

Freedom

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DECEMBER, 1919.

MONTHLY: TWO PENCE.

NOTES.

A Merry Christmas!

The time approaches when the Christians of the world celebrate the birth of the mythical person who to them is the fountain of goodwill, humanity and gentleness. Their pictures of him usually show him the centre of a group of children, with a few words attributed to him printed underneath: "Suffer little children to come unto me." At Christmastide the Christians' typical motto is "Peace on earth and goodwill to all men," and English men and women look forward to it as the time of feasting and jollity, when they will forget all their cares in a round of entertainment. This year will be no exception. The shops of our big cities are crammed with luxuries drawn from the four quarters of the globe, and everything promises a rollicking time. Yet within a day's journey by aeroplane there exists a mass of misery and starvation which has probably never been equalled before. Millions—many millions—of men, women and children, whose daily ration of food is so scanty that to them a meal of real bread and cheese and butter would be a banquet, and a cup of coffee and milk a drink to dream of for days after. Death and disease stalk through parts of Europe inhabited by our "enemies," and if some of it is the direct result of the war, the greater part of it is due to the diabolical policy of the Allied Peace Council in Paris, which has prevented the revival of industry and trade since the armistice.

Vienna and the districts still remaining to Austria are the centre of this misery, and it almost seems as though the Allies had deliberately decided that these German Austrians were to be starved to death in order to please the new nationalities formed out of the old Austrian Empire. Englishmen cannot avoid their responsibility in this atrocity, and he must be a callous brute indeed who, knowing of this wholesale misery so near his door, does not strain every nerve to put an end to it ere it is too late.

The Russian Situation.

At last the British Government have come to the conclusion that the Bolsheviks cannot be crushed by force within any calculable time, so other methods are to be tried. They have seen their pet counter-revolutionaries go down smash one by one—Kolchak (still running), Yudenich, and Denikin all have failed. The £100,000,000 spent in helping these disinterested patriots, and the "democratic" terrorism they adopted, have helped to consolidate the power of the Bolshevik Government, all parties of the Left having rallied to their support. Now International Capitalism will try to gain by diplomatic subtlety what it could not achieve by force of arms, for as long as the Bolshevik Government remains Socialistic and anti-capitalist it will be a source of infection to other nations and a standing danger to capitalist interests. But the Bolsheviks are willing to buy off intervention by granting concessions to foreign States and firms. Litvinoff frankly gives their reasons for doing so in an interview reported by H. W. Nevins in the *Daily Herald*:—

"We do this," said Litvinoff, "because we are realists, and we know what it is that foreigners really want by their intervention. All other excuses are cant, but they want concessions."

So we must sell concessions, though we are quite aware of the resulting difficulties. At present we are compelled to take a temporary and transitory course between Capitalism and Communism. *Full Communism is only possible if other countries accept the same economic basis. They will either follow our example, or, if Russia is before her time, she will have to revert to Capitalism.*"

By this he means, quite truly, that unless successful Revolutions in other countries come very soon, the Russian Revolution will be defeated. It seems at the present moment that the workers prefer repression and wage-slavery to Socialism.

"No British Intervention," said Northcliffe.

As soon as Lloyd George hinted that the British Government intended to make peace with the Bolsheviks, the *Daily Mail* started an atrocity campaign and raved about "shaking hands with murder." Readers of the Northcliffe Press have very short memories, so they have evidently forgotten the article in the *Evening News* of December 24, 1918, headed "No British Intervention," from which we take the following extract:

The Allies are willing to help civilised Russia in every reasonable way. They are being appealed to very strongly by the most influential of Russian refugees in this country. But they have themselves to consider first, and their present state does not justify the really great sacrifices which intervention on a large scale would demand. If America, who has large interests in Russia, should desire to use her comparatively fresh forces in crushing Bolshevism nobody is likely to object—except the Bolsheviks; but for the Allies in Europe it is a different matter.

Of course, the fact that it was written on Christmas Eve may explain this relapse into sanity—in *vino veritas*—but there it is.

Brit-Huns in Ireland.

The English Government's methods of repression in Ireland are rapidly approaching in thoroughness those of the Germans during their occupation of Belgium. Papers that dare to express their feelings on English rule in Ireland are ruthlessly suppressed, meetings are prohibited, markets abolished, and if three or more Irishmen meet together in the street they are liable to have their skulls cracked by the guardians of "law and order." Raids and prosecutions follow each other with deadly monotony, and all Sinn Féin organisations are now declared illegal. The natural result is that the agitation for separation from England has been driven underground, and the methods of the Fenians are being revived. Policemen and detectives, who are specially active, are murdered in broad daylight, and the murderer escapes arrest, even where many people witness the affair. This leads to more drastic regulations by the military, which in turn will lead to more murders. Their treatment of Ireland exposes the damnable hypocrisy of those Englishmen who raved about "the right of self-determination for small nations." Ireland has fought for seven centuries against English rule, and has seen her leaders hanged or shot, her industries ruined to protect English industries, and her sons and daughters driven into distant countries to earn a living. In spite of all this persecution and suffering she has kept up the struggle for freedom from the English yoke. Irishmen can say, in Kipling's words: "If blood is the price of Freedom, good God, we have paid in full!"

Labour's Municipal Victories.

The striking victories of the Labour candidates at the municipal elections last month are an indication that the workers are disgusted with the "old gang," and look to men and women of their own class to initiate drastic changes in municipal life. The workers are doomed to disappointment. Municipal bodies are tied down strictly by Acts of Parliament, and cannot build a new house or spend an extra pound on educating or feeding children unless permitted by legislation. The Ministry of Health and the Local Government Board have the power to smash any schemes which Labour may bring forward, unless capitalistic interests are safeguarded. But we welcome the capture of these Councils by workers' candidates, for now they will find out by experience how strong are the barriers which Capitalism has built in preparation for Labour's attacks. The many earnest men and women now entering municipal life for the first time will surely recognise the uselessness of trying to remedy the ills of society by administering capitalist Acts of Parliament. If sweetness and light are to be brought into the lives of the people, the whole mass of cumbersome and restrictive laws must be swept away or ignored. Then we shall be free to build up a society where we shall no longer be found trampling on our fellow-creatures in order to gain a livelihood.

ZAPATALAND.

ACTUAL COMMUNISM IN MEXICO.

The following description of Zapataland, given by General Zogg, was originally published in the San Francisco *Proletariat*, and reprinted in the Melbourne *Socialist*, from which we take our extracts. The latter paper has reprinted the whole article as a leaflet.

(Zapataland is the name here given to the isolated Industrial Union in the heart of Southern Mexico. The name comes from General Zapata, commander-in-chief of the Republic's militia, recently reported to have been killed in an engagement with the troops of President Carranza.)

"Zapataland," you call our republic, for here in America you still worship heroes. But we have named it what it is, the "industrial union of North and South America." It is not a country dominated by one man's personality. It is the Socialistic State put into effect.

Our land now occupies ninety-five thousand square miles. It is a strip about five hundred and fifty miles long and approximately one hundred and seventy miles wide, running through the middle of the lower third of Mexico, where it turns to run east and west, and takes in the eastern halves of the former Mexican States of Michoacan, Guerrero and Oaxaca, all of Morelos, the western portion of Mexico, Puebla, and a few others, and nearly all of Chiapas.

We are wholly surrounded by Carranza's Mexico, and have no port, and do not want one, for it would then be too easy for some great military Power to destroy us.

We have no census, but we know that we have more than three million people, and think there are fewer than four million. Of these only about two thousand are Europeans, many of these of mixed Mexican and European parentage.

To you it is astonishing that three million people have lived for seven years in a republic in the heart of Mexico, without money, without government, without strife. When you hear that there is plenty for all, and yet that no one need work more than two hours a day—that although divorce is absolutely free, there has been no divorce recorded—that although every man and woman practises with a gun there has been in that time no murder, you are astonished. Yet all this is plain matter of fact to us. It does not astonish us. We have lived it.

We have one great unwritten law—that no man shall exploit any other man. That is our whole Constitution and Government. When a man and a woman in our country go to the schoolhouse to register themselves in marriage, they say, for a marriage service: "We agree to live together as man and wife, and hope to bring children into the world and teach them not to exploit."

We can smile, too—as when we hear people arguing that a country cannot be run without government and laws, that there must be some ruling power or there will be chaos. We can smile just as people smile at the woman who looked for a long time at the giraffe in the circus, and then said: "There aint no such animal!" But all the time the people are arguing, there is Zapataland, the Industrial Union. There it is.

Each locality, each industry rules itself. There is no central power. All the miners in one mine meet and elect a foreman to direct them. On the very same day they can, if they like, meet again and discharge him and elect another foreman in his place. But some of the foremen elected at the founding of the republic have proved so efficient and so popular that they are still foremen.

Other industries are conducted in the same way. Soldiers meet and elect their officer. Workers on a railroad meet and elect their engineer. Farm workers in a given valley meet and elect their head farmer. A doctor starts a hospital, and, if his work is liked, nurses and patients go to him. A teacher starts a school, another man becomes a market man. Each stands by virtue of his efficiency, or else fails. No man calls any other man master or works for any other man's profit. He may work under another man, a head worker, not an owner—but he works only under the man he has helped to choose, and he may leave that man or that work at any time.

Workers of each industry meet, make the rules to govern that industry, and set the hours of work, assigning the shortest hours to the hardest and most disagreeable work. Thus an engineer works two hours a day, a fireman but one. No man is forced

to work if he does not wish to, and no account is kept of the hours any man works.

Ridicule is the only weapon used against the man that shirks, but it is sufficient.

Two hours a day is the average time for labour. But I have seen farm workers labour 14 and 15 hours a day while they were getting in the crops, and then have a vacation afterwards. Nurses usually work 12 hours a day for perhaps two weeks at a stretch, and then rest for as long as they like.

We have no system of direct barter—a bushel of potatoes for a sack of sugar. That would be as bad as having money. In rural districts, the people go out to the farms and get the food they want. In the cities, the farmers bring produce into the markets for the greater convenience of the people. When a locality wants sugar, it sends to the nearest sugar mill. At one large sugar mill, account of the sugar sent out is kept, not as a check on other localities, but just to be sure that no locality is left out. Often word will come from a locality that the people there have sugar enough and hope no more will be sent.

When we buy from another country we must, of course, use money; that is, gold from our mines. Suppose a potato-raising community wants some farm machinery that must be bought in the United States. Its people gather in the plaza to elect a man to buy for them. All producers, men and women, may vote, and also all people too old to do productive work, but students have no voice. All those that want one man walk over to one end of the plaza; those that want another, to the other end; and so the buyer is elected. He then goes to the nearest mining community and asks for enough gold. There is a meeting there, and as a rule the people vote to give him the gold—for what use is it to the miners except to buy outside the country such things as will make the union the richer? So the man takes the gold and goes and buys the farm machinery. The machinery does not then belong to the potato-raising locality, however, but must be passed on when the first locality has finished to any other agricultural locality that wants it.

One curious result has been the movement back to the land. Our largest city at the beginning of the revolution had a population of about one hundred thousand. Now it is less than a third that size.

Our republic might be said to have been founded when our revolution began early in 1911.

Every year since Porfirio Diaz opened his second term as President, and thereby violated the Constitution, a hundred or more revolutionists had risen and been killed, crushed by Diaz's strong military machine. But late in 1910, when Diaz and Madera were both candidates for President, and Diaz and Madera arrested men as fast as they held meetings, the people became stirred up. The election farce went through, and Diaz took his seat again as President. But when Madera and his group issued the proclamation of San Luis Obispo, declaring that there should be no re-election to any office and taking back all land that had been illegally conceded since the Constitution was adopted in 1857, the people flocked to aid him. The peon is always ready to take up a gun against capitalism, for he knows he has been robbed—and this time he thought that he had found a leader that would give him back his land. "The Army of No-Re-election," we called it. In May, 1911, Diaz fled, De la Bara was put in as temporary President, and everything was quiet at once. Madera and the intellectual group thought the revolution was over.

But when the peons found that Madera was not going to give them the land they thought they had been fighting for—that, in short, Madera had betrayed them—they knew that the revolution had just begun. Then the true revolution began. From that time we have never stopped fighting—Diaz, Madera, Huerta, Carranza, and whoever else who shall stand opposed to the peons.

Both men and women serve as volunteer soldiers, and practice daily at targets. The Union has a true militia of the people, and must continue to have until there is no longer danger of destruction by any strong military capitalistic power.

Whenever we push our borders farther into Carranza's country, and annex perhaps a great power-house or a fertile valley, we feel that we are extending the boundaries of freedom. But we know that we cannot be entirely free until the whole world is free.

Our republic might be crushed from the outside, though its enemies would first have to reckon with every man and woman in the Union. But at least we have finished our last revolution. We have no foe within.

IN TSARIST AMERICA.

The Tsar of Russia is dead, and, most important of all, his regime with him. But the spirit of Tsardom has arisen once more, and this time in "the land of the brave and the free." Woodrow Wilson and the Government of the United States have transformed this spirit into a horrible bloody reality. The war between Governments is over, but the war between the classes is on, and all the laws introduced in war-time have been superseded by worse ones in order to crush the spirit of the rebellious workers in America.

The great steel strike has been on for weeks. Gary, the fleshly representative of Capitalism, refuses even to talk with the Union representatives. His State Government has already murdered, crippled and imprisoned many strikers, and the Federal Government is silent. But, behold! the powerfully-organised miners go on strike, demanding a 30-hour week, five days a week, and 60 per cent. increase in wages, and Capitalism begins to tremble. It foresees its doom unless the strike is stopped, and orders its lackey, the Government, to get busy. The Government's tools, a Judge and an Attorney-General, do as they are told, and issue an injunction to restrain the miners going on strike and to compel the leaders to withdraw the strike order—on the ground that the country's welfare would be endangered. Whether the men's leaders will obey the injunction or go to gaol will be known before this will reach you. But no matter what the end will be, once for all the workers of this country have had the opportunity (like your railwaymen) of seeing for themselves what Governments are for. As regards free speech and a free Press, both of these are dead and buried it seems. Meetings that are "legally" allowed are attended by stenographic spies of the Government, and all meetings of "illegal" organisations are broken up.

Friday, November 7, 1919, will long be remembered in America as "Bloody Friday." On that day Government dogs all over the country at one set time descended upon the offices of nearly every branch of the Union of Russian Workers—an organisation comprising over 7,000 Russian Anarchist Communists—and with clubs and blackjacks they turned every meeting-place into a battlefield, with streams of blood flowing on the floors from the maimed and wounded, who were not in the least prepared to resist such a murderous attack. After beating many into unconsciousness, the police arrested about 600.

Government officials later on gave out that this action was taken because the Union of Russian Workers is "even more radical than the Bolsheviks," for they aim to destroy all Governments and replace the present system by Free Anarchist Communes. They also announced that they will deport them, but this is a damnable lie; they will only keep them in prison, for besides these seven thousand, who are all anxious and willing to go back to Russia, there are thousands of others who desire to return. But the Government does not let any of them go.

As for the American or English-speaking Anarchist movement, it is spreading everywhere—but secretly. The comrades are issuing monthly the *Anarchist Soviet Bulletin*—seven numbers have already appeared—together with thousands of leaflets on important questions, all of which were distributed free throughout the country. The Government is very busy trying to find out where this underground work is done, but so far with little success. Four comrades have been arrested in different cities and charged with distributing literature issued by the Anarchist Federated Commune Soviets. Those arrested—Robert Parson, Mollie Steimer, Ethel Bernstein and Arthur Katzes—absolutely refused to answer any questions in regard to the work. The first-named is out on bail pending a deportation decision, the second one is serving a six months' sentence, while the two last-named are out on bail facing a criminal anarchy charge—a charge for which two Finnish I.W.W. members were sentenced recently to four and eight years' imprisonment in Sing Sing.

Following the murderous raid on November 7, the Government dogs began to raid all the meeting-places of the Communist Party (pro-Lenin), the reason given being that they state that their ultimate aim is the destruction of the State.

Capitalism and Government know not how much they help by such measures to light the flame of Revolution in the minds of the workers. Let them keep it up—we shall learn, as in olden Russia, how to fight our enemies.

Regards and greetings from our fighting comrades in or out of gaol, wishing you all success in our common struggle for a real Free Anarchist Society.

New York.

S. R. M.

SEXUAL MORALITY AND THE CHURCH.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—Though largely in agreement with Comrade Wakeman's courageous article in last month's FREEDOM, I think it very necessary to call attention to the fact that his zeal for the rights of the individual has carried him past his intended destination and landed him in a position directly opposed to Anarchist principle. Here is the point: After proclaiming "the right of each man and woman to use his or her body as he or she may wish," he goes on to say "A woman has as much right to sell the use of her body as his grace of Canterbury has to wear a hair shirt." The Archbishop's choice in the matter of under-garments need not concern us, but if we unwarily accept the position taken up in the latter quotation there is no escape from the logical conclusion that some man has a right to *buy* the use of that woman's body. Now, it cannot be denied that Prostitution, whether in the form of a loveless marriage or that of the franker, if more brutal, commerce of the streets, is *sex slavery*, and therefore repugnant to Anarchism. Admittedly, a woman is sometimes under the painful necessity of choosing between starvation and sex degradation, but that is an evil directly traceable to the State-buttressed system of Wage-Slavery, and as Anarchists we must surely denounce such hideous traffic as a social wrong, instead of championing it as an individual right. In somewhat similar case is the worker who engages in what is called a "dangerous trade"; we admit the fact of his necessity under the goad of hunger, but we do not urge his "right" to perform labour destructive of health and even of life.

The position indicated in the first quotation requires the qualification "except to the injury of another person." For instance, a man or woman whose constitution has been undermined by excess (whether sexual, alcoholic or other) has no "right" to be the means of bringing into the world a child who will probably live to curse the day of its birth. Every child has a right to be well born.

In conclusion, I believe that certain of the birth-control methods in vogue are anything but harmless, and with regard to the artificial devices it must also be remembered that the production and distribution of these, like all other articles, are in the hands of those whose primary business is the making of profit rather than the satisfaction of human needs. The same remark applies to drug treatments for sex diseases. These facts, however, make it all the more imperative that the subject should be widely and thoughtfully considered and discussed in all its bearings, with a view to the attainment of the best results, and our comrade's article is a useful contribution towards publicity on this important question.—Yours fraternally,

TOM SENHOUSE.

NOTE.—The writer of the letter on "The Communist League" in last month's FREEDOM is Sidney Cooper. It was left out in the hurry of making-up the page.

THE FERMENT IN SPAIN.

The much-advertised Employers' National Congress was a failure. Its principal object was to find a means of conciliating the workers without giving much away, but, as might have been expected, nothing definite was agreed to. One of the delegates, with the title of "Count," made the following brilliant remark: "If we give a share of our profits to the workers we shall also have to give it to the rivers that bring the water to the factories." The workers, however, are not asking for a share of the profits, but are preparing to take over the factories, the mines and the land and work them for the benefit of all. Having failed in agreeing amongst themselves the Barcelona capitalists declared a lock-out to bring the workers to their knees. They also tried to create riots as an excuse for proclaiming martial law under the dictatorship of the Captain-General, Milano del Bosch, who is a shareholder in "La Canadiense," the company which was defeated by its workers in the big strike last February. Although some of their leaders opposed it, the workers threatened to reply to the lock-out with a general strike, and when the employers found it would soon be declared they withdrew the lock-out and opened negotiations.

Unions of journalists, doctors, engineers and lawyers have been formed, and have joined the General Confederation of Labour. Some newspaper proprietors refused to allow their staff to join the Union, but the compositors refused to set "copy" supplied by non-Union journalists, and the papers could not appear until the proprietors gave way. We are not enthusiastic over this incident, as we think the ordinary journalist is reactionary and a hindrance to the workers' revolution.

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HELP MEN TO GROW.

Life does not allow us to go back. We grow to certain physical proportions, and retain those proportions until we pass away. Reversing Christ's remark, we can say truthfully that not one of us by thinking unto it can take a cubit from his stature.

What applies to the body applies with equal inevitability to the mind. The fallacy which the mind once has seen through cannot deceive it again. The superstition from which it has emancipated itself never again can bind it. Were we to have, as we may have, another Inquisition more pitiless than that imposed by Rome, no educated mind would ever really believe that the earth stands still or that the blood is stationary. But, under the pressure of torture, it might pretend to believe; and it is precisely here that all the trouble comes.

Under the pressure of social ostracism, and the starvation ostracism brings; under the temporary unpopularity which always attends the advocacy of new and disturbing truths; under the pain of disappointment that we do not suddenly sweep the field and carry all the disinherited with us; under these and similar influences, we are continually attempting to go back to creeds our intelligence has discarded and pretending confidence in fallacies we have outgrown. Then we emasculate ourselves. Then we shear ourselves of all our native strength. Then we are untrue to ourselves and, therefore, cannot be true to others.

Our own opposition to all compromises, to all paltering with truth as we individually see it, is a practical one, founded on the basic fact stated above. We recognise that when the masses once outgrow a fallacy they outgrow it, and all the despotisms ever dreamed of cannot deprive them of their added stature. When they outgrow the fallacies of Royalty, Aristocracy, the government of man by man, all the branch fallacies that spring from the central delusion that some were born to serve and others to be served—on that day the doom of such fallacies will be sealed. For a brief hour or two they may hang withered on the tree. Nevertheless their fall is certain.

Royalty and Aristocracy still endure because the masses do not find life a whit better off under Democracy. War is still tolerated because industry seems to the workers just as cruel. Millions vote, languidly and half-heartedly, because it seems to them better than nothing; while other millions persistently abstain because they think it useless or even detrimental. Many active and intelligent workers join Trade Unions only under protest, because they regard them as upholders and prolongers of the present system, since their aim is to make it easier to endure; because out of Trade Unionism an Aristocracy of Labour comes; because they distrust profoundly the concentration of power toward which it tends. And so it goes all round. Fallacies cannot be dislodged by fallacies. They hang on tenaciously until some clearly demonstrated truth tears them up by the roots and hurls them into Limbo.

The fallacies we have enumerated are demonstrably such. If Democracy, which means the counting of noses to ascertain who shall have the job of bludgeoning the others, were not a sham, the United States would not be the Hell for Labour it is to-day, despite its magnificent natural opportunities. If modern industry offered men peace and prosperity, we should not have them volunteering for active service and eager to face suffering in most unhealthy climates. If voting were the cure-all, we shouldn't have the abominations now rampant in the United States, where they have had universal male suffrage for more than a century. If Trade Unionism didn't promise to prolong the life of the present system, we shouldn't have great monopolists and captains of industry favouring it. If it didn't

tend toward Aristocracy, we shouldn't have rich and powerful Unions standing indifferent to the struggles of their weaker brethren, and often opposing them. If it didn't tend toward concentration of power, we shouldn't have Gompers welcomed at Buckingham Palace and hobnobbing in America with Labour's most notorious exploiters.

Labour's claim is exceedingly simple, and always should be stated simply. It is that this rich world was meant for the support of Labour, and will do so most generously if Labour is only permitted to get at it. It is a demand for Freedom; a declaration that Slavery must go. Anything apart from this is camouflage; dust thrown in the workers' eyes to blind them to the one important issue.

Labour's fallacy is that, given Freedom, it could not take care of itself; that without the tribute-gathering landlord it could not cultivate the soil; that without the royalty-exacting monopolist it could not work the mine or run the factory and railway; that without the legislator to make laws keeping it in check there would be chaos; that, in a word, slavery to superiors is essential. When this, the most childish and pernicious of all fallacies, has been outgrown, Labour will come into its own.

It is all a question of propaganda, of education; and it cannot be anything else. If war helps to explode the fallacy, war is good; but its cost is fearful. If strikes help, strikes are good; but they are apt to be on side issues which obscure and mislead thought. Everything that fills the timid with self-confidence, wakes up the indifferent and spurs on the indolent, is good; for growth is promoted, and fallacies must be outgrown. Above all, however, the speaking of the simple truth, and living up to it; the demonstration by word and deed that all slavery is an abomination, and Freedom its natural successor.

In such propaganda there is room for every talent, for every form of energy, for every type of individuality. We cannot have too much of any of them, because the struggle is to set Life free. That cannot be the work of any special clique or sect, being obviously one in which every child of Life is called upon to take a hand.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

RUSSIA.

Koltchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, all those with whom the British Government, in obedience to International Finance, allied itself so fatuously, appear to have come to hopeless grief. Their disasters have been discussed daily by the daily Press, and we need not waste space on them. These are the mere incidents of the struggle against the invader—a struggle in which Russia, with her enormous population, capable of inexhaustible resistance, because, firmly planted on the land, was certain to come out triumphant. It has been, therefore, the internal struggle that has seemed to us the most important.

If advices are to be credited, the Karl Marxian doctrine of Land Nationalisation has been abandoned, the opposition of the peasantry, who constitute nine-tenths of the population, having proved too strong. As Mr. Price, the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent, and a first-rate authority, pointed out recently, the peasants hold that "a man should be neither a slave of a master nor of a Government." That in itself is excellent, and we, who view with dread the worship of the omnipotent State, can only applaud it. But if the alternative is to be peasant proprietorship we cannot applaud. That would mean merely a repetition of the fiasco to which the great French Revolution led: the creation of innumerable land monopolists, penurious, grasping, ultra-conservative, and wedded to methods of cultivation utterly out of date.

The Socialists have never had a clearly-thought-out land philosophy, and far too many of the Anarchists are in the same boat. Yet that is the very thing most imperiously needed, for who cannot see that wars are always, at bottom, wars of conquest—conquest and annexation of natural resources, as the fountain of all wealth and power?

No man, or set of men, be they princes or peasants, should be allowed to put a ring round any tract of land and proclaim, "This bit of the planet is mine." No man is entitled to ownership, but every man is entitled to free and equal use; and if he receives the special privilege of being permitted to use a specially valuable piece of land he should return to the community, by special service, whatever that privilege is worth. This is at once Justice and Freedom. It does not bring into existence that worst of all monopolies, State monopoly. On the contrary, it gives the greatest conceivable play to individuality, and makes the individual economically independent. Is not that the whole object of all this ferocious struggle?

FRANCE.

The economic insufficiencies of peasant proprietorship are the subject of an admirable series of studies by M. Pierrot, now appearing in *Les Temps Nouveaux*. France is, of course, a country in which "the small property" predominates, and the record is not encouraging. The tendency of the French peasant is to live for himself, to farm as his forefathers farmed, not to co-operate. His aim is to employ only his own labour and that of his family; to produce a little of everything, that he may be sufficient to himself. The result economically is a production ridiculously small when compared with the toil involved, and the social result is even worse. The peasant proprietor is self-isolated, and the future does not belong to isolation. He will not specialise, and specialisation means results, saving of needless labour, progress. Mr. Brailsford, who has travelled extensively, knows his subjects, and seems to us by far the best writer on international topics among the English Socialists, has recently written with much disappointment on this very head. As he views it, what is really taking place to-day in Europe is an immense transfer of power into the hands of the peasants, whom he considers, as a class, pre-eminently reactionary and Clerical. It is in the country districts everywhere that the influence of the Church is still preponderant. This is so even in the United States.

CHINA.

The crushing of Koltchak may result, one hopes, in at least a temporary check to Japan's imperial ambitions. On this subject *Les Temps Nouveaux* is again illuminative, through the pen of Christian Cornelissen. Japan is at present out-Junkering Junkerism, and putting through, with an iron hand and on the largest scale, the militarist policies of which the Kaiser only dreamed. Her defence is the same, viz., that she is afraid of China's four hundred millions, and that she must either hold them in stern subjection or be swamped by them. Having entered the commercial struggle she is ravenous for new markets, and, allying herself with Great Britain for the control of undeveloped Russia and China, she is playing with extraordinary success the game of International Finance. As everywhere, her militarism is the child of her commercial ambitions, and that militarism has had in its favour hitherto the notorious peacefulness of the Chinese and the unswerving loyalty of its own masses, who worship the Mikado as no other potentate to-day is worshipped. However, there are ominous and hopeful rumblings. In China, which has been for centuries profoundly democratic in spirit, powerful revolutionary forces are at work. In Japan, the working class, ground down to the bones and hit hard by rising prices, is honeycombed with discontent. And there are fools, self-styled Revolutionists, who still dream of peace!

PUERTO RICO.

Annexed by the United States as part of the booty it wrung from conquered Spain, the conditions of labour in Puerto Rico are no credit to its rich but money-corrupted master. *Justice* publishes a terrible report by Hugh Reid, secretary to Louis F. Post, who is himself Assistant Secretary of Labour in the States. Puerto Rico is only a little island, a hundred miles long by thirty-six in width, with a population of one and a quarter millions, engaged almost exclusively in the cultivation of sugar cane, tobacco, coffee and fruit. Even to-day the sugar worker gets only about three shillings a day, although food and clothing have advanced some 50 per cent. within the last three years. The climate is excellent, and the death-rate appalling, dirt and hunger being the origin of the diseases that kill the workers off. The island is owned by a few sugar companies and original Spanish holders, and for them all this down-trodden population is working. Labour conditions in Cuba assuredly are not ideal, but it is interesting to note that Labour there pays a rental of only 28 cents (1s. 2d.) for the privilege of raising a ton of sugar. In Puerto Rico it pays \$2.97 (12s.). The workers are organised in a "Free Federation of Labour," which agitates the land question vigorously.

READY IN A FEW DAYS.

ANARCHISM AND DEMOCRACY,

By JOHN WAKEMAN.

16 pages, 2d.; 13 copies for 1s. 9d., post free.

We are reprinting the following two Pamphlets; copies also ready shortly:

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM,

By PETER KROPOTKIN. 36 pages, 3d.

THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTION,

By GEORGE BARRETT. 24 pages, 2d.

MANIFESTO BY YOUNG SWEDES.

For more than a year Russia has been shut off from the rest of the world by the Allied Governments. The hypocrisy and hate shown by the Governments of France, England, Italy, and America, who fought in the war in the name of Democracy, and the right of all people to choose their own form of government, is now more clearly shown in this latest most raw and dastardly attempt to deny the Russian people self-determination.

We, the undersigned, have no reason nor desire to defend any ruler or form of government, because as revolutionists, we fight for liberty and Communism against all forms of governmental tyranny; but we must cry out against democratic Governments' attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Soviet Russia. The conditions there are unspeakable. The people starve, freeze and die for lack of the barest necessities.

The assistance the counter-revolutionary forces are getting in the form of military supplies, money, food, ammunition and soldiers, is a direct violation of the democratic principles declared by your Governments, but much more so is the indirect intervention and blockade against Russia a crime, which strikes direct at innocent men, women, and children.

Workers, comrades in France, England, Italy, and America, friends of liberty, the right of the individual, the group and nations to self-determination is at stake. We come to you in the name of humanity, culture, solidarity, liberty and revolutionary Socialism, demanding that you do everything you can to stop your Governments from interfering in the internal affairs of Russia and to give its people a chance to live in peace.

May you all, comrades and brothers, come to an understanding as to the methods to use in forcing your Governments to take their bloody hands off Russia. Give the Russian Revolution, although more political than and far from our ideal of a social revolution, a chance to develop, free from the pressure and interference of tyrannical and reactionary Governments.

Workers, proletarians, we demand that you use all your power, and through direct action, the general strike and the boycott, stop your Government from continuing their present policy of blood and iron in Russia.

We, on our part, promise to use every method at our command to blockade and boycott all Allied ships in Swedish ports.

Brothers and workers of the Allied countries, let us join hands above the heads of all Governments.

Long live the international solidarity of the working class.

Long live the international brotherhood, in a united action, while laying the foundation for a new society without government, and therefore an association of free people.

Down with all Governments, the State and Capitalism!

Long live free Federal Communism.

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST PARTY OF SWEDEN.

THE CENTRAL ORGANISATION OF SWEDISH WORKERS (Syndicalist).

S. O. S.

Again we appeal to all comrades and friends to help us in our work. As most of our readers are aware, we have had many difficulties to contend with during the past five years. In May, 1916, our office was raided, and type and books and pamphlets taken away. We carried on as usual. In the following June our editor and Lilian Woolf were sent to prison. Other comrades carried on. At the end of the next month we were raided again, three comrades taken to prison as C.O.s, and the rest of our type, machine parts, and bundles of literature carted away. Still we carried on. Twice afterwards were our premises raided by "Dora's" minions, but it made no difference.

Besides these little episodes in the "Great War," our printers' bills for FREEDOM have more than doubled, but owing to the generosity of our readers we have nearly paid our way. However, there was always a deficit each month, and this was only met by the sale of the stock of pamphlets and books which we had in hand. Now we regret to say that this stock is practically exhausted. But as Anarchist literature *must* be on sale, we have put these pamphlets into the hands of a printer, and now ask our readers to send us the cash to pay for them. **We want £50 by Christmas.** Collecting sheets have been sent out to many comrades, and we will send one to any reader who sends us a postcard. The time is short, but with a little energy thrown into the work of collecting, we ought to be able to say in next month's FREEDOM that the £50 has been gathered in.

FINANCIER TURNS COMMUNIST.

One does not expect to find Communism in a financial paper, but the unexpected does happen sometimes. In the *Statist*, "a journal of practical finance and trade," we came across the following piece of Communist propaganda:

"All our present evils are the consequence of the mismanagement of the idle rich. . . . We want an end of all that. . . . Hitherto we have acted as if the idle rich, who unfortunately we trusted with the management of our affairs, delighted in setting religion against religion, neighbour against neighbour, as if they were conscious of the little title they had for all the grandiose position they held, and desired to maintain it by setting the rest of the population by the ears. The surest way of ending that is to get rid of the idle rich. Remember that everything that man uses is produced by man. True, Nature gives him the materials. But . . . they have to be altered greatly to fit them for human use. Consequently, everything that man enjoys, from the food he eats down to the coffin and shroud in which he is buried, is the work of human hands and human brains. Consequently, no man ought to be allowed to live who does not produce at least as much as he consumes. Secondly, there ought to be no private ownership of land."

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Wise Parenthood: A Book for Married Couples. By Marie Stopes. 3s. 6d. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., Bedford Street, W.C.2. This book, which is a practical sequel to Dr. Marie Stopes's well-known "Married Love," deals with the question of birth control (the prevention of unwanted babies). The author deals with the question in a sane and practical manner. She says "A family of healthy, happy children should be the joy of every pair of married lovers." But knowing that to many this is an impossibility, she gives clear and precise details by which men and women can limit the number of children they bring into the world, without injury to their natural functions. Those who have read "Married Love" will know the courageous and sympathetic spirit in which the author deals with the question of child-bearing, and she dedicates this little book "to all who wish to see our race grow in strength and beauty."

Economics of Liberty. By John Beverley Robinson. Published by Herman Kuehn, 31, Prince Street, Minneapolis. This book, says the author, "is intended to be a brief and clear statement of the system of social organisation first enunciated by the illustrious Proudhon a century ago." We hope to publish a short review of it in a future issue.

Factory Echoes and Other Sketches. By R. M. Fox. 1s. 6d. London: C. W. Daniel, Graham House, Tudor Street, E.C.4.

The Winstonburg Line. Three Satires by Osbert Sitwell. 6d. London: Hendersons, 66, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

The Origin and Growth of the Russian Soviets. By M. Philips Price. 3d. *The Socialist Soviet Republic of Russia.* By Captain Jacques Sadoul. 2d. Both published by the Peoples' Russian Information Bureau, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

The Finnish Revolution: A Self-Criticism. By O. W. Kuusinen. 3d. London: The Workers' Socialist Federation, 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.

Die Irrlehre und Wissenschaftslosigkeit des Marxismus. Von Pierre Ramus. Kr.16. Verlag Erkenntnis und Befreiung, Klosterneuburg (bei Wien).

An die Jungen Leute. Von Peter Kropotkin. 30 pfg. Verlag des Alarm, Hamburg 31.

Anarchismus und Räteregierung. Von Karl Radek. 50 pfg. Hamburg: Willaschek and Co.

PROPAGANDA GROUP'S REPORT.

Our treasurer's statement of accounts for the dance held on October 18 is as follows: Receipts, £25 7s. 9d.; expenditure, £11 8s. 2d.; balance to funds, £13 9s. 7d. On January 17 we are holding a concert and dance at the Crown Hall, Redman's Road, E., full particulars of which will appear in the January issue of FREEDOM. We hope to make it as great a success as the last.

We must have more financial help in reprinting "The Last War," by George Barrett. Our Bristol comrades are co-operating, but printing charges are very high, also price of paper. Our treasurer would like to hear from those who have forgotten to send along their subscriptions. Our pamphlets are going well, only a small quantity of "Liberty" being left. We have plenty of leaflets left, and will send a supply to applicants on receipt of a small donation towards the cost of printing.

The Satire Press are publishing a book of poems by our comrade L. A. Motler. It will be ready early in December; price 1s., postage 2d. Artistically got up, in large type on antique paper, it will form a suitable present for the season. Orders can be sent to me at 47, Crowndale Road, N.W.1.

THE SECRETARY.

EMPRESS HALL, 128, CAMBRIDGE ROAD, E.1.

A SOIREE AND BALL

arranged by the

"Workers' Friend" and Anarchist Communist Groups,
will take place on

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 27th, at 7 p.m.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS (not otherwise acknowledged).

(November 1-30.)

FREEDOM Subscriptions.—B. Platten, W. Falconer, L. M. Neil, A. Organ, E. Malatesta, T. Nosaka, D. S. Parkes, A. Dimitroff, Longwood Socialist Club, L. Sabel, G. Wood, E. E. Inman.

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—J.S., 2s. 6d.; W.J., 6d.; A. D. Moore, 1s.; Belgian Comrade 5s.; J. E. Fitzgerald, 1s.; J.S.R., 2s.; A. Corum, 2s. 6d.; C.B.W., 2s.; E.R., £1 3s.; R. Peddie, 2s.; L. Sabel, £1 2s.; F. Goulding, 1s.; J. Colton, 1s.; T. Parry, 2s. 6d.; J.S. 2s. 6d.; T. Foxall, 2s. 6d.

NOTICES.

"FREEDOM" OFFICE is open for sale of books and pamphlets every Saturday afternoon from 3 to 5-30.

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.

GLANAMMAN (Carmarthenshire).—FREEDOM and Anarchist literature can be obtained from JIM COLTON, Station Cottage.

LEEDS.—FREEDOM and Anarchist literature can be obtained from G. Frost, 31, Windsor Street, York Road.

MANCHESTER & DISTRICT.—All Anarchist comrades are requested to communicate with the Stockport Workers' Freedom Group, 18, Park Street, Market Place, Stockport, with a view to uniting our forces and making our propaganda more efficient. Anarchist literature on sale.

WILLESDEN FREEDOM LEAGUE.—Lectures every Sunday at Hamilton Hall, High Road (near Pound Lane). Doors open 7 p.m.; commence 7-30 prompt. Admission free. Comrades heartily invited.

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