

Freedom

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NOTES.

Winston Churchill's Budget.

One Budget is very much like another, whichever party is in office. Money is taken from one section of the community and handed to another. So many millions for His Majesty's Army, so many millions for His Majesty's Navy, and so many millions for His Maj—we beg pardon, for the *National Debt*. These three items will absorb about half of the £800,000,000 which are to be taken from the wealth-producers this year—about £20 per head of the population, counting men, women, and children. The rich have little to grumble at, as taxes are the insurance premiums they pay for the safeguarding of their wealth; but the poor are simply providing their exploiters with the means whereby their continued exploitation is assured. Mr. Churchill as the Protectionist Free Trader has added one more to the long list of parts he has played as politician, and in changing quickly from one side to another he follows the methods by which his ancestor, the Duke of Marlborough, acquired his fortune. The Labour Party, being the Opposition, quite naturally oppose the Budget; but we expect their principal reason is that in introducing widows' pensions and lowering the age for old-age pensions Churchill has stolen some of their thunder. Lansbury said it was the most brilliant Budget speech he had ever heard—a nasty knock for Snowden—but (of course there is a but) the widows are not going to get enough. Churchill is playing the same game as the Labour Party: trying to make the present system bearable to the wage-slaves by handing out a little charity. "The rich will do everything for the poor but get off their backs." The tax on silk will hit French manufacturers pretty hard, and may have been intended as an economic reprisal for the French Government's obstinacy in European politics.

Hindenburg's Election.

The election of Field-Marshal Hindenburg as German President has caused a scare, as showing that the militarists are again in the saddle, and the French Press is talking more excitedly than ever about "security." Hindenburg's return is the logical outcome of the policy of the Allies since the Armistice. When President Wilson laid down his famous Fourteen Points as a basis for peace negotiations he appealed to the German people over the heads of the Kaiser and his friends, suggesting that if a democratic Government took office it would be a sign that German militarism was no longer a menace to the peace of the world, and the Allies would therefore grant more favourable terms to them. But as soon as the Armistice was concluded these promises were forgotten and the Versailles Treaty forced on Germany. Since then salt has been rubbed into the open wound on every possible occasion, and no matter what Government was in power the Allies were always finding excuses for another squeeze. The paltry infraction of the Reparation agreement which was held to justify the invasion of the Ruhr at last convinced the German people that France was determined to bleed them white if necessary in order to realise her dream of annexation, and now they have turned to Hindenburg as a last desperate effort to save themselves from further blackmail. But the simple German folk will probably find they have jumped out of the frying-pan into the fire, and many things are more unlikely than an agreement between French and German reactionaries for the economic exploitation of Europe, including Russia. The workers would then be squeezed even more ruthlessly than they are now for the benefit of a soulless gang of international financiers. There are no frontiers where profits are concerned.

Captain Sadoul's Revelations.

Captain Sadoul's trial at Orleans on the charges of desertion and of "intelligence with the enemy" in Russia in 1918 has ended in his acquittal. The most interesting part of this case was Sadoul's defence. He said that in remaining in Russia he was serving the best interests of France in the War. Russia did not desert the Allies, but rather the Allies deserted Russia, for both before and after the Brest-Litovsk treaty "Lenin and Trotsky appealed constantly to the French military authorities for help in continuing the war against Germany." This gives the lie direct to the Bolsheviks, who have always declared that one of their great achievements was their withdrawal from the "imperialist" war. Now it is proved that they tried hard to get the Allies to reorganise the Russian army and to provide them with the munitions necessary for their continued co-operation in the "imperialist" war. One of their charges against the Kerensky Government was that it "conspired secretly with imperialistic Governments to continue the war and intrigued against the Revolutionary Democracy," and soon after the Bolsheviks came into power they published telegrams found in the archives which proved this charge. We now find that they themselves were willing to intrigue against the "Revolutionary Democracy" in a similar manner. The *Daily Herald* printed Sadoul's statements, but though the Communists published the news of his release in the *Workers' Weekly* and *Lansbury's Weekly*, neither paper said a word about his defence. It would be too deadly a blow at the religious faith in their gods at the Kremlin, who still spread the legend that they brought peace to Russia. Sadoul's facts were known to us years ago, as they were contained in a letter he wrote to Romain Rolland, dated Moscow, July 14, 1918, which appeared in "The Proletarian Revolution," published in New York in 1918; but we refrained from printing them in *FREEDOM* because as long as Captain Sadoul was in Russia the Communists would feel safe in calling us liars as they do Emma Goldman. Will they call Sadoul a liar?

The Antics of the B.F.'s.

The patriotic young men who imagine themselves as budding Mussolinis have been busy lately trying to frighten people in the Communist and Socialist movement, but have only succeeded in making themselves look still more ridiculous. The kidnapping of Harry Pollitt gave them a cheap advertisement, and we expect that gallant exploit brought a good round sum into their exchequer from the nervous old women of both sexes who have a good balance at the bank, and who can be easily scared by bogus "Red Plots" and similar yarns invented for their special edification. The trial of the five men charged with the kidnapping was a huge farce, the accused and their counsel treating the whole thing as a joke; and although the judge tried to impress on the jury the danger of allowing people to take the law into their own hands, the twelve gentlemen in the jury box returned a verdict of "Not guilty," in spite of the fact that the prisoners had practically admitted the offence. Juries are like that where "Reds" are concerned. The British Fascisti have been trying recently to intimidate Alfred and Ethel Carnie Holdsworth, who publish the *Clear Light*, a paper specially devoted to combating Fascism in this country. But they made no impression on our friends. They succeeded, however, in frightening the printer of the paper, threatening to use explosives, so he promised not to print any more issues; but a printer with a backbone has taken on the work. These young people will have a free hand from the present Government up to a certain point, but there is little fear of them being allowed to go so far as the Black Shirts in Italy unless a serious revolutionary movement should develop, of which, unfortunately, there are few signs at present. At the same time, should the Fascisti become a menace to the Labour movement, it will know how to defend itself. At least, we hope so.

SHAKING OFF THE BARNACLES!

One might have thought that Anarchism could be easily defined and would not be capable of much subdivision. But my experience among Anarchists has shown me a tendency to widen the connotation of the term beyond its strict meaning, and also to subdivide and complicate its denotation as generally understood.

Not so long ago I should have taken it for granted that Anarchism as a movement was understood to be only essentially a political affair, and that it was directed against political coercion and involuntary organisation, and applied to such questions as the ownership of the land.

But I have recently met those who truculently expect from Anarchists a resentful attitude towards all disciplinary organisation and power, accusing such things of coming under the term "government," and therefore not compatible with Anarchist principles.

Clearly, such an interpretation has widened Anarchism's denotation beyond the concept of many who call themselves Anarchists—myself for one.

SEPARATE QUESTIONS.

It is puzzling to find that so many Anarchists *inextricably* associate political Anarchism with anti-capitalism. One can understand that many political Anarchists may easily also be anti-capitalists. But it is important to recognise that political Anarchism and the question of capitalism are two separate issues.

Thus, one may be at one and the same time a political Anarchist and a pro-capitalist or an anti-capitalist.

This is very important; and it is quite desirable to analyse and disentangle the prevailing confusion, if only so that one may recognise the essential unity that remains, which is political Anarchism.

This, political Anarchism, I would define as the revolt against political organisation and government (political *authority*). AND NOTHING ELSE. Upon this conception hang all questions genuinely germane to political Anarchism. Such as: the overthrow of the sanctioned monopoly of our land, minerals, waters, and air; the dissolution of State navies and armies; abolition of taxation; denial of the authority of the legal system and police, and of compulsory "education" and compulsory "religion."

After which remain, as *separate issues*, the questions of capital and labour, employment and industrial organisation, private enterprise and voluntary communism, etc., etc.

ESSENTIAL LIMITS.

Do not let the essential limits of political Anarchism get out of hand.

One may, for example, develop an individual religious life, or one may subscribe to the dogmatic tenets of one of the Christian churches and voluntarily put oneself under its jurisdiction and discipline. And it must be recognised that neither line of conduct interferes with one's sincerity as a political Anarchist.

Again, in the matter of education, one may insist upon independent self-development, or one may prefer "schooling." And so long as there is no authoritative coercion at the back of either choice there is no violation of the principles of Anarchism.

It is the question of compulsion which renders these things acceptable or impossible to Anarchists.

WHAT REALLY MATTERS.

I would beg those people who insist that Anarchism implies an individual line of conduct in every circumstance to realise that this does not necessarily mean eccentric behaviour or isolation, but that the person in question exercises his free will as to the line of action he shall pursue, and relinquishes that line of action when, and if, he so pleases.

This is strikingly illustrated in the question of religious belief. And I would commend its particular consideration to those active Rationalists within the political Anarchist movement who confusedly imagine that any form of religious belief and *voluntary* church discipline are incompatible with political Anarchism.

The crux, in relation to political Anarchism, of all such questions is whether one commits oneself voluntarily or from authoritative coercion.

MARJORIE PEACOCK.

Miss Peacock is planning to write a catechism on Anarchism, and says that it would help her considerably if our readers would send her questions on the subject which they would like her to answer, also typical questions put to them in the course of propaganda. She particularly asks questioners to define Anarchism as political Anarchism, as explained in the above article. Letters should be addressed to Miss Marjorie Peacock, care of FREEDOM.

BULGARIA BATHED IN BLOOD.

In this country we still discuss the "class struggle" largely as a theory, over which opinions may differ; but Europe knows it in all its grim reality. Spain and Italy have been bad enough; Russia, where a new autocracy has seized the throne, is even worse; but we are inclined to think that the bloodiest of all the stories is now coming from Bulgaria. Few more terrible letters have been published than that which appeared in *Lansbury's Labour Weekly* of April 29, and the editor properly described the military clique now ruling in Sofia, under Professor Tsankoff, as a "Government of Assassins," which our Government is backing. Fifteen thousand peasants and workers are reported as having been killed, this being the sequel of the chapter which began with the murder of Stambulisky and other leaders of the Peasants' Party. In last January alone 150 political assassinations have been reported, the victims being opponents of the gang in power. And this gruesome recital receives confirmation from the appeal sent out by the League of Anarchist Communists in Foreign Countries, which reads, in part, as follows:—

"The bludgeon, the gallows, and death by shooting and the electric chair are the instruments of that hell-orchestra Primo de Rivera, Mussolini, and other criminals have been conducting. This orchestra of martyrdom and death has now another and even abler conductor—the Bulgarian Professor Tsankoff. With his monarchical clique, and a band of sadist officers, he is the business manager of the capitalists of Bulgaria and of the world. He has ordered the destruction of all Bulgarian workers and peasants who do not accept as gospel the slave formula, 'Fear God and honour the King.' The old Inquisition pales before the horrors of the new. The Bulgarian people are being subjected to terrorism of the worst description. Thousands of workers and peasants, many of them leaders among the peasantry and workers, have been compelled to flee the country, or are hiding in the Balkan mountains."

The appeal goes on to state that, true to the revolutionary traditions of their country, the Bulgarian proletariat are carrying on, as against their oppressors, an implacable class struggle. So this is what it comes to; and everywhere, under varying aspects as local conditions vary, the same fierce forces are at work. Here, as in America, our present social system, operating under a sham democracy, engenders colossal strikes, starves millions into submission, and finally plunges into the colossal orgy of a worldwide war. In less advanced countries Dictators leap into the saddle, and put down rebellion with fire and sword. View it where you will, the present order, still misnamed "Civilisation," has become little better than a shambles; and in a shambles mankind will not consent to live. Great changes, therefore, are inevitable, and much longer they cannot be delayed.

POWER.

They built the house of Power on Force and Fear,
And gave Authority the key to hold,
Stamping it with the hall-mark of dead gold,
And rusting it in human Blood and Tear.
"Behold!" cried Power, "the glory of my state!
Here I conserve for ever all that Is,
Here, manacled and gagged, my priests shall kiss
My sceptre. Prisons, dungeons, be my Gate!
Whilst outside millions claw and scratch for Bread,
And burdened lives go swiftly to the grave.
Hold fast my key, my mistress, and all's well!"
But Liberty came by with rose-crowned head,
And piped upon her pipe to every slave
These words of Laughter, "Fear is all their spell."

ETHEL CARNIE HOLDSWORTH.

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EMMA GOLDMAN'S LECTURES.

Emma Goldman has been very busy during the last two months lecturing on Russia in London and the Provinces and South Wales. Her audiences have varied in size, but she has never failed to carry conviction to her hearers. Resolutions protesting against the persecution of politicals in Russia have been carried and forwarded to representatives of the Soviet Government, and good collections have been taken on behalf of the prisoners. The effect of all these meetings may be judged by the bitterness of the attacks of the Communists at home and abroad. In March she spoke at the Caledonian Road Baths, Islington; Northampton Town Hall; Hampstead Conservatoire; and in South Wales. In April she spoke again at South Place Chapel, Norwich, Leeds, and Manchester; and speaks in Bristol in May. Besides these gatherings she has addressed Jewish meetings in the East End.

On March 22nd Emma Goldman spoke at Swansea, under the auspices of the Young Socialist League. Considering the short notice, the attendance was a good one. Her lecture was a revelation to her audience, who had never heard anything about Russia except the fairy tales of the Communists and the Labour Delegation. On March 25th, at Garnant, she dealt with the heroic part played by Russian women in the Revolution. The next evening she spoke at Ystalyfera, at the request of the local branch of the I.L.P. Here she made a great impression with her lecture on "The Bolshevik Myth," and literature was freely disposed of. On March 27th she spoke on the same subject at Ammanford, where much opposition was expected from the local adherents of Moscow; but after Emma Goldman's address they had not any heart left for opposition, the few questions they put showing their utter ignorance of the situation in Russia. The collection for the prisoners was well responded to. The next meeting, in the Town Hall, Neath, on the following Sunday afternoon, was one of the most interesting of the series, the subject of the lecture being "Education in Russia." In addition to the usual resolution calling for the release of the political prisoners, a resolution was carried unanimously protesting against the persistent conspiracy of silence on the part of the Labour and Socialist Press regarding Emma Goldman's campaign. This resolution was sent to the local paper, which published it in full; and to the *Daily Herald*, which published it after carefully deleting all reference to Russia. Having done that, the editor said there was no conspiracy as far as the *Herald* was concerned! Even the *Daily Mail* could not have acted more hypocritically. The last meeting in this district was at Gwauncae-Gurwen, on Sunday evening. The subject, "The Bolshevik Myth," was expected to rouse opposition in this hot-bed of Communism; but again they quailed before Emma Goldman's terrific exposure. The same resolutions as at Neath were carried unanimously. These meetings are still the subject of discussion in the district, and it is quite evident that the Communist Party here has had a severe shaking. The local comrades are determined to carry on the campaign so successfully started.

The Communist doves of the Rhondda Valley have been considerably fluttered by Emma Goldman's visit which followed. Four meetings were held—at Penygraig, Treorchy, Pentre, and Treallaw—and considering that unemployment is rife in this district, the audiences were as large as expected, good collections being taken for the prisoners. Despite the fact that the meetings were packed with members of the Communist Party, there was little opposition. It is curious to note that at the Sunday meeting at Treallaw a Communist amendment to our resolution, dealing with the international class-war prisoners, failed to secure a seconder. A few more meetings of this description will go a long way to disabuse the minds of the rank and file as to the true objective of Communism as preached by the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Norwich provided Emma Goldman with the largest audience she has addressed in this country. On Sunday, April 19th, the Electric Theatre was packed with 900 people to hear her lecture on "Lessons of the Russian Revolution." Our comrade showed how the Revolution had been side-tracked by the Dictatorship and never given a chance to express itself. The interest shown

was intense, a long string of questions being asked. Emma Goldman is never so fine as when she is dealing with questions, and her answers were greatly appreciated. The appeal on behalf of the prisoners realised £4 12s. The resolution was carried with but twenty dissentients. Altogether the meeting was a great success, due to hard work on the part of Norwich comrades.

At all meetings the sale of literature has been good.

RUSSIAN HORRORS.

We are accused by hostile critics, as is entirely natural, of being unfair to the Russian Dictatorship; but our articles are mildness itself as compared with those appearing constantly in European and South American revolutionary journals. Here, for example, is what Volin, in *Der Syndikalist* (Berlin) of March 28 reports. In his opinion, "there is nothing, absolutely nothing, that can be compared with the frightful horrors and misery now existent in Russia." He describes it thus:—

"A monstrous Dictatorship which penetrates the country's political, industrial, and intellectual life, and is knit up with the exercise of a terror-inspiring force; a fantastic betrayal, by never-ending lies, hypocrisy, and knavery. Unheard-of oppression and exploitation of the working masses for the benefit of the governing clique, the new nobility, the new bureaucracy, the new bourgeoisie. Complete suppression of all free initiative, of all freedom of action. No freedom of speech or opinion. No freedom to criticise or organise. And the result—an absolute standstill and helplessness in all departments. Continuous hunger for millions on millions of workmen and peasants. Fields passing sadly into disuse. No cattle, no seed for the next sowing. Sickness and epidemics. Shelterless children and starving masses wandering all about. General impoverishment and degeneration. Increase of crime. Ruined schools. Catastrophic decline in the people's purchasing power. No possibility of increasing production. Complete breakdown of industry. The greatest financial difficulties. Immense unemployment. Terrifying position of Labour, as a whole, in the cities and industrial districts. Unrest. Uprisings. Persecutions. Shootings."

Is the picture overdrawn? Perhaps; but the writer re-enforces it with recent extracts from *Izvestia*, the Government's official organ, and more particularly with passages from a speech by Stalin at a conference in Moscow on January 27. It appears that conferences on the existing condition are now almost continuous. Stalin did not mince his words, for he said plainly that there would be endless trouble if the discontent common among the workmen and peasants was denied expression. And Stalin, one of the Dictatorial Triumvirate though he is, sternly warned Officialdom to rouse itself from its careless inertia and face its facts.

Judging by the numerous extracts from *Izvestia* with which Volin garnishes his report, Officialdom is incapable of rising to the occasion, and is wasting time and effort on the most frivolous trifles. A recent issue of *Izvestia* was devoted to a glorification of Lenin, sickening in its fulsome adulation, as part of which we are presented with a map of the world, across the whole of which is written simply—"Lenin!" Beneath this appears a heading: "Lenin's Legacy. The Communist Oath." To this precious document there are seven sections, in each of which the affirmant swears that he will honourably follow Comrade Lenin's final instructions—"when he went from us"—by "guarding the unity of the party as the pupil of our eye," by "guarding and strengthening the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and so forth. What childish nonsense! We are almost ashamed to print it.

Like animals that cannot breathe at a certain altitude without perishing, the slave dies in the atmosphere of freedom.—Chamfort.

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No Truce with Tyrannies.

Under countless disguises, shouting discordant war-cries and utilising every weapon that seems for the moment best suited to its purpose, mankind is struggling to realise its conception of human rights. Even the most reactionary are doing this, for habit rules us. Whatever has woven itself into a man's daily life becomes to him the only thing worth thinking of and fighting for. The moral indignation of an expropriated landlord is as sincere as that of a worker defrauded of his wages.

It is necessary to understand this, for otherwise we shall continue to cheat ourselves with the delusion that the battle can be cheaply won; that we shall arrive by the simple process of dropping a ticket once in a while into a ballot-box, or by the even more pleasant occupation of delivering or listening to fiery speeches. By no possibility could we delude ourselves more fatally. Slavery cannot be abolished so easily. The grip of the past—for that is what it really is—cannot be shaken off so lightly. The man who has been brought up to regard himself as a member of the ruling caste will not surrender because you tell him that the time has come when men should rule themselves. Empires do not abdicate because their subjects have informed them that they dislike the yoke. And what applies to the rulers applies also to the ruled. They also have their traditions and superstitions, ground by long usage into the marrow of their bones. They also want their rights, but generally they imagine it possible to acquire them only by sacrificing the rights of others. It is entirely natural. What chance has been given them of comprehending the interdependencies of Life? How can they be expected to know that wherever there is a slave at one end of the chain there is one also at the other? Why should this man, whose cries have always fallen on deaf ears, attach any value to free speech? Nevertheless, free speech is vital to success.

In this matter of free speech alone one can see how colossal are the difficulties that confront a world-wide movement. It is not merely that the combatants speak different languages and misinterpret one another. It is that mankind learns mainly through the experience of its daily life, and that experiences differ. The native of a country like England, which in the past fought strenuously and successfully for what are known as "civil rights"—free speech, freedom of opinion, and so forth—will set great value on those conquests, and hardly anything will force him to relinquish them. On the other hand, the man whose country has had no such struggle will esteem those conquests lightly, being unable, by reason of his own lack of experience, to grasp their worth.

Experience is the real teacher; and, as shown by the whole record of the Labour movement, men in the mass understand the true import of those struggles only through which they themselves have passed. Mr. George Lansbury, for example, is at once a rebel and an apostle of social equality and peace. Yet he considers Monarchy a negligible issue, although self-evidently the Monarch is the central pillar of the ruling caste, and war has been proverbially the sport of kings. Socialists generally welcome the Church as an ally; although the Church, which professes to be the mouthpiece of Omnipotence, is necessarily the very backbone of that Authoritarianism against which the world is in revolt. Russian Communists, having been gagged for centuries, know nothing of the value of free speech, and think it a pious duty to do their best to break up Emma Goldman's meetings. All these people are honestly in earnest; but, having

had no experience of those particular issues, they cannot weigh their worth. Along those lines they still remain uneducated, and therefore do not understand.

Surely it is most difficult for a world-movement to know itself, but the Anarchist movement is more favourably situated in this respect than others are. In one or other of various phases of the great struggle for political and industrial liberty now convulsing civilisation its more active spirits have played a strenuous part. By virtue of a thousand martyrdoms they have learned the necessity of standing for free speech, and no Dictatorship will ever force them to turn their backs on it. No creed or party was ever hounded more ruthlessly by officialdom than the Anarchists have been; and, taught by experience, the coercive State is to them an institution with which no peace, or even truce, is thinkable. As fighters for free thought they have been the targets of every poisoned arrow bigotry could barb; and mental freedom, which is the mother of all other freedoms, they never can abandon. That is decisive.

Our road, therefore, lies plain before us, illuminated by the experiences through which we ourselves have passed. In every struggle for Liberty our side is with the strugglers; but we will not stir a finger toward helping the masses to exchange the yoke of industrial serfdom for that of enslavement to the State, which is the abyss toward which party politicians are now engaged in driving them. This, which is the danger of the hour—inasmuch as everywhere the State is multiplying its powers for the repression of all struggles for freedom—we will fight at every point, and to every form of Dictatorship we will stand unyieldingly opposed. Such is, indeed, our bounden duty; for if we are not to warn others of the dangers our own experience has taught us, Life's lessons have been wasted, and we are worthless alike to ourselves and to the great struggle of which we are a part.

A Reply to the Trade Union Delegation's Report on Russia.

The British Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in Russia has published a very striking pamphlet, compiled by Emma Goldman, in reply to the Report on Russia by the Trade Union Delegation. The method adopted is to take statements made in the Report and compare them with extracts from official organs of the Russian Government and the Russian Communist Party. The contrast is so striking that it discredits the whole of the Report. After reading this pamphlet one can only conclude that the information supplied to the Labour delegates by the Russian Government was deliberately intended to mislead—and has misled—the Labour movement in this country. Whether it refers to education or the care of the children, public health or housing, the Trade Unions or the condition of the workers, the Cheka or Georgia, in every case the quotations given in this pamphlet flatly contradict the rose-coloured statements published in the Report. It was quite evident to everyone who considered the question that it was impossible for the seven delegates to have even begun to study conditions in Russia in the short time they were there; and in publishing without examination the voluminous material supplied by the Bolsheviks they have, willingly or unwillingly, created a false impression among the workers on whose behalf they visited Russia. The wretched position of the political prisoners is fully dealt with in this pamphlet, which should be read by all who prefer fact to fiction.

Unfortunately, one or two printers' errors have been overlooked, and as some copies have already been issued we are requested to point them out before the enemy can make capital out of them. The last paragraph on page 10, concluded on page 11, is taken from an account of the Teachers' Conference in December, 1924, published in *Pravda* of January 13, 1925. On page 13, second line from the bottom, for "444,700 destitute children" read "44,700 destitute children."

The title of the pamphlet is "Russia and the British Labour Delegation's Report: A Reply." Price 4d. Copies can be obtained from A. SUGG, Hon. Secretary of the Committee, 53 Gloucester Road, N.W.1, or from FREEDOM Office.

Push the sale of "Freedom."

The Victorian Rebels.

Easter tempted me into a ramble along old and neglected literary trails. Mentally I wandered far with Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, Auberon Herbert, Buckle, and many others, retracing my own Anarchist development. Occasional trips of this kind are very healthy.

The smug hypocrisies of the mid-Victorian era were disgusting, but the writers referred to were the then-time rebels. There was hardly an idol of the day with which they were not constantly at war. The Gods had reigned undisturbed for centuries, and they attacked them tooth and nail. It is extraordinary to re-examine the vigour with which they exposed the great political superstition that still holds most of us in thrall. Spencer said the last word possible in political economy when he declared that industry must be conducted either by mutual agreement or under the rod of State authority, and that the evolution of modern society is toward the former type. Never, in all our literary history, had the claim of the Individual to full freedom of development been championed so stalwartly. Never had the barbarous philosophy of coercion, which is the heart of Militarism and the corner-stone of State Imperialism, been handled so roughly. And let us not forget that Spencer demonstrated, with a clarity no one has been able to obscure, that the natural resources of this planet are for the free and equal use of all its inhabitants, and that private property in land cannot be justified either by logic or results.

These men did not call themselves Anarchists, for at that time the name was hardly known. They called themselves Liberals or Radicals, and both words were admirably expressive, for the former means a believer in Individual Liberty, while the latter signifies one who goes to the root of things. Those labels had a definiteness that the word Socialism—which merely implies association, and leaves untouched the great question of whether that association shall be free or compulsory—has always lacked. It is the politicians, and perhaps more particularly the Socialist and Communist politicians, who have found it to their party interest to becloud and misinterpret those well-selected words, just as they still becloud and misinterpret Anarchism, the clear-cut meaning of which is "without rulers" and signifies necessarily a social structure in which all the members of a society, enjoying equality of opportunity, manage their affairs by mutual agreement. And the fruits of that beclouding are now easy to be seen. In Russia we had Lenin, with his denunciation of personal liberty as a "bourgeois prejudice," and in this country we still have our MacDonalds and Sidney Webbs, with their sneers at individual enterprise. As if anything in this world could ever be accomplished without individual enterprise.

"Open thine eyes to see, slave, and thy feet are free," sang Swinburne, one of the great Victorian poets. These men knew that if the masses could be roused into an examination of their wrongs, and spurred into courageous discussion of their causes, the foundations of human slavery would be uncovered and destroyed. First, and above all else, therefore, they stood for Free Speech; for the freeing of the mind from the terrors of superstition and the fetters of tradition; for the creation of a real manhood not afraid to speak out honestly its honest thought. Read John Stuart Mill's "On Liberty" if you have any doubt of this.

Why does the Labour and Revolutionary movement fall continually into the most shameful and ridiculous reactions? Because the rank and file, afraid to think for themselves, are led by the nose, as asses are. Why are we always so crippled for lack of men of talent and initiative? Because those essential qualities develop only as we exercise our individual brains. We don't learn to walk by watching others do it. We remain incapable weaklings so long as we are content to sit, like bumps on a log, absorbing all and giving nothing. Never do I give a fig for any man who will not do his own investigating; in the first place, because I recognise that if he were really in earnest he would burn unquenchably with the desire to know; in the second place, because as often as the leader changes his coat

the dumb idolator is sure to follow suit. Leaders are always changing their coats. The legend tells us that Christ, being lifted on to a pinnacle of the Temple, was shown the kingdoms of the earth and the glory thereof, all which would be His if He would serve the Devil. It is, of course, a fable, invented to teach us that only a Christ can resist the temptations of high place.

These may seem to be truisms; but Life is based on principles so self-evident and well confirmed that we have got into the habit of sneering at them as platitudes. Democracy, which found such stalwart champions in the great Victorian epoch, is rooted in the truisms that the vitality and strength of any movement depend on the vitality and strength of the individuals composing it; that industrial and political freedom grow out of mental freedom; that if the masses sleep the wide-awake will rule them. And rulers, themselves enslaved by personal ambition, always want the masses put to sleep. The Roman Catholic Church ruled Europe with a rod of iron for centuries until a few hardy pioneers plucked up the energy and courage to expose her lies. Kings and feudal barons flayed their vassals to the bone, until those vassals, learning their lesson in the hard school of experience, did some thinking on their own account, and made up their minds to stop it. There never was, and there never will be, a ruling clique, no matter what it may call itself, which will not seek to think for the masses, and will not realise that its own power is endangered by their thinking for themselves. It is inevitable. The very existence of a ruler presupposes the existence of others who are ruled, and the model subject will always be he who follows tamely and obeys unquestioningly.

All this is disputed by the party politician, the party manager, the Trade Union leader, and all those, from Lenin downwards, who climb into power by preaching revolt. They get there, and instantly their point of view is changed. Instantly they see, with eagle-eyed clearness, that individual revolt is the very thing that will unseat them. Yesterday they were clamouring for rebels. To-day they demand loyal followers, who will stand by them and their party, right or wrong. "In unity," they cry, "is strength, and he who questions the creed we have adopted is a traitor to the cause." But this is the very cry that tyranny has always used to crush the rebel. By preaching it consistently the Roman Catholic Church moulded for centuries the life and thought of Europe, and nowadays every ruling class that finds its privileges threatened shouts fiercely that the country is in danger, and that the "unity" of the nation must be preserved at any cost. Such people do not make Revolutions, though Revolution may have made them. They have "arrived," and live thenceforth to crush them.

Some such thoughts as these will come to anyone who studies the writers I have named; and, to my thinking, it is pitiful that so much of their vitally creative work is now forgotten. They "fought their fears and gathered strength." They battled unflinchingly for mental freedom, because to them it was inconceivable that Mankind will be able to shake off its chains while its mentality remains enslaved. At bottom their thought was entirely Anarchistic, and among them I still find myself most comfortably at home.

W. C. O.

"THE BOLSHEVIK MYTH."

This book by Alexander Berkman has been published by Boni and Liveright, New York, at \$3.00. In the Introduction the author says:—"The present work is compiled from the Diary which I kept during my two years' stay in Russia. It is the chronicle of an intense experience, of impressions and observations noted down day by day, in different parts of the country, among various walks of life. . . . So far as I know it is the only journal kept in Russia during those momentous years (1920-1922)."

In the concluding chapter of his MS. Berkman summed up the lessons taught him by the Russian Revolution. But the publishers rejected the chapter as an "anti-climax" from a literary standpoint. Berkman had to consent, but he has published this chapter under the title of "The 'Anti-Climax,'" and will send a copy gratis to purchasers of the book. We hope shortly to have copies of the book on sale at FREEDOM Office; price, 12s. 6d. post-free. A review will appear in our next issue.

SYNDICALIST CONFERENCE.

The second Congress of the International Working Men's Association (I.W.M.A.) was held in Amsterdam on March 21. Delegates representing the following countries were present:—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Germany, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Mexico, Uruguay, Brazil, and the Argentine Republic. Representatives of the Anarchist-Syndicalist Youth and of the General Workers' Union were also in attendance, as guests. In addition to the consideration of many telegrams and written communications, the Congress had before it a heavy agenda, and the first day's sessions were fully occupied with putting this into manageable shape. The second day opened with a consideration of the report of the Association's activities which its Secretariat had submitted; and this was followed by a lively discussion of its position toward the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World). To admission of that organisation the South American delegates declared themselves strongly opposed, but the Spanish and Italian delegates took the opposite view, and the question was finally laid over for further consideration. Reports of the conditions prevailing in their respective countries were submitted in writing by the various delegates and will be published shortly, together with a statement, compiled by Rudolf Rocker, setting out the Association's basic principles and stand. The record made by the Association, in face of constant opposition, during the two years of its existence was regarded as most satisfactory, Revolutionary Syndicalism having been explained to the workers of many countries, thanks to a systematic and untiring propaganda.

NEW SAINTS FOR OLD.

The Russians are essentially an emotional people, and easily appealed to collectively. Their leaders are, and always have been, great masters in crowd psychology. This method of handling the people was most efficiently practised by the old Tsarist priesthood. Many critics of the effects of crowd psychology, as practised by the Soviet leaders, state that Karl Marx and Lenin have now taken the place of God and the Tsar? In its broadest sense this is probably true among a certain section of the people. The worship of the memory of Lenin is certainly a cult. Hats are always removed by visitors to the "Lenin Corners"—little rooms set apart in the factories and clubs and dedicated to the memory of Lenin. The body of Lenin himself is embalmed, and lies fully dressed under a glass case in the Mausoleum against the Kremlin wall in Moscow. A red flag with a red light thrown upon it flies night and day over the building. Two sentries, rigidly motionless, with fixed bayonets, guard the body day and night, while sentries patrol the building outside. At specified times the Mausoleum is open to the public. A flight of steps, carpeted in red, have to be descended to reach the chamber, whose walls are draped in red and black. Not a sound is heard or a word spoken as the batches of 100 people at a time file round the embalmed body of the late leader of the Revolution. It is stated that during the great Revolution festival at Moscow peasants who had arrived from the country had to be told not to cross themselves as they passed his picture. . . . It is quite possible . . . that when the memory of Lenin has taken its place in history the great Russian revolutionary reformer will himself be canonised.

—Report of the British Trades Union Delegation to Russia.

Y.M.C.A. Hall, St. James's Square, Bristol.

ON MAY DAY (FRIDAY, MAY 1ST)

EMMA GOLDMAN

Will Lecture (under the auspices of the British Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in Russia) on

"Labour under the Dictatorship in Russia."

Chairman - - Councillor WALTER H. AYLES.

Doors open 7.30. Chair taken 8 p.m.

Admission Free. Tickets for Reserved Seats, 1s. and 6d.

Emma Goldman will also speak at the **FOLK HOUSE, Bristol, on Monday, May 4.** Subject: "Heroic Women of the Russian Revolution." Chair to be taken at 8 p.m. by Dr. G. F. BECKH. Admission free. Silver Collection in aid of Political Prisoners.

"Freedom" Guarantee Fund.

The response to last month's appeal on behalf of FREEDOM has not realised our expectations, so we renew the appeal, hoping that our readers will help to lighten the burden of debt by substantial donations. The following sums have been received to date (April 30) since our last issue:—M. A. Cohn £2 1s. 1d., T. S. (2 months) 10s., Spokeshave 10s., L. Sarnoff 4s., Mr. Lipman 2s. 6d., E. Richmond 5s., G. W. Tindale 5s., C. Sewell 5s., Doris 2s., G. Bishop 2s., G. Hannah 2s., E. Kirby 2s. 6d., Geo. Goulding 2s. 6d., T. McCulloch 2s. 6d., E. M. 5s., E. H. O. 5s., A. D. Moore 5s., J. S. R. 2s. 6d., A. Bird 2s. 6d., G. P. 2s., A. B. H. 2s., H. Compton 3s. 6d., L. G. Wolfe £1.

CASH RECEIVED (not otherwise acknowledged).

(March 23 to April 30.)

"FREEDOM" SUBSCRIPTIONS.—J. Scarceriaux (2), J. Cosson, J. Desser, B. B., B. Black, K. Kanemura, J. Blundell, J. Clarke, J. Binnie, J. Montgomery, W. M. S., G. Billings, H. Compton, G. Robertson.
FOR PRISONERS IN RUSSIA.—J. Rosende 5s.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS.

West London Anarchist Communist Group.—Open-air Meetings at The Grove, Hammersmith. Every Wednesday and Friday, at 8 p.m. Sundays, 7.30 p.m. Speakers welcomed.

Under the auspices of the "Workers' Friend" Group.

A SELECT DANCE

WILL TAKE PLACE ON

SATURDAY, MAY 2ND,

AT THE

Shoreditch Town Hall, Old Street.

TICKETS - - Two Shillings each.

Dancing, 7.30 to 11.30. Dancing pumps to be worn.

Books by Emma Goldman.

My Disillusionment in Russia. 242 pages. **My Further Disillusionment in Russia.** 178 pages. 12s. the two volumes. postage 9d.

Anarchism and Other Essays. 6s. 6d.; postage 4d.

PAMPHLET AND BOOK LIST.

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3d.

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THE WAGE SYSTEM. By P. KROPOTKIN. 2d.

ANARCHY. By E. MALATESTA. 3d.

THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.

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WHAT IS PROPERTY? By P. J. Proudhon. Cloth (1 vol.), 4s. 6d.; paper covers (in two vols.), 3s.; postage, 5d.

PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST. By ALEXANDER BERKMAN. 11s. 6d., postage 8d.

ECONOMICS OF LIBERTY. A statement of Proudhon's system of social organisation. By JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON. Cloth, 2s.; postage 3d.

MAN VERSUS THE STATE. By Herbert Spencer. Paper, 6d.; post. 2d.

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NEWS FROM NOWHERE. By William Morris. Cloth, 3s. 6d.; paper, 1s. 6d.; postage, 3d.

FREEDOM AND ITS FUNDAMENTALS. By CHARLES T. SPRADING. Cloth, 6s. 6d.; postage, 4d.

WALDEN. By Henry Thoreau. 2s.; postage, 3d.

Orders, with cash, to be sent to

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