

Freedom

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MONTHLY: TWO PENCE.

NOTES.

War by Starvation.

The Note handed by the Armistice Commission to the German Government, inviting them to join in the blockade of Russia, is a proof of the Allied Government's supreme contempt for their own peoples. In France, in Great Britain, and in America strong protests have been raised against the war on Soviet Russia, and in reply the Governments of those countries said that all troops would be withdrawn, and a great show was made of their withdrawal. Simple folk thought this meant the end of intervention, but now it is plain to all who keep their eyes open that the Allies are more active than ever, and that the Finns, Esthonians, Letts and others are being forced to fight the Bolsheviks, in order to help Koltchak and Denikin and the Tsarist gang at the back of them. The British Government is seeking a naval base in the Baltic, from which to check the growing mercantile power of the Scandinavian States, and to safeguard the railway and other concessions now being squeezed out of the puppet "Governments" of the Baltic States. To achieve these aims, the people of Bolshevik Russia are to be starved to death by our blockade. "Permission to sail will be refused to every ship bound for a Russian Bolshevik port. . . . Similar regulations will be adopted with regard to all goods destined to reach Bolshevik Russia by any other route." And English and French statesmen invite the Huns—the "baby-killers" as they called them—to help to starve the Russians into submission!

Kropotkin's Warning.

Peter Kropotkin has joined in the wide-world protest against armed intervention in Russia. From his home at Dmitrov (Moscow) he has sent a letter to his old friend, George Brandes, the well-known Danish writer, in which, after pointing out the analogy between the French Revolution from September, 1792, to July, 1794, and the present situation in Russia, he says:—

"I protest with all my power against any kind of armed intervention by the Allies in Russian affairs; such intervention can only result in a great stimulation of Russian chauvinism, which would bring back to us a chauvinist monarchy. Signs of this are already to be seen, and, what is more important, it would produce in the whole of the Russian people a hostile attitude to Western Europe, an attitude which would have most grave consequences. It may be imagined that in serving Koltchak and Denikin you are supporting a Liberal and Republican Party; but that is a mistake. However worthy the personal intentions of these two military leaders, the majority of their supporters have other views. It is inevitable that they should bring back the monarchy, and with it the reaction and rivers of blood."

But rivers of workers' blood will not stop the British and French capitalists, who are working day and night to get control of Russia and its vast wealth.

Labour and Control of Industry.

Since the railway strike ended, the railwaymen's leaders have been in negotiation with the Government on the wages question. We hear now that the men's leaders put forward a scheme of joint control, under which the Unions would have half the representation on the board of control. The Government, however, would have nothing to do with this scheme, but suggested the formation of a committee which would give advice to the Minister of Transport (Eric Geddes), the railwaymen to be allowed two or three representatives on this precious committee.

The main point about these negotiations is the fact that one section of the Triple Alliance is playing for its own hand, and may presently agree to a scheme of joint control, which will undermine the scheme put forward by the miners. The Government would thus cause jealousy within the Alliance, and thus smash its influence at a blow. Lloyd George and his friends know that there are ambitious men among the Labour leaders, who would sell their members if thereby they could gain some of the big salaries at the disposal of the Government, and they play one leader off against another, in this way preventing harmonious working in a strike. It is a very old game, and both Lloyd George and Thomas play it very well. But the workers will not abolish wage-slavery that way.

The Guerrilla War in Ireland.

The Sinn Feiners are carrying on a guerrilla war against the forces of government in Ireland, and the Government are raiding Sinn Fein and Labour headquarters in their effort to crush those movements. Civil war is raging more or less, and the Government only refrain from more drastic action from fear of the consequences to their relations with the United States and the Colonies. The struggle against English domination which the Irish have carried on for centuries is proof that nothing but a complete break of the chain will bring peace between the two countries. We know that this would not necessarily mean freedom to the workers in either country, but it would clear the path for a mutual understanding between them, and thus help both in the fight against their exploiters. In any case, the Labour movement in England and Scotland should join hands with the Irish workers for a combined struggle against capitalism, their common enemy. Let them remember that the soldiers who are at present in Ireland are drawn from the working class and are fed, clothed, and provided with munitions by the working class. It therefore rests with the workers to decide how long the soldiers shall stay there. Don't pass any more resolutions!

Release of Emma Goldman and Berkman.

Our two comrades have at last been released from prison in America, after serving sentences of two years' imprisonment for opposing conscription when American capitalists decided to enter the war for freedom. Emma Goldman and Berkman were also fined £2,000 each, and were kept in prison a week or two extra for failing to pay their fines. Although they have served their sentences, Uncle Sam still keeps a hold on them, as they have been ordered to be deported as "dangerous aliens"—both of them are of Russian nationality. Appeals have been lodged against deportation, and whilst they are waiting for the appeals to be heard they have been released on bail—15,000 dollars in hard cash had to be deposited for each of them before they were released. The Jewish Trade Unions raised Berkman's bail, Emma's being found by her many friends inside and outside the movement. An American comrade writes us that he does not think they will be deported for a long time, if at all. "Not because the Government will have a change of heart, but simply because some of the officials realise that by deporting such people to Russia they are helping the Revolution there. It is a noteworthy fact that up to now no Russians have been deported. Had they been Scandinavians, Britishers, French, Italians, they would have been deported; but Russians no!" Well, we know that whether our comrades are deported or not, they are sure to carry on Anarchist propaganda, because it has become a part of their life.

SEXUAL MORALITY AND THE CHURCH.

The Church of England is taking upon itself more and more the rôle of the guardian of public morality. Though it possesses not a single qualification for the office, yet at Church Congresses and the like we are called upon to listen to arid discourses on the need of more babies from celibate clergymen who do not intend to have any, and the wickedness of "birth-control" from men who regard an unmarried mother as the symbol of all wickedness and uncleanness.

And these people never stop to consider how absolutely ludicrous they are. Their outward appearance—the clothes they wear—would on any music-hall stage provoke a roar of laughter. Not one in ten of them can speak the English language, and judging from the prattle that ensues when they "assemble and meet together" their intellects are of the most infantile order. In case this last sentence may be taken as being in the nature of a compliment, I hasten to say they have the ignorance of childhood with none of its simplicity.

Look at the man at whom they preach. Soon after he becomes of age he must put away his money that he may be able to furnish a house for his future wife and himself. He denies himself many of the pleasures of youth, so that he may do "his duty to the community." He can only get married when apparently there is a long spell of employment in front of him. A few weeks of housekeeping convinces him that if he would do justice to his children he must limit the number of them. In plain language, his wages—these being always irregular because of sickness and unemployment—are insufficient in amount to keep a large family in health and comfort. Consequently he has only a small family.

It is not the business of anyone upon earth as to the means he and his wife adopt, whether abstinence or preventatives, to prevent their family from becoming excessively large in number. Give to these people all the knowledge on the subject obtainable, but it is an immoral impertinence for any person, even the Archbishop of Canterbury or of York, to dictate to them, in the name of God or Devil, what it is they must do. Would these parsons and deacons have us believe that their God prefers to see a family of six children living in a state of semi-starvation than a family of two in comparative comfort? Yet this is what their mealy-mouthed phrases actually mean.

There are certain methods available by which conception may be avoided. The simplest of these is withdrawal before the act of emission. Or a less certain method is that of abstinence during the wife's menstrual period—six days before and six days after. Then there are artificial contrivances, syringes and the like, none of which are injurious to health. Quinine is a preventative if it is used before and after the sexual action.

All this knowledge should be open to everybody. But between it and the people who most need it is the shadow of the church, an institution devised to keep the common people in a continual "state of lowliness and obedience before their betters."

The message of Anarchism is that there are no betters, no popes, no bishops! These are fictitious personages—bogies for the scarification of the human mind. There are men and women! And all men and all women are equal in the sight of earth.

But we get at close quarters with the Church when it talks of sexual morality. Because its intimations of sexual morality are intended, not for the young men of Eton or Harrow, nor for the students of Oxford or Cambridge, but for working-class consumption only. The prostitutes who parade Leicester Square and Piccadilly are not patronised by working men for the simple reason that the fee they demand could not be earned in a week by a skilled mechanic. But we never hear of missions to convert the rich from their sins. They, it is allowed, must "sow their wild oats." Let us put the matter in a sentence: If the use of prostitutes is right for the rich, it is right also for the poor. Morality is not at all a question of income.

And we must go further than this, and allow the right of each man and woman to use his or her body as he or she may wish. This is a fundamental individual right, to be recognised at first. A woman has as much right to sell the use of her body as his grace of Canterbury has to wear a hair shirt. Whether the one thing or the other be advisable is quite a different matter. The Church may advise, but it must not dictate. That is, it must never appeal to the legislature to have its advice enforced by the strong arm of the law. Yet we have bishops in the House of Peers, and tables of kindred and affinity we are not permitted to marry, in every church. The Church is verily the crutch of government.

And in this matter it cannot appear with clean hands. Let us accept the theory of the continuity of the Church for a moment,

and remind ourselves that the first action of Wat Tyler and his men in 1381, when they advanced on London, was to burn down a brothel which belonged to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The revenues of York Minster were in part obtained from a similar institution which stood not a hundred yards from the cathedral itself. For many hundreds of years the Church allowed and defended the right of the manorial lord to spend the first night with every newly-made bride on his manor. During every year the words of an erotic Eastern love-song are read as part of the Church service. The rites and ceremonies of the Church, Roman or Established, have all sexual origins. Really, we ought to turn to the officials and laity of the Church, and say, "Physicians, heal yourselves!"

There is one other matter I want to tuck into the conclusion of this article. It is a quotation from a letter recently circulated by the Venereal Prevention Committee. "At the Church Congress," says the letter, "the Archbishop of Canterbury considered that the policy of immediate disinfection may develop into a most disastrous peril to the young men and women of the country, and Dr. Routh at the same meeting spoke strongly against the 'packet' system. It is curious that nearly all the eminent doctors opposed to immediate disinfection are greatly interested in and influenced by ecclesiastical opinions which must make an unbiassed expression of their scientific opinion extremely difficult. (Italics mine.) The Venereal Prevention Committee consider that if the public were instructed in the value and use of self-disinfection with potassium permanganate, 1 in 1,000, and 33 per cent. calomel ointment, the prevalence of venereal disease would be very greatly reduced."

It is not generally known, though it ought to be, that tubes of calomel ointment were supplied to every army hut in the country during the recent war. And more, that soldiers were instructed in the use of the stuff. But I have yet to learn that the Church protested against such proceedings. Its protest now is five years too late. Apparently it favours the infection of innocent women and children rather than that the public should have the knowledge of how venereal diseases may be prevented.

The remedy of the Church is "chastity." And enforced chastity, as Freud has pointed out, leads usually to religious mania. But you may indulge your appetite to the most loathsome degree providing that only a man dressed in female attire has read some words out of a book over you. Even though you cripple or kill your wife by so doing, the Church holds you justified. What sort of morality is this Church morality?

JOHN WAKEMAN.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

Les Temps Nouveaux gives the place of honour to a keen-eyed exposure of the materialistic conception of history, Paul Gille wielding the lancet. This irritating task has to be done over and over again, because this is the mumbo-jumbo catchword with which, for nearly a century, Socialism has been chloroforming the revolutionary movement. Changes in methods of production account, they tell us, for everything; for the rise of powerful religions, such as Christianity and Buddhism; for the triumph and decay of great civilisations, such as those of India and Egypt, Greece and Rome; for the bloody conflicts of the Crusade and Reformation periods! Such is the simple dogma to which Karl Marx worshippers would make all humanity bow the knee. Be calm! Rest easy! Do nothing! As Engels puts it: "The determining causes of a metamorphosis or social revolution should not be sought for in men's heads, but in the metamorphoses of production and exchange." In plain words: "Don't bother yourselves with thought, or launch into revolt for the sake of translating your convictions into action. Have patience, and machinery will work out your problem for you."

Just as the ordinary man to-day rises high above the savage creeds he still professes, so Socialism, of course, by the very pertinacity of its propaganda, gives the lie to this fatalistic doctrine which, followed logically, kills propaganda. Nevertheless, the deadening of the spirit of revolt brought about by this dogma has been incalculable, and we, for our part, have to counteract it untiringly with the reminder that "it is the sap that makes the tree, and ideas that make society." The quotation is from Elisée Reclus, scientist and Anarchist.

Pierpont Morgan, when the American Government was going after his Steel Trust, remarked caustically that it was exceedingly difficult to unscramble a scrambled egg. This is practically the text of a searching review of the present situation in Europe, as Christian Cornélissen sees it. He explains the perilous situation in which the smaller nations living on the borders of the ancient Russian Empire now find themselves, and expresses fear

of the Russian Socialists, "who have been brought up in the school of an uncompromising centralism, and of rigid discipline." The fact that the Allies are using Asiatic troops in their struggle against the Bolsheviks is full of danger.

In its foreign notes, *Les Temps Nouveaux* considers the economic crisis in England as of the first importance; regards the "direct action" movement as most significant, and apparently is much impressed with the power the Triple Alliance can bring to bear. We who live in England may be pardoned, we hope, for taking a somewhat more sombre view. As for Ireland, it views with scepticism the spectacle of Republicans, Revolutionary Syndicalists, Socialists, and even Anarchists, who still uphold the Papacy. It considers that, in Spain, the Catalan effort to set up a separate Republic is not being supported as it should be; for "in all probability, a Republican Catalonia would be the end of the Monarchic and Jesuit régime." Increasing Mohammedan discontent in India comes in for comment.

AUSTRIA.

Erkenntniss und Befreiung, of Vienna, is extremely bitter against Lenin for his recent declaration that the Russian proletariat must work as it never worked before in order to assist the revolutionists of other countries. It quotes him as saying that "the strictest discipline of the proletariat is needed, not only in the army, but in all factories and workshops. Everyone must go to work. Those who wish to be idle must be compelled to labour." Naturally, it finds no difficulty in quoting similar passages from leading capitalist papers, and also from Social Democratic organs, which it holds up to scorn. As an offset to this, it publishes a translation from *Libertaire* of the manifesto issued recently by the Federation of French Anarchists, which affirms that the "society of the future must be based on the absolute autonomy of the individual," and proclaims its rejection of all "authority," whether it be that of "a dictatorship, a Parliament, or State Communism."

The importance of the Land Question is being emphasised more and more, conferences being held for the purpose of pushing it to the front.

SPAIN.

Eduardo Ferrer, ex-president of the Metal Workers' Union, traitor and mouchard of Bravo Portillo, was killed recently, and the Employers' Federation hurried to protest, no doubt to conceal the fact that his death is due to the 150,000 pesetas (£2,000) that the employers had collected to kill the Syndicalists. The Government has sent several hundred Guardia Civiles to Barcelona to guard the employers. The Guardia Civil was created for the security of the roads, but since the railways were founded the bandits have become magistrates and entered the Government offices; the only bandits now left on the roads are the Guardia Civil.

The employers intend to hold a National Congress, and the delegates will be lodged in the homes of the Barcelona employers, because the workers have decided not to serve them and to declare a boycott of the musicians who take part in the entertainments.

At Bilbao the Socialists, seeing that there are fewer fools, and that the miners wanted to withdraw their funds from the "Casa del Pueblo," provoked a fight between the workers, in which several were wounded. The president and vice-president of the Socialist Party have been arrested as the principal culprits.

It does not surprise us. The Socialists of Bilbao are the least Socialistic that can exist, and we have seen them more than once trying to kill those who do not adore them.

The Union General, which has but 40,000 members, has sent to Washington, amongst other delegates, Luis Arasquitain, director of the review *España*, who is not a member of the organisation. The Confederation, which has 350,000 members, and which will shortly be publishing five dailies, Barcelona, Valencia, Sevilla, Zaragoza, and Bilbao, and may be a sixth in Madrid, has refused to send anyone to Washington.

Tierra y Libertad announces that it will reappear as soon as the censorship is suspended.

PORTUGAL.

The Workers' National Congress was held on September 13-16, at Coïmbra, where several decisions come to showed the progress made by the Portuguese workers. They changed the name of the organisation, it now being *Confederação General do Trabalho* (Workers' General Federation). They decided not to send any delegates to the International Labour Conference at Washington, understanding that such a conference can only benefit the employers. But the Government has appointed Alfredo Franco, director of the Socialist daily, *O Combate*, to represent the workers at the conference, in spite of the workers' protest. It shows that also in Portugal there are some very unscrupulous Socialists.

TRIAL OF ERICH MUEHSAM.

After a trial lasting eight days, Comrade Muehsam, a famous German revolutionary poet, was sentenced to 15 years' detention in a fortress for treason. The ruling class have gained their ends; a Revolutionist has been silenced. "Muehsam is and remains the greatest danger for any form of State," and for this reason the Public Prosecutor demanded 10 years' penal servitude. The opinions about the dangers of such "Revolutionists" are the same to-day as they were under the Monarchy, only the methods of their disposal have changed. Until now they were shot or murdered; now they are sent to prison for 15 years, and the same end is gained.

The trial was in more than one respect interesting and instructive; it showed where the real counter-revolutionists are located. The premature proclamation of the Soviet Republic in Bavaria was instigated by certain Government circles in Berlin and Weimar. They hoped to get rid of dangerous elements in this way and they employed the same means as they did in Berlin in January, to force the fight on the working class as they did then.

A more than questionable rôle was played in these critical days in Munich by the Social Democratic Ministers, Segitz and Schneppenhorst. Not only were all the accused of opinion that both of them had approved of the proclamation of the Soviet Government in Bavaria, but also some witnesses; amongst others the Minister of Agriculture, Steiner, expressed the same opinion. How far Segitz and Schneppenhorst were working hand in hand with the counter-revolutionary Government of Bamberg was not brought out at the trial. Certain it is that neither of these two "Social Democrats" wished to fall out with either side and were waiting to see which way the cat jumped. They were marking time, and had things turned out in favour of the Soviet Government both of them would have been fervent supporters of it, just as they are now its bitterest opponents. The whole "characterlessness" of Social Democratic leadership is reflected in the actions of these two "men of honour," but also the whole tragedy of the German Revolution, which has become a profitable business for demagogues and swindlers.

The following is a summary of Comrade Muehsam's able speech in his defence: "I am not an insurrectionist; I am a Revolutionist, and do not believe that we will reach our goal with insurrections, but with the Revolution. When the Public Prosecutor pointed to my participation in the Revolution of the 9th of November as a justification of his assertion that I am an insurrectionist, the following thought struck me: If things have come to this, then it will not be long before all participants of the Revolution will be brought to court and tried for treason, and I even anticipate the Hoffman Ministry will some day have to answer the same charge before a court-martial of officers of the Wittelsbach Monarchy. The Munich *Post*, the organ of the party which still calls itself 'pure Socialist,' published at the time a declaration which read: 'The Revolution has come about without our participation.' This was quite correct. The only part they took in the Revolution was to order it off, and apologise for it. If the Public Prosecutor thinks I would take part in any insurrection, and quotes November 9 as proof, I can only tell him in such insurrections I shall always take part!"

"The Public Prosecutor declares that I am never satisfied with any revolution because it didn't go far enough. If I have understood the Public Prosecutor rightly, then he has not understood me rightly. Things are not like that, that one can choose of several revolutions one. Revolutions will take place until the Socialist Communist goal is reached, and when that is reached the causes of revolutions are eliminated. If this or that Revolutionist is previously sentenced, put against the wall or murdered, it is of no consequence, and makes no difference whatever to the cause of the revolution.

"I feel no responsibility towards you, gentlemen. I only feel responsibility to the people, for whom I live and work, and who alone will be competent to judge me. I do not beg for mercy or your favour. I do not beg, I demand acquittal. The people look upon your court-martial as an institution of the counter-revolution, whose main work is to administer pre-revolution law in revolutionary conditions. And this was done by the Hoffman Government, and thus it proves itself an instrument of the counter-revolution. *I am convinced that the end of my incarceration will not be determined by your sentence, but by the development of the revolution and the will of the proletariat.*"

With these words Comrade Muehsam closed his speech. The sentence is, as previously mentioned, 15 years in a fortress. Thus another fighter is being silenced and disappears in prison—if the Government has its way—for ever. "The length of his imprisonment is determined by the development of the revolution." Therefore, let us hasten this development and translate the will to Freedom into action.

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SICKENED BY LIES.

The temper of the whole world is rising, slowly and steadily—a sure sign of strength. Deep passions brood long before they speak; and then, at first, they whisper. Flood tides are usually too strong for sound or foam. Dense silences, broken by intermittent mutterings, always precede the heaviest storms.

We invite you to this general and inspiring view. We urge you to note the darkening of the entire horizon, and the dawn in wait behind it. We warn you not to lose yourselves in details; not to allow yourselves to be hypnotised unduly by the study of special localities or isolated struggles. A great strike succeeds or fails. It is only an incident, but it leaves its mark. Even such a revolution as that of Russia is only a single outburst from one overcharged cloud; a single flash that clears the atmosphere for the moment and lights up the road a step or two ahead.

Not even in terms of countries should we think, for this struggle is not a national one. Patient China and hot-headed Italy, stolid England and high-strung America, cautious Scot and reckless Mexican, men of every colour, creed and race, of every occupation and of none at all, are sucked into this maelstrom. But we reflect that the countries which think themselves anchored most securely are certain ultimately to fare the worst. With them life is most artificial and, therefore, most easily thrown off its balance. With them existence itself depends—as was proved by the submarine period of the recent war—on delicate adjustments easily put out of gear. They no longer supply their own primary wants by their own labour, as do the simpler countries. They no longer float on their own keels, but swim or sink as others hold them up or drag them down. Their vast and ostentatious wealth, owned by the few and threatened incessantly by the many, is an open target that invites attack.

The present position of the great lords of wealth and power is most precarious, and they know it. In private conversation many of them admit it frequently, with startling frankness. Their undertakings, growing ever more unwieldy, rest on the enforced co-operation of enormous and often bitterly hostile masses, whose possible revolts spell ruin. Their solvency depends on the stability of innumerable exchanges which all disturbances upset. Apparently they own the world, but their ownership rests on the acknowledgment of paper titles which Revolution repudiates.

Plutocracy to-day is full of fear, and fear is always cruel. Its cruelty, therefore, sticks at nothing; not even at starving millions. And that cruelty will not relax. On the contrary, it will become more sagacious, more effectively organised, more systematic. If it can, it will utterly suppress free speech. It will crush the rebel, every rebel, remorselessly. All this it will do because it has to do it; because, by the very necessity of its position, it must rule or ruin. To permit the continued undermining of the pillars is to bring the whole edifice of the temple crashing down.

No tampering with the pillars can be allowed. Observe, therefore, the growing ferocity with which every strike is fought, especially in the United States, where plutocracy is youngest and most aggressive. Observe the growing anxiety to increase the powers of Government, and to drag it into every industrial dispute. Observe the genuine alarm when a few thousand wage-working policemen propose to organise for their own protection. Listen to the howl that goes up from those who practise, daily and hourly, direct action in its most pitiless form, when Labour timidly attempts to tear a leaf from the same book. "Labour will starve and ruin us!" they cry. And they themselves have kept Labour perpetually poor and submissive by holding over it this same starvation whip. It has been their master policy at home, as it is at this moment their policy throughout the suffering continent of Europe.

We have to study that whip. Wherever we are we have to study the institutions of that particular country and the pillars on which its temple rests. The enormous fortunes of our own ruling class have not been made here, but abroad. Our own small labouring population is too poor for such rich pickings. The pillars of the British Empire are Asiatic pillars, African pillars, Colonial and Over-Seas pillars. They are based on the acquisition of territory and the submission and trustfulness of what we are pleased to call the "backward" races, hitherto non-resisting Hindus, hitherto indomitably pacific Chinamen, Africans just growing out of childhood. Hitherto our sword and a most astute diplomacy have kept them quiet. Hitherto they have felt instinctively that we could give them knowledge and material benefits they needed, and that they profited by our rule. But that day is passing. The temper of that huge proletariat also is rising, and against it, out-Kaisering the Kaiser, we shake mailed fists.

Things happen in this world because, conditions being as they are, they have to happen. Just as the astounding inequalities at home can be maintained only by the maintenance of a vast army of repression, and a still vaster army of cajolery, so similar institutions must be maintained abroad. We shall not disarm, and we never intended to disarm. We shall not abolish secret diplomacy, and we never intended to abolish it. These things are part and parcel of the present system. Without them it could not run a month. And every thinking man and woman knew it. President Wilson knew it, as did Lloyd George, and all the word-twisting spellbinders who have been frothing over the League of Nations. At last, by the convincing evidence of their own acts, the world at large has found them out.

This is what hurts. What drives men beyond control is not so much hunger—which generally deadens—but the discovery that their trusted shepherds have misled them; that they have been lied to and deceived; that the whole atmosphere is charged with lies, and that truth has become the one thing impossible to get. Then they grow nauseated. Then they begin to look on everything as rotten. Then they feel instinctively that it is necessary, at any cost, to clear the air. They accuse, they indict, they condemn; taking their full revenge. The storm bursts in all its fury, completes its purifying task, and renders possible the dawning of a sweeter, healthier day.

THE MOONEY CASE.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS EXPOSE PROSECUTION.

The United States House of Representatives has just published a Report on the Mooney case, which is a glaring exposure of the corrupt and unscrupulous villains responsible for the prosecution of Tom Mooney and his friends, and which, at the same time, throws a searchlight on the rottenness of the whole judicial system in San Francisco. This Report is in two parts, and is entitled, "Letter from the Secretary of Labor Transmitting Information Relative to the connection of certain of the Department's Employees with the Case of Thomas J. Mooney." The first part is a report of the investigations made, at the instigation of President Wilson, into the facts of the Mooney trial; the second part contains a report of the evidence given before the Grand Jury's inquiry into the Mooney trial.

Briefly stated, the facts are as follows: On July 22, 1916, during a Preparedness Day parade at San Francisco, a bomb was thrown into the crowd, killing nine or ten persons and injuring many more. As a result, five people were eventually charged with being concerned in throwing the bomb—Tom Mooney and his wife, Warren K. Billings, Israel Weinberg, and Edward J. Nolan, all of whom had been more or less prominent in the Trade Union movement in San Francisco. The case against Nolan was dropped for lack of evidence. Billings was tried first, in September, 1916, and sentenced to imprisonment for life; but the witnesses in his case were so discredited that they were not called when Mooney was tried, the prosecution relying on a new witness, Frank C. Oxman. On February 24, 1917, Mooney was sentenced to death; but in April of the same year it was proved beyond a shadow of doubt that Oxman had tried to get a man to commit perjury in the case, thus in effect destroying the credibility of his own evidence. This, of course, influenced the juries a great deal in the trials of Mrs. Mooney and Weinberg in the following July and October, both of them being acquitted.

From the first it was recognised that these trials were a fight between Capital and Labour, the Chamber of Commerce and the big corporations in San Francisco helping financially and by the use of their own detectives. To Labour it appeared a gigantic "frame-up" to crush their organisations, and a statement of the case and appeals for help were sent to Trade Unions

and Socialist bodies all over the world. Resolutions of protest began to pour in on the U.S.A. Government, and various spontaneous protest strikes in America began to affect the production of war material. Appeals for a new trial were turned down, but at last the Governor of California altered Mooney's sentence to imprisonment for life. This stirred up afresh the agitation for a new trial, which was demanded by Mooney's friends on the ground that the evidence and the conduct of the prosecution were rotten from beginning to end. They especially charged the District Attorney, Charles M. Fickert, with manipulating the whole business on behalf of the employers, of whom he was the tool. It was in these circumstances that President Wilson gave instructions to the Secretary of Labour to make a full inquiry on behalf of the United States Government. The Secretary of Labour appointed John B. Densmore, the solicitor for the Department, to carry out the inquiry and report. The two documents before us are the result. This Report was handed in on November 1, 1918, and on July 23 last the House of Representatives ordered it to be printed.

The Report is a most amazing exposure of the machinery of Law and Order, although it is only supposed to be aimed at certain individuals. The old saying, "Set a thief to catch a thief," is exemplified here, for Mr. Densmore, solicitor, knew sufficient of the tricks of his trade to outwit Fickert, the District Attorney, who he rightly judged was the centre of the conspiracy. But Fickert is a wily old fox, and "keeps himself barricaded behind double-locked doors on the fourth floor of the Hall of Justice, in a private office to which only one other man has the keys." Mr. Densmore decided that it was absolutely necessary to get a dictaphone (a listening apparatus) fixed in Fickert's office, and after two months' careful work the machine was installed and in operation. The wires were laid to a room close by, where operators sat and took down almost every word that was spoken in Fickert's room from September 5 to October 28, 1918. These conversations occupy about 50 pages of the Report, and are an illuminating record of how the judicial machine works. Here we find Fickert, the "impartial" prosecutor in criminal cases, using his influence with judges to get charges against men dismissed to please his political friends. We also find him working up fresh evidence against Mooney and his wife in a most foolish manner, that would not convince any child that kept his eyes open. His own language, and that of his associates, is full of oaths, and they amuse themselves by telling smutty stories and seducing their stenographers.

The most interesting part to us, however, is where these people talk about men and women who are well known in the Anarchist and Socialist movement in America. Berkman, Emma Goldman, Robert Minor, Trotsky, the I.W.W.—they all come and go in these tapped conversations. The I.W.W. prisoners at Sacramento worried Fickert, and a friend said that "a good way to get the I.W.W.'s to plead guilty would be to bring in a squad of soldiers and inform the I.W.W.'s that on the report of the operatives they would be court-martialled and shot." He claimed that this would produce the desired result. Fickert said, "The best thing to do would be to get a bunch of soldiers who had served in the Philippines and give the — of — the water cure." Another of Fickert's visitors expressed the opinion that "it might be a good idea to hang all these Anarchists and Russian agitators."

Fickert was but a tool in the hands of Judge F. W. Henshaw, late of the Supreme Court of the State of California. When he was on the Supreme Bench, Henshaw was recognised as the representative of Big Business, and the capitalists could always rely on him to give the decisions they wanted; his interpretation of the law was always on their side. He was compelled to resign from the Supreme Court owing to his action in a will case. The Court had decided against the heirs, who asked to be allowed to divide the estate. One of the heirs approached Henshaw, who, for a sum of 10,000 dollars, used his influence to have the case reopened. It was then agreed that if the final decision was favourable to the heirs they were to pay Henshaw 400,000 dollars. When the rehearing came on Judge Henshaw changed his vote in favour of the heirs, thus securing a majority, and later on received his reward. These facts came to the attention of Mr. Fremont Older, editor of the *San Francisco Bulletin*, who decided to publish them. Henshaw heard of this and got Older to call on him. He then promised that if Older would refrain from publishing the facts, he would resign from the Supreme Court, cut his connection with Fickert, and even go to Governor Stephens and ask for a new trial for Mooney. Older agreed, and Henshaw resigned; but the dictaphone shows that he did not sever his connection with Fickert, neither did he cease intriguing against Mooney.

Fickert originally got his job as District Attorney through Henshaw's influence. The capitalists wanted a man who would dismiss charges of graft against some officials of the United Railroads, so Fickert was appointed on the understanding that

he would so act. "His dismissal of the graft indictments was a simple operation, quickly performed. No one in the city misconstrued the significance of the act, or laboured under any delusion as to the motives of the men who had brought it about."

So as to show the "majesty of the law" at work, we will make two or three quotations from the conversations recorded by the dictaphone, unknown to the unsuspecting Fickert and his friends:

September 21.—At 11.25 a.m. Fickert held a conversation with some unidentified man, who said: "I really think I can get some dope on that bastard, Johnson [referring evidently to Bascom Johnson, now a major in the army, and head of the Military Welfare League]. He's got an authoritative job, and, if you remember, he was one of those who started the Red Light Abatement Association [Red Light stands for a brothel]. We had a property owners' association, and from the way this bastard acted I think he was out after the dough."

"Do you think he is an I.W.W.?" asked Fickert.

"Oh, no," replied the other, "I think he just used those people."

"I know that he and that s— of a b— Minor were friends," said Fickert. "He has known Minor since 1910. Minor isn't here now; he's in Russia."

On September 23 the following is recorded:

A little later some unidentified man came in and held a conversation with Fickert in reference to the Mooney case. Fickert spoke of Mooney's notebook, of Edward Getz, and of the Trotsky letters published in the daily papers. He also told of saying to Mooney, "You G— d— [unprintable epithet], you ought to have been hung long ago."

On September 18 Fickert was discussing the possibility of getting a new woman witness to swear that she saw Mrs. Mooney at a certain spot during the Preparedness Parade. "Chief," exclaimed Cunha, "if you can get a witness who will put Mrs. Mooney at Stuart and Market Streets, I don't give a damn if you put her there in a balloon." Fickert said, "I think I can put her there in a taxicab. It looks as though we had the witness." "If you have, chief," said Cunha, with real enthusiasm, "I will put that — of a — Mrs. Mooney on trial again, and I will convict her by every rule of the game."

We do not know whether this Report has been published in any American papers, but the comrade who sent it to us says it "was only intended for our all-wise legislators in Washington, D.C." In any case, after such an exposure it seems incredible that Mooney and Billings should remain in prison another day, or that Fickert should remain in office another hour.

To some people it may seem that the U.S.A. Government's exposure shows a desire to see that justice is done to Labour men and women on trial, but in reality it is nothing of the kind. What annoys Wilson and Co. is the crude way in which Fickert and the San Francisco Courts bungled the affair. It is all right to send agitators to the scaffold by means of false evidence and corrupt officials, but it is another thing altogether to let it be known how the game is played. Anyhow, now the workers can see the Law at work in all its cunning and brutality; and if Mooney and his comrades have suffered, they have suffered in a good cause if the workers will but learn the lesson that all Governments are supported by such villainy.

WAR OFFICE RELEASES TYPE.

We are pleased to announce that at last the War Office has allowed us to fetch our type from Scotland Yard, where it has been resting since it was seized in May and August, 1916. Needless to say, no care had been taken of the stuff when storing it; the mass of "pie" we brought away would gladden the eyes of a "printer's devil." One case of type had evidently been filled with a spade. However, as the "Competent Military Authority" could have destroyed the whole lot if he had so wished, we suppose we must be thankful we got the type returned. But "Dora" is still alive, and one never can tell.

It is the characteristic of privilege and of every privileged position to kill the heart and mind of man. The privileged man, whether politically or economically, is a man depraved in mind and heart. That is as applicable to entire nations as to classes, corporations and individuals.—*Bakunin*.

The protection of property in this country is the most perfect machine ever devised by the human brain. The guardians of property patrol every street, and if the transgressor eludes their vigilance he is pursued to the ends of the earth. Continents cannot hide him, the waves of the ocean cannot cover his tracks.—LLOYD GEORGE, Birmingham, June 11, 1911.

COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

Dear Sir,—Many thanks for letting us have Comrade Hopkins' second very interesting letter. He is a man after my own heart. I cordially agree with everything vital in his letter. In my own way I had reached identical conclusions on all these points.

I would like to make a few remarks on his last but one paragraph. In it he approaches his subject in a way new to me, and so I would like to show how I should have approached it. Let us find out which is the most helpful and attractive to all. He quotes Comrade Bloom: "True freedom can only come as a result of economic freedom." Mr. Hopkins says this statement contains a certain amount of truth, but is false. This is "making confusion worse confounded." Four words are used here which are abstractions, illusory catchwords, incomplete; the words are "true," "false," "economic," and "freedom." What I gather from the phrase is that equal rations will lead to a man becoming master of his fate. It never will, for the very good reason that equal rations will never be shared out until all are masters of their fate, when they will be no longer needed. Mr. Bloom's phrase is merely the old, old story which the exploiter has told from time immemorial.

Mr. Hopkins says "knowledge is relative; knowledge cannot be absolute," and that human conduct and emotion is dependent on the action and reaction of two elements—the material and the ideological. This denies "Monism," that mind and matter are identical. It reminds one of the Creation in the Book of Genesis. It takes one into the realms of "pure science," which the liberty-lover has not at present time to enter. Pure science leads to official authority, coercion, privilege, and servility. Read Bakunin on the dangers of pure science.

I agree with Comrade Hopkins that the individual is of more importance than any other consideration. Helpful and attractive units make a helpful and attractive whole. Contrary to what has been so long taught, pure self, when freed from abstractions, will save the world. Pure self has unbounded possibilities. Self must be all reality, freed from abstractions and from men believing in or using them, living as power functions, bounded in their outlook by the regulations, conventions, and official authorities of the systems made in abstraction's name, which, in reality, consist of a relation of power over each other.

Pure self will react in like manner when it receives regular, helpful attraction for all impulses. But get rid of belief in abstractions, which are used by the Great Conspiracy of Power to keep this desirable reaction from taking place. The viciousness of the animal, bestial, instinctive men which abound to-day is merely a faithful reaction to the vicious power impulses they receive.

How can the liberty-lovers, who are conscious of the deception and unreality of the abstractions used by the power men, communicate consciousness of reality to all? Only by the teaching and living example of the liberty personality, which is a collection of habits so helpful and attractive to all that the possessor finds security for all he desires in the spontaneous reactions he receives quite apart from any demand by money power. The realisation of this infers that a sufficient number of men freed from abstractions already are here, and many men hold that this state already obtains.—Yours truly,

PROPAGANDA GROUP'S REPORT.

Our dance on Saturday, October 18, was a successful venture. It is not possible yet to publish full details of the proceeds received towards the initial expenses of launching the new paper, *Labour's Voice*, but approximately £14 is to hand. Our thanks are due to the willing workers who undertook the catering at two bars, also to the cloak room attendants and others. The literature stall was under the care of Comrade Motler, and the posters designed and painted by him, and exhibited over the stall, were a great attraction and reflected much credit upon him. One thing to be specially noted was the spirit of spontaneity that prevailed; and mention might also be made of the two comrades who gave a Russian dance, which was much appreciated. Thanks are due to our comrade B. Sarné, who acted as M.C.

We are expecting to publish shortly a reprint of "The Last War," by our late comrade G. Barrett; also a very interesting book by him, about which one cannot yet write much, except that it will be a volume of unpublished writings; but the matter is as yet one of negotiation and also of course, of finance. In this latter connection the treasurer desires it known that several who promised to subscribe to our funds have omitted to forward donations for some months, and he urges the need for contributions (however small) to help us in the work.

Our new leaflet is now out, price 2s. per 100, and we are considering the advisability of the next order of printing undergoing a change with other MS. added, and making the whole saleable at 1d. each.

We shall not be able to run another social and dance for November, but in all probability one will be arranged for December. THE SECRETARY.

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(OCTOBER 5—OCTOBER 31).

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CARDIFF.—Our comrade, A. BANKS, has opened a "Bomb Shop" for the sale of revolutionary literature at 1, Carmarthen Street, off Market Road, Canton, Cardiff. FREEDOM and Anarchist books and pamphlets on sale. Will be pleased to get any book not in stock.

BROADHEATH, ALTRINCHAM.—FREEDOM and Anarchist literature can be obtained from J. WHINFIELD, 62, Brunswick Road.

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