldman.

Price, Fourpence; postage, 1d.

This is a splendid review of the Russian Revolution, giving an outline of its various phases and the causes which brought about its degeneration to State Capitalism.

Push the sale of "Freedom."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

United States.

There is never anything small about the United States, and her labour struggles are usually both big and bitter. For half a century past, and more pronouncedly as time wears on, they have taken on the character of miniature Civil Wars; the employers, armed to the teeth, and with the State and Federal Governments at their back, being ruthless in their aggressions. The strikes in which the miners and railway men—nearly two million of them—now find themselves involved are merely the latest developments in a conflict as irrepressible as the incoming of the tide. For the moment the whole country is rapidly passing into a state of wild alarm, and there have been constant rumours that President Harding will call out the Federal army and operate both mines and railways by conscripted labour. That step, however, he obviously shrinks from taking, as well he may. We have no idea that the Constitutional objections to such a course would stay his hand, but to operate by forced labour, and at the point of the bayonet, two such gigantic industries is another matter. Against such State-capitalist revolution all organised Labour would be compelled to fight to the last ditch, and it would have the backing of great masses of the people who hate the Money Power.

It is to be considered that this conflict follows a long crisis in which more than five million wage-earners found themselves condemned to idleness—because they had produced more than the markets could absorb! This they understand, and the understanding, coupled with intense suffering and humiliation, breeds a burning thirst for revenge. Even the conservative Samuel Gompers appreciates this, and he has come out with a declaration that this struggle is the expression of the fundamental dispute between industry and finance, service and profit. Wall Street, he says, is ruling industry, and he describes Wall Street as "a blind fool astride a wild engine of terrific power." Our own quarrel with Gompers is that for years he has done his utmost to cut off that engine's steam and lock it up in his own yard.

Meanwhile a coal famine is threatened, and Capitalism, being completely international, is turning to other countries for relief. Heavy coal orders have been placed in England, and our own press, every whit as plutocratic as that of the United States, is jubilant. It shouts triumphantly that our entire industrial system will derive "immeasurable advantage" from this struggle across the water, and that, in particular, we shall now be able to recapture the coal markets of South America and Italy, from which the United States had ousted us. It dings into our miners' ears that this is their opportunity, and it does not forget to remind them that the American miners scabbed on them, sending coal to this country to break their strike. Undoubtedly the American miners will try to bring about a dockers' strike and thus prevent the unloading of vessels carrying foreign coal. There will ensue a struggle between the necessities of our own workers, which are just now exceptionally great, and their sense of international solidarity, which is, we fear, in embryo.

We dare not assert that Plutocracy in the United States is riding for a speedy fall, but we feel certain that it is riding into the centre of a terrific storm. There is enormous discontent. There is bound to be. Millionaires have sprouted like mushrooms, and the old ones are now often billionaires. John D. Rockefeller's fortune is now habitually quoted at two thousand million dollars, and others of the newly made rich are treading closely on his heels. These men have gathered into their clutches all the most valuable natural resources of the country, and that fact is well understood and bitterly resented. These men double and redouble their preposterous fortunes by rigging the markets, on which they gamble with loaded dice, and by buying up legislatures and judges, that they may control both the making and the administration of the gigantic network of laws in which they hold the nation prostrate. We question seriously whether any other nation can show as black a record in the matter of poisoning the very fountains of justice as United States Plutocracy has now established. No less than forty-nine thousand new laws were proposed last year. Almost without exception such laws are in the interests of Monopoly, and the Monopolists own the courts that administer them as absolutely as any one of our own gambling aristocrats owns his racing stable.

All this is well understood in the United States, and it is also understood that the War gave all this predatory element its unexampled chance. It clutched with both hands the opportunities of

August
July, 1922.

money-making suddenly showered upon it, and fanned to fury the flames of patriotism that it might multiply its gunmen, its spies, its special constabulary, its strike-breakers, its law-and-order leagues, the whole of a vast machinery of repression by which it cows its industrial slaves. Every Constitutional right—free speech, free assemblage, etc.—was swept aside contemptuously, and the heretic was punished with a brutality that, as we honestly believe, the Inquisition in its worst days never surpassed. Innumerable have been the lynchings, the torturings, the imprisonings, and the deportations of those who had the courage of their opinions or ventured to belong to some Labour organisation of which their masters did not approve. Such cases are to be counted not by the thousands but by the tens of thousands. Their numbers have made it impossible to go into detail, and if we mention the names of Ricardo Flores Magon and Librado Rivera it is only by way of illustration. These men are Mexicans who contributed largely to the overthrow of President Porfirio Diaz, as corrupt a dictator as ever looted a country of its last dollar. Their incalculable services to their country in that matter are now recognised, and at least two Mexican legislatures and the Mexican Federation of Labour have petitioned the United States Government to allow them to return to their native country. The Government refuses. It condemned them to long terms of imprisonment for writing and speaking against conscription. True to its set policy of terrorism, it declines to release its prey.

For these reasons we think the strikes now convulsing the United States worthy of special attention. The process of social dissolution is being quickened, and the great change, now so clearly inevitable, draws so much the nearer.

Germany.

Great events are on the tapis, and we anticipate that Germany will furnish this paper, and the press of all the world, with abundant material for comment during the months now coming. The continuous fall of the mark points to impending bankruptcy, and implies the confessed insolvency of France and the industrial collapse of the greater part of Europe. An authority so conservative as is the *Manchester Guardian* has declared editorially that, "moral and humane considerations apart, the dissolution of Germany is the dissolution of Central Europe, and its immediate effect must be the triumph of one or other of two extremes—a form of Communist Anarchism, or, what is more probable, a Monarchist reaction."

Events have confirmed already, in part, this prophecy, uttered July 10; for on July 25 the Bavarian Government issued a decree in which it defied the central Government at Berlin, refused to allow that Government to administer within its borders the legislation it has enacted recently for the "Defence of the Republic," and declared that it proposed to look after its own affairs. Bavaria is the centre of the Monarchist movement, and the step she has now taken is precisely on all fours with that taken by the Southern States when they declared their independence of the American Government. The result in that case was four years of bloody Civil War. What will happen in Germany, where the semi-Socialist Government is notoriously weak and ineffective, remains to be seen. We expect the drama will develop rapidly.

These, as we see them, are truly epoch-making events, far transcending in importance the interminable skirmishes between Capital and Labour to commenting on which, prior to the War, revolutionary papers had mainly to confine themselves. They affect the entire revolutionary structure; they grip it as a whole and shake it to its foundations; they gather up the revolutionary movement, which hitherto has been advancing so slowly and straggling so aimlessly, quicken its pace, and force it into the road it has to tread. There will be no putting Labour to sleep again, and, however blindly he may stumble in his first struggles, we feel very confident that Gulliver will be compelled to rise. Even the Gomperses and the Thomases and the Webbs, still apparently so powerful in Labour circles, cannot hope to dam Niagara by throwing their paltry pebbles into its flood.

PAMPHLETS IN RUSSIAN.

Vmesto Programy: Resolutions of Anarcho-Syndicalist Conferences held in Moscow, 1918 and 1920, and other material of value to students of the Russian question. Published by the Foreign Bureau for Rebuilding the Russian Bureau of Anarcho-Syndicalists.

Za shto y kak Bolsheviki izgnalia Anarchistov is Rossi.
By MAXIMOV.

Price, 6d. each; 8d. post-free.

Orders and cash to H. POTASHNIK, 163 Jubilee Street, London, E.1.

CASH RECEIVED (not otherwise acknowledged).

(July 7 to August 3.)

"FREEDOM" SUBSCRIPTIONS.—H. Soslovsky, H. L. J. J., D. Winton, J. W. Maskell, G. Robinson, A. Feinson, S. Gabril, V. Ferrero, M. H. (Tokio), W. H. Sikes, M. Kisliuk, I. Rudash, H. P. Evers, O. Smith.

IN AID OF THE COMRADES IMPRISONED IN RUSSIA AND THOSE IN EXILE.

A Grand Soiree and Ball

WILL TAKE PLACE AT THE

Empress Hall, 128 Cambridge Road, Mile End, E,

On SATURDAY, AUGUST 26.

Commence at 8 p.m.

This entertainment has been arranged by the Russian Anarchist Relief Group, who ask for the support of all comrades.

FREE SOCIETY.

Issued Monthly by the Anarchist Communist Groups of the United States and Canada.

Subscription, \$1.00 per annum. Order through FREEDOM.

THE DAWN.

A JOURNAL OF FREE EXPRESSION.

Single copies, 10c. Subscription, \$1.25 a year, payable in advance.
Published monthly at 1215 Barclay Court, Seattle, Wash., U.S.A.

NOW READY.

ANARCHISM VERSUS SOCIALISM.

By WM. C. OWEN.

32 pages, with Wrapper. Price, Threepence.

FREEDOM PRESS, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W. 1.

BOOK AND PAMPHLET LIST.

THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 4d.
THE WAGE SYSTEM. By P. KROPOTKIN. 2d.
ANARCHY. By E. MALATESTA. 3d.
THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELISEE RECLUS. 2d.
ANARCHIST COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3d.
LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3d.
THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTION. By George Barrett. 2d.
ANARCHISM VERSUS SOCIALISM. By WM. C. OWEN. 3d.
ENGLAND MONOPOLISED OR ENGLAND FREE? By WM. C. OWEN. 2d.
ANARCHISM AND DEMOCRACY. By John Wakeman. 2d.
THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL: A MARXIAN FALLACY. By W. TCHERKESOFF. 2d.
FOR LIBERTY: An Anthology of Revolt. 6d.
AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
LIBERTY THROUGH ANARCHIST COMMUNISM. By H. OAKLEY. 1d.
ANARCHIST COMMUNISM IN PLAIN ENGLISH. By L. A. MOTLER. 1d.
THE CHICAGO MARTYRS. With Portraits. 2d.
ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. 1d.
REFLECTIONS ON POLITICAL JUSTICE. (Selections from the Writings of William Godwin.) 4d.
ANARCHY. By E. Girard. 1d.

Postage extra—1d. for each 3 pamphlets.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM. By PETER KROPOTKIN. Paper Covers, 1s.; postage 2d.
FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS. By PETER KROPOTKIN. Cloth, 2s.; postage 4d.
THE CONQUEST OF BREAD. By P. KROPOTKIN. Cloth, 2s.; post. 3d.
MUTUAL AID. By P. KROPOTKIN. Paper, 2s. net; postage 3d.
NEWS FROM NOWHERE. By William Morris. Cloth, 3s. 6d.; paper, 2s. 6d.; postage, 3d.
WHAT IS PROPERTY? By P. J. Proudhon. Cloth (1 vol.), 4s. 6d.; papers covers (in two vols.), 3s.; postage, 5d.
SYNDICALISM AND THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH. By E. Pataud and E. Pouget. Paper covers, 2s. 6d.; postage, 3d.
PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST. By ALEXANDER BERKMAN. 12s. 6d., postage 8d.
WALDEN. By Henry Thoreau. 2s.; postage, 3d.
SONGS OF FREEDOM. Edited by H. Salt. Cloth, 1s. 6d.; postage 3d.
POLITICAL JUSTICE: Essay on Property. By William Godwin. Cloth, 3s. 6d.; postage, 3d.
THE SOUL OF MAN UNDER SOCIALISM. By Oscar Wilde. Limp Cloth, 2s. 6d.; postage 2d.
A DREAM OF JOHN BALL. By WILLIAM MORRIS. Cloth, 3s. 6d.; postage 3d.
ENGLAND'S IDEAL. By EDWARD CARPENTER. Cloth, 3s. 6d.; paper, 2s. 6d.; postage, 3d.
CIVILIZATION: ITS CAUSE AND CURE. By E. Carpenter. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net, paper 2s. 6d.; postage 3d.
THE ORIGIN AND IDEALS OF THE MODERN SCHOOL. By FRANCISCO FERRER. Cloth, 2s. 6d.; paper, 1s.; postage 2d.
A VINDICATION OF NATURAL SOCIETY. By EDMUND BURKE. 8d., postage 1d.

Orders, with cash, to be sent to

FREEDOM PRESS, 127 OSSULSTON STREET, LONDON, N.W. 1.

Printed & Published by the Freedom Press, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W. 1.