

Freedom

VOL. XXXIV.—No. 375.

SEPTEMBER, 1920.

MONTHLY: TWO PENCE.

NOTES.

The Council of Action.

The formation of the Council of Action has certainly roused the wrath of the capitalist Press. When on August 13 the Special Labour Conference held at the Central Hall, Westminster, gave full power to the newly formed Council to call a general strike, if necessary, to force the Government to recognise the Soviet Government and to establish unrestricted trading and commercial relationships between Great Britain and Russia, the dogs of the Press emitted a prolonged howl. There was no mistaking their anger. Bolshevism had raised its head in this country, and was challenging the Government. Lloyd George said that if the Council dared to act it would be fought with "all the resources of the State"; and capitalist speakers said it was time these Bolsheviks were taught a lesson. One or two of the members of the Council—men like Clynes, for instance—took fright and tried to minimise the importance of the step; but many revolutionists up and down the country saw its possibilities immediately, and for a few days it looked as though anything might happen. But the "firemen" have evidently been at work, and now the chances are that the whole thing may fizzle out. Perhaps the Council was formed to prevent anything more revolutionary coming to the front. We pin our faith more to spontaneous action by the people than to movements engineered by "safe and sane" Labour leaders.

The "Firemen."

As justification of the above contention, we note two items in the Press. An Imperial Press Conference was recently held at Ottawa, Canada; and included in the British delegation of editors and newspaper proprietors was Tom Naylor, secretary of the London Society of Compositors. At an official lunch at St. John, New Brunswick, says the *Evening Standard* of July 31, "Mr. Naylor made one of the best impressions of any speaker so far heard." And this is what impressed these employers of compositors. He said:—

"The time was approaching when Labour would be called upon to govern Britain, but that would not make the slightest difference in the attitude of the Motherland to the Overseas Dominions. Nothing that the representatives of Labour would do would affect the desire of those who led to make the policy of the Empire great and successful and to restrain those forces which tended to disintegration and revolution."

Then the *Democrat* of August 6 prints this from Harry Dubery, Labour Director of the National Alliance of Employers and Employed:—

"At a recent Co-operative dinner we heard Mr. J. H. Thomas say that, far from endeavouring in these days to be a strike leader, such was the spirit of certain sections of the rank and file that a great deal of his work consisted in acting the part of fireman, turning on the hose in an endeavour to quench the demands of the fiery spirit."

But we have known fires that have defeated all the efforts of firemen to extinguish them.

Capitalism's Death-Throes.

The air is full of strikes and rumours of strikes and lock-outs. The printers, the electricians, and the miners are the Unions mostly concerned at present; but trouble is also brewing in other quarters. It looks as though some of the big employers' federations are working for a pitched battle, now that so many men are out of work. But it may be that deeper causes than a mere question of wages are at the bottom of the trouble. Six years of war have shook the foundations of the capitalist system, and the capitalists cannot find a sure footing anywhere. Wars

or revolts in every part of the world prevent the production of wealth getting back to a normal condition, and the wealthy classes begin to fear for the safety of their ill-gotten plunder. This fear leads them to strike out blindly, and they may force matters to a crisis with the whole of the Labour movement, in the hope that even if things cannot get much worse, they may get better. We welcome all this strife as the beginning of the end. Capitalism has had a long run, and it is so rotten and putrid that the sooner it is dead and buried the better for everyone. Capitalism is too world-wide a structure for it to collapse at once, and its fall will bury many in the ruins; but that it is doomed is certain. We must now get ready to build the new society on a foundation of well-being for all.

Divide and Rule.

One of the oldest and most successful of the methods employed by our rulers to safeguard their privileges is to sow dissension in the ranks of the workers. This has been exemplified in the recent riots in Belfast. Urged on by their political masters, the Protestant workers in the shipyards attacked the Catholic workers fiercely, drove them from the yards, and killed or maimed many of them for life. In spite of the presence of regiments of soldiers in the city, a reign of terror lasted for several days, during which many shops and houses belonging to Catholics were burned to the ground and their contents looted by the infuriated Protestants. How the capitalists of Belfast must have enjoyed the scene! For some time past they had seen a spirit of unity springing up in the ranks of their Protestant and Catholic workers, which, if allowed to develop, might solve the problem of Home Rule for Ireland by eliminating the Ulster question. But, worse still, it would mean greater strength for the Labour movement in its fight with the employers of Belfast for better conditions. Therefore this growing solidarity must be destroyed at any cost. So with this object the police murders were made the basis of a demand that no Sinn Feiners be allowed to work in the shipyards, as they were responsible for the murders. The fire thus started burst into a fierce flame when Inspector Swanzy was killed at Lisburn; and now all the old religious bitterness reigns again. The workers' foolishness is colossal, and until they somehow or other get to understand their masters' tricks they will remain slaves. Against stupidity even the gods contend in vain.

The Sanctity of Marriage.

A newspaper says that on a certain day recently Mr. Justice Hill in the Divorce Division made absolute 90 decrees nisi. "Although the term has only just commenced, this brings the number of marriages absolutely dissolved in two weeks up to 333." Not a bad fortnight's work! How long the term lasts or whether this is an average number for two weeks, we cannot say; but it is some indication of the amount of misery which our marriage system entails. On account of the publicity, from which so many people shrink, we may safely say that not one unhappy marriage in a hundred comes into Court. As there are also about one million people living under separation orders in this country, we think it is about time that all the nonsense about the sanctity of marriage was dropped. The marriage ceremony can never add to the happiness of lovers, but it may become an intolerable burden when they no longer love each other. Free unions can be dissolved freely when they no longer bring happiness to either party.

The Peace Treaty with Turkey says: "No flame-throwers, poison gases, tanks, nor armoured cars are to be manufactured or imported." Evidently these luxuries of civilisation are to be a monopoly of Christian nations. Lucky Turkey!

ERRICO MALATESTA.

ROUGH OUTLINES OF HIS LIFE UP TILL 1920.*

By M. N.

So many generations of Anarchists have passed away since in 1871 Malatesta, then about seventeen years of age, entered the International, that but very few keep a full record of the outlines of his history. His oldest comrades may all be gone now, and to gather the recollections of those who worked with him only during the last forty years a long, long journey among old forgotten comrades in several continents up to the youngest rebels of to-day who work with him would be necessary. Of properly arranged printed records there exists less, I believe, than about ever so many so-called public men of infinitely less importance. Only the Anarchist papers of many countries during half a century contain scattered items on his life, usually arrests, trials, imprisonments, escapes, expulsions, or scanty reports of meetings, congresses, etc., besides his not very numerous and infinitely scattered articles, some of which were reprinted and belong to the most widely spread Anarchist pamphlets. All these periods of meetings, movements, and arrests are usually the principal periods of revolutionary activity of this or that country, for wherever Malatesta worked there was a movement which soon confronted the whole State and bourgeois society, fighting openly and meeting repression or persecution, or repressed at an earlier stage. No man in our time so often challenged the whole of society. Thus, to understand his life the local history of each of these revolutionary periods or outbreaks would have to be studied from contemporary sources—and then in most cases only outside facts would be retraced; the inner history would remain buried in Malatesta's memory and that of very few others. And he is the man to look constantly ahead, to begin afresh after ever so hard failures and not to lose time over the spilt milk of past events.

It was my happy lot sometimes to disturb his silence on the past. I never asked him about his own doings, but considered it an absolute necessity to turn him inside out, so to speak, on all connected with the Bakuninist period of his life (up to Bakunin's death in 1876); and James Guillaume, who in his later life was as persistent as myself in collecting historical evidence (up to the end of his connection with the International, in the spring of 1878), asked me to extract Malatesta's account of the Benevent insurrection of 1877. So my direct appeals to Malatesta's really excellent memory reach up to that insurrection, after which he was imprisoned for a considerable time. I made complete notes of most of what he told me, but have not these notes to hand now, nor would their many details be essential here. Of later events I heard him speak here and there, but never made it my business to ask further questions; still, some facts are present to my mind. In 1887-88 I first met him, so to speak, in the files of old papers of the seventies, and was struck by his revolutionary audacity, tenacity, and ubiquity. He was at that time lost in the Argentine Republic, and I never expected to see him. So I was wonderfully surprised when, during the last months of 1889, at a meeting of the Council of the Socialist League, open to members, he made a silent appearance, being presented after the meeting to William Morris and others, and by V. Dave, who had told me who he was, to myself also, who was then, as now, interested in the early history of the movement. From that time I have known him and he has always been kind to me; but as he was a busy man and I could not be of use to him for the movements he had in hand, I made a point never to disturb him without good cause. I missed thus much of the charm of his more intimate acquaintance, but our occasional meetings on historical subjects were the more interesting, as no time was wasted. In later years I often tormented him by pressing him to write his memoirs, but somehow he never thought that he had yet reached the years of discretion which are usually allotted to such tasks; he was young and had so much action still before him—and this was really the case.

In a letter dated March 22, 1912, he wrote to me (in French):—

"I am now engaged in writing a book which I shall call 'The Social Revolution: Thoughts of an Anarchist,' or something similar. This takes more of my time than I care, but I want to finish it at whatever cost. . . . After that I shall

begin the 'Recollections' (Souvenirs). I shall perhaps choose the form of a collection of those of my old writings which appear to me to be of some interest, joining notes on the time and circumstances of their origin, the persons with whom I worked, etc."

He added, with some irony:—

"If this work may be of some value, I shall owe this to you, who push me onward with an insistence which I truly do not merit."

I had proposed to him to publish an Italian book, "Bakunin's Work in Italy," which would have contained the very scarce and partly almost lost writings of Bakunin addressed specially to Italians and the Italian International, with a historical introduction and notes by Malatesta. He quite agreed with the idea and discussed the difficulty of finding a publisher. I do not know whether he continued to work on these books, but a little over a year passed and he was again in Italy, publishing *Volontà* in Ancona (June, 1913), and winding up with the general insurrection in the Romagna in the spring of 1914.

I write this to show the nature of my acquaintance with Malatesta's life. I am unacquainted with many of the most elementary facts of his modest personal life, and I may have collected details on some events which might have passed into oblivion without my care, which anybody is free to call pedantic. Here I write to a great extent from memory, with the help of some historical and bibliographical notes.

* * * * *

ERRICO MALATESTA, born in Santa Maria di Capua Vetere, Hannibal's old Capua in one word, in 1853, attended the local lyceum and began to study pharmacology in Naples, where his political activity began in 1871 during or soon after the Paris Commune. His father had a copy of Mignet's "History of the French Revolution," which Errico read at an early age, receiving a lasting impression. Then he was advanced and Republican, like most young Italians of that time. But the Paris Commune first made him think for himself. He saw the Republican bourgeois, the glorious Mazzini and others curse and insult it as they would Revolutionary Russia in our times; he saw only the International stand up for the Commune, and under these impressions he and others joined the Naples section of the International Working Men's Association (1871).

In the biography of Bakunin I gathered much material from Bakunin's removal from Florence to Naples onward, which preceded and led to the foundation of this section, illustrating its earlier history. It appears that in 1871 the older members had retired more or less, and the joining of Malatesta and other young people gave new life to the section. A. Tucci, one of the earlier ones was left; also, of a somewhat later period, Carmelo Palladino (later on a lawyer), who had some influence on the development of Malatesta. This goes to show that Malatesta did not enter a flourishing movement which carried people away, but that he was at once confronted with hard work. The most conspicuous member at that time was Carlo Cafiero, several years older than Malatesta, a man who had been in London and was *persona grata* with Marx and Engels of the General Council of the International, a rich man of boundless enthusiasm and devotion, but of somewhat capricious mentality. It became necessary to disentangle Cafiero from his Marxist relations, a task in which Malatesta participated, and which gave him an early insight in the struggle between Authority and Anarchism which divided the International and the advanced workers—then as now. The young Anarchists succeeded, and Cafiero, with old G. Fanelli, travelled to Locarno to meet Bakunin. They stayed there a month (May 20 to June 18, 1872), and on May 21 Bakunin put down in his diary: "The whole day passed with Fanelli and Cafiero; alliance well accomplished"; on June 24: "Plan of organisation mapped out"; and so on.

Thus Malatesta and his friends had entered upon the closest relations with Bakunin. They arranged a conference of the Italian sections, which met at Rimini (August, 1872) and constituted the Italian Federation of the International Working Men's Association. They refused to participate in the general congress held at the Hague and packed by the Marxists, but travelled to Zurich, where they met Bakunin, whom Marx had just managed to get expelled from the International by the majority of the Hague Congress. On September 4 Bakunin notes: "Letter by Benjamin"—which was Malatesta's name in their intimate circle, where he may have been the very youngest; on September 7: "Malatesta arrives." On September 11 Cafiero and the Spanish Internationalists arrived from the Hague. On September 12 and 13 the real constitution of the secret Alliance took place. After a journey to Neuchâtel, etc., Bakunin returned to Zurich; and on September 23 notes the departure of Malatesta and the other Italians.

This fortnight or so in the closest intimacy with Bakunin and

* We wish to say that, owing to our comrade Malatesta's well-known dislike of publicity, we refrained from asking his consent to the publication of this article; but the desire of comrades to read his history has often been expressed, and we thought that the approaching 50th anniversary of his entrance into the Anarchist movement was a fitting occasion for a review of his activities, which all comrades will join with us in hoping may long continue.—ED. FREEDOM.

the most active and advanced Internationalists of Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Russia, and a few others may have put the finishing touch on Malatesta's revolutionary education. He was now in the inmost centre of Bakunin's and the others plans and confidence, and these men thought of action and prepared real revolutions, at least in Italy and in Spain, not to speak of Russia. Malatesta's rhythm for action at that time was the bayonet charge—keen, fearless attack. I have not heard him waste words over this later on in London, where words were easy and room for action was scarce; but I do not think that any later "coming of age" or so removed that notion of the bayonet charge from his mind and made him "wise." He also used to tell—and this more frequently, as it was a useful lesson—how in those early days the Internationalists of each locality made themselves acquainted with all details about the stores of weapons, military preparations, public buildings, strategical points, etc., to be able at a moment's notice to strike at the right point; they did not believe that this practical knowledge would come to them in the moment of action, all by itself in some spontaneous way.

To understand this historically, we must remember that the Paris Commune had then just given a world-wide example of revolutionary action, and that the Italians had conspired, formed bands, fomented insurrections, etc., ever since the French Revolution; so the Italian International of Malatesta's early days stood at the close of a long revolutionary tradition, defended before the whole world by Mazzini, but cut short when Mazzini threw over the Paris Commune. They stood up for the Commune and the fighting traditions of their fathers. Bakunin understood and shared their feelings, and liberated them mentally by refuting the religious leanings of Mazzini, just as he put his foot on Mazzini's pseudo-Socialism and Nationalism, proclaiming Internationalism, Collectivist Anarchism, and the Social Revolution. In this atmosphere, then, Malatesta grew up and developed, and it forms around him, wherever he goes, through all his life.

* * * * *

Malatesta, a member of one of the Commissions of the International nominated at Rimini (August, 1872), henceforth ceaselessly worked to spread the International in Italy. The next Congress (March, 1873) comprised already 53 delegates for about 150 sections. These propagandists travelled about, agitating, organising, preparing everywhere, not yet with a definite plan of action. They closely resemble the early Nihilists, who at the very same time "went among the people" (as the term goes), a resemblance which did not escape Bakunin, who often compared this entire devotion to the movement of the Italian and Russian youth of these years. It was not quite "the illegal life" of persecuted Russians, but they had to be quicker than the police when they wished to get along for some time. The Congress of March, 1873, had already to meet secretly in a factory at Bologna; on its second day Andrea Costa, Cafiero, Malatesta, Alceste Faggioli, and others were arrested—maybe Malatesta's first arrest; the Congress continued to meet in another place. The Government had intended to prosecute the Internationalists as *malfattori* (members of a society of common criminals), but after 54 days Cafiero and Malatesta were released. Cafiero went home to Barletta to realise money for the cause; Malatesta joined Bakunin in Locarno, and found him absorbed by Spanish affairs. He sent long letters there, one of which at least Malatesta and Zamfir Ralli copied for him. Finally, Bakunin was urged to come to Barcelona to join a revolutionary movement. Money being deficient and correspondence not advisable, Malatesta was sent to Barletta, in the South of Italy, to arrange this matter with Cafiero; but upon arriving there he was very soon arrested, and remained in prison for five or six months (July to end of 1873 or later); then he was released without any charge or trial.

He was thus imprisoned arbitrarily for half or two-thirds of one single year, and the same was done to others. No wonder that the International at that period became more or less a secret society and that plans for action originated and ripened. Andrea Costa and Bakunin were the leading spirits; Cafiero, Malatesta, and others gave whatever help they could. The secret appeals of the "Comitato Italiano per la Rivoluzione Sociale" began to be circulated (January, 1874). Popular discontent provoked by the high cost of living led to riots in many places in the first half of that year. At the Berne General Congress of the International (October, 1876) Malatesta stated:—

"At the beginning of 1874 a very lively state of agitation prevailed in various parts of Italy, owing to the fall in wages and the exorbitant rise in the price of food. In many localities stores were invaded and plundered. . . . The International had thus either to disavow these popular acts entirely or to declare its solidarity with them. The latter alternative was chosen."

He thought that it was impossible to have acted otherwise, since by a disavowal all practical partisans of the Revolution would

have been lost, and also because he thought that "Revolution consists more in facts than in words, and whenever a spontaneous movement of the people takes place, whenever the workers rise in the name of their rights and their dignity, it is the duty of every revolutionary Socialist to declare himself solidary with the movement in question."

It was decided that all the various factors of discontent, social and political, which Italy then contained should be made to co-operate in a general insurrection in the summer of 1874. When, mainly in 1899 and 1903, I tried to retrace the inner history of this last revolutionary effort of Bakunin and his friends, I scorned to consult Andrea Costa, as from 1879 onwards he had repudiated Anarchism and entered Parliament. I did so in the case of many others, and thus much information which I probably could have elicited was never recorded, and is lost now as far as I can see. Costa gave a short account in *Bagliori di Socialismo* (1900). Since Malatesta had been in prison during the second half of 1873 and Cafiero was dead, and others, like F. Natta, were inaccessible to me, Costa alone could have told to what extent the plan of 1874 originated with Bakunin or himself, or which other factors and considerations made this effort to bring about this general co-operation appear advisable or practical then. I feel somehow that the ambitious spirit of Costa was the prompter and that Bakunin, in spite of his very bitter experience in France (Lyons, 1870) and his clear insight into the inefficiency of Garibaldi and the Mazzinians for a social revolution, yielded to the persuasions of Costa. In any case, Malatesta's long absence and his arrival, perhaps, when this course of action had already been resolved upon, indicate that it was not he who suggested these tactics. He did his share of work in the South by straightforward revolutionary action. So the efforts to interest Garibaldi in this movement, the Mazzinian conference arrested in the Villa Ruffi near Rimini (August 2, 1874), and the ill-fated outbreaks near Bologna and Florence and in other places cannot be discussed here. Bakunin had come to Bologna and shared all the anxiety and distress of the discomfiture. His own testimony was recorded by him day by day from July 13 to October 13, and Malatesta is not mentioned in these short notes, which, of course, I do not claim to be a complete record. He worked in Apulia, far away.

The rifles were sent to Tarent, and the custom house where they reposed as hardware or so was to be seized at the proper time. This being impracticable, they were forwarded to another custom house, and so on—"a little all over Apulia," as Malatesta expressed it; for failure was prevailing there also. What was to be done if of a hundred who had promised to seize these arms only two or three would turn up at the time appointed? Finally, a handful of them seized Castel del Monte, a ruined castle of the mediaeval Emperor Frederick II., and addressed the peasants, who did not respond to their appeals. Gendarmes fired at long distance and retired; a regiment of soldiers then surrounded the castle, but the Internationalists, warned by a friend, passed through their ranks in a haycart hidden under the hay. Malatesta remained a few days in Naples, and was arrested at Pesaro, on his journey to Switzerland (August, 1874).

A year of preventive imprisonment, damaging his health, was followed by a great trial at Trani, leading to a triumphant acquittal (August 5, 1875).

The first trial for Internationalist "conspiracy" in 1874 took place at Rome (May, 1875), and ended with ferocious sentences, later on annulled. The trial at Trani gave the impulse to other acquittals (Florence, Bologna, etc.), after assizes of monstrous length, the Bologna trial lasting from March 15 to June 17, 1876. Until this last acquittal was secured, for over ten months then, those acquitted earlier had to keep quiet so as not to compromise the case of their comrades. This meant one of the rare periods of relative rest in Malatesta's life.

(To be continued next month.)

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."—*From President Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, delivered March 4, 1861.*

Many Americans are now in prison for attempting to exercise their "revolutionary right."

A SPLENDID NEW PAMPHLET.

ENGLAND MONOPOLISED OR ENGLAND FREE?

By "SENEX."

Price Twopence; 1s. 6d. per dozen; 6 dozen post-free.

Orders, with cash to FREEDOM PRESS.

FREEDOM.

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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

All communications, exchanges, etc., to be addressed to

Freedom Press, 127 Ossulston St., London, N.W.1.

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

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

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

Bolshevism in Practice.

The British Labour Delegation's Report on Russia and Bertrand Russell's articles, "Impressions of Bolshevik Russia," in the *Nation*, enable us to form a tolerably clear idea as to the conditions now prevailing there. The Labour Delegation's Report shows signs of having been carefully prepared so that all sections of the Delegation could agree to it; and this has prevented any very definite opinions being expressed. The Report says that the people in the towns are underfed, badly clothed and shod, and housed in insanitary dwellings. The latter condition is the result of frost having destroyed water and sanitary pipes, owing to lack of fuel for heating the houses. Children are better off than adults, but even they do not get sufficient nourishment. Medicine and surgical appliances are very scarce, owing to the blockade.

As to industrial and political conditions, large masses of the town population are now enjoying a share of the available national wealth greater than they enjoyed before, but social equalisation is "far from complete." The Report confirms in many ways the statements made previously by Arthur Ransome, Professor Goode, and Colonel Malone. As to the question of labour conditions, which would especially interest a Labour Delegation, the Report says:—"Labour-power is dealt with more and more on disciplinary principles. The Trade Unions are increasingly controlled by centralised 'Councils of Trade Unions,' which are more amenable to the influence of the Supreme Council of National Economy." This centralisation and Governmental control of industry is now almost complete, the actual workers being in a minority on all industrial committees, the original Workers' Councils having been subtly undermined and superseded by the new committees. Labour is compulsory, and workers are distributed amongst the factories by the Commissariat of Labour. Many workers have deserted to the country, where food and wages are better; but soldiers often arrest them and bring them back from the villages!

On the political side, the Labour Delegation and Mr. Russell agree in stating that there is no freedom of speech or press, therefore there is no freedom in political affairs. To begin with the elections, which are supposed to be the basis of the power of the Communist Party. No candidate who is not a Communist can have any printing done, neither can he address meetings, because the halls are the property of the State. Even when the Soviet is elected it has little power. Mr. Russell says: "Although the Moscow Soviet is nominally sovereign in Moscow, it is really only a body of electors who choose the executive committee of forty, out of which, in turn, is chosen the Presidium, consisting of nine men who meet daily, and have all the power. . . . Effective protest is impossible, owing to the absolutely complete suppression of free speech and free press."

In truth, the Dictatorship is a Dictatorship—but not of the proletariat. The Communist Party rules the country, and the elections are merely formal. When one thinks calmly about it, how could it be otherwise? The Communists, headed by Lenin, are determined to put their ideas of a Socialist State into practice, and, quite naturally, they take every precaution to stifle opposition. They have not any sentimental ideas about allowing the people to work out their lives in the way they themselves consider best, but they have fixed ideas of their own as to the system most desirable, and consider the people so much raw material for the building of the new society. A powerful machine has been constructed, and it is worked from the centre. It appoints Communists as Commissars all over the country, and these men have the power to veto the decisions of local

bodies when they consider it necessary to do so. The Revolution which started with the cry of "All power to the Soviets!" is now carried on with "All power to the Communist Party!" All important offices are filled by members of the party, and they enjoy many advantages. "In a thousand ways, the Communists have a life which is happier than the rest of the community." Like all other Governments, the Communists employ secret police and spies; and although the "Terror" is not so severe now as during the civil war, it "has left its traces behind it, in the form of a pervading fear which is expressed on all hands." Add to this the fact that no civilians but Communists are allowed to carry arms, and one can realise how complete is the Dictatorship of the Communist Party.

We thus see that Bolshevism as at present practised in Russia is not Communism, neither has it brought freedom to the people. Even after making every allowance for measures of safety dictated by the civil war and the war with Poland, one is forced to the conclusion that a Revolutionary Government sooner or later breeds the same evils as any other form of government. The same causes produce the same effects. Anarchists have always insisted that men who have power over their fellow-men will inevitably misuse it. Most observers of the leading men in Russia have paid their tribute to the energy and sincerity with which they try to carry out their ideals; but the more sincere their convictions, the more ruthless they are in their methods. Lenin and his comrades who fought and suffered in the struggle to overthrow the autocracy and oppression of Tsardom are now themselves wielding a far greater power in a more despotic manner than the tyrant they pulled down. In a population of about 120,000,000 people no papers are allowed to be published except Communist papers, no meetings are permitted which are likely to criticise the Communist Government, and very little local initiative is allowed the people in carrying on its own affairs. As long as Russia's enemies are attacking her, such conditions may be tolerated; but as soon as the war is over we hope and believe that the men and women of this great race will insist on exercising the freedom they thought they had gained by the Revolution.

The lesson of Russia should be a warning to other peoples to fight against "Dictatorships" in whatever guise they may come. We believe that the great majority of men and women are intelligent enough to manage their own affairs without Governments. They will make many mistakes, from which they will gain experience. But no mistakes they make can ever equal the appalling crimes committed by the Governments of the world since August, 1914. Those six years have proved the truth of the Anarchist contention that government of man by man is the greatest evil in the world and must be destroyed root and branch.

CAN'T UNDERSTAND HIM.

Our editor invites me to answer *Solidarity*, official organ of the I.W.W. in the United States, which has reproduced on its editorial page my article, "Dodging Our Problems," printed in the July issue of *FREEDOM*, and prefaced it with various remarks. How can I? There is not an argument with which to grapple, and I cannot understand such sentences as: "It would almost seem as though we yielded reluctant release of some of the idle 'rights' of venerable exploitation—governed in the reluctance of course by unseen material forces, working individually." I think the I.W.W. rebels entitled to be fed on better stuff than that.

Let us have, first and above all else, clear thought. If a man has any real love for his movement, he will not rest until he has hammered out his thought, tested its strength at every point, and taught himself so to express it that a child could grasp the meaning. Without this, propaganda remains sterile and action, however well-intentioned, worse than useless. Wherein lies the true tragedy of Labour? Surely in the fact that it is blinded; that its blows so seldom count; that in its struggles to emancipate itself, as in the daily toil by which it makes its living, it expends such an immensity of effort and gets so little.

Why all this trusting to leaders, who habitually land us in the ditch? Simply because we will not do our own seeing for ourselves. Why all these dictators—and the Labour and Revolutionary movement has dictators—who sacrifice the rank and file remorselessly, to feed their own narrow fanaticisms or flaming ambitions? Simply because we will shuffle off on others the responsibilities we ourselves should bear. If you have the movement for your beloved mistress, you soon learn her faults.

Always and everywhere the problem is the same. Ten years ago the I.W.W.—on the Pacific Coast, at any rate—was in high rebellion against the centralisation of power developed by its executive in

Chicago. Being deeply in earnest, it was rent by passion; and, after all, what is the good of calling yourself a Rebel if you are to be led by the nose? Ten years ago—if I may be allowed to be personal—it hooted me repeatedly when I told it that the central Government at Washington was a far more formidable enemy than any Morgan or Rockefeller could ever hope to be. How, may I ask, do those still out of prison feel on that point to-day? Have they not learned to recognise what Shakespeare calls "the great image of Authority"? Have they not been chastened into understanding the profound truth he uttered when he made King Lear exclaim: "A dog's obeyed in office!"? Who made the War? The men in every nation clothed with official power and thereby able to make the masses fight. Why did the masses not rebel? Because they were helpless. Why were they helpless? Because they were still mentally enslaved; believed in and worshipped Authority; conceived, as they still conceive, that they were incapable of governing themselves.

You reply, perhaps, that the masses are also economically helpless, and that this is the decisive factor. Yes, indeed. But how came it that they allowed these islands to fall into the possession of a gang so small that I could pack it into one of our cathedrals? How comes it that this gang has been permitted to fence in huge principalities—in Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America, everywhere—and drive the cultivators into their slave-pens, to work for wages? Such conditions do not come about by accident. They could not have developed until the masses had been tamed; tutored into doubting themselves and trusting in "those above"; drilled into doing their duty "in that station of life to which it had pleased God to call them." That was the first step in the descent, and it is necessarily the first step that has to be retraced.

Here, in England, my occupation keeps me entirely familiar with the psychology of that ruling class I knew so intimately in earlier years. Let no one imagine that it is easily dismayed. It has governed far too long. It believes in itself implicitly, and banks confidently on the ignorance and servility of the mass. Nevertheless it begins to be afraid. And of what? Of lectures on surplus value, economic determinism, and all the other Marxian shibboleths? Good heavens! I fancy it would even pay me for talking on such innocuous topics. Of the great Labour leaders? It regards them, and most justly, as the chain that holds Cerberus in check. What it fears is that the proletariat will cut loose and take the bit into its teeth, as it is doing in Ireland, and threatening to do in Asia, Africa, and everywhere. That spells ruin—to the rulers. They have the sense to know it.

So far as I can unravel the intricacies of *Solidarity's* phrasing, it means to taunt me by the remark that, "After all, he concludes that the Russian 'Dictatorship' settled the [land] question quite in accordance with his INDIVIDUALIST ANARCHIST conception; and which, it so chanced, was the only way that economic determinism permitted it to be settled." What I said, very plainly, was that Lenin had been sensible enough to recognise that the peasantry held the whip hand, and that he had let them alone because he dared not do otherwise. For example—and this is the sort of thing a revolutionary editor should be expected to know—there are some 20,000 peasant co-operative societies in the Ukraine alone, and their London representative has declared publicly that they favour the Bolsheviks because the Bolsheviks have not interfered with them. If that prudent course had not been followed, they would unquestionably have sided with Denikin and Wrangel, and made mincemeat of the Reds.

For myself, I live in the present, and try to deal with the present as the force that shapes the future. I want the workers free, and I want them to struggle toward that end by thinking and acting for themselves. Incidentally, I care very little what Karl Marx or Bakunin or any of my own favourite authors wrote half a century ago. They registered their own judgment on the events then passing. We have to do the same.

In my opinion, we should get out of the wage-system frame of thought, and consider only how the present is to be abolished and what form the immediate future ought to take. As I see it, without tackling the land question, firmly and intelligently, we cannot free ourselves. If anyone has a truer thought than that, let him give it, freely and fearlessly, as his contribution to the social struggle.

SENEX.

Another Lie Nailed Down.

A comrade in New York has called our attention to the fact that an American paper has published a statement that, when interviewed on her return from Russia, Mrs. Snowden had said that Emma Goldman had told her that the Bolsheviks had shot 200 of the men who were deported with her from America on the "Bulford," last winter. Mrs. Snowden assures us that there is not a word of truth in the statement. It is a pure invention on the part of the individual who sent it to the paper. This contradiction will relieve the anxiety of the friends and comrades of the deportees.

Push the sale of "Freedom."

Second Congress of the Anarchist Union of Italy.

HELD AT BOLOGNA, JULY 1-4.

First Day.

In the name of the Anarchist Union of Bologna, Comrade Sartini opened the Congress and welcomed the delegates, numbering over 300.

The Congress was encouraged by the news of the rising at Ancona. The delegates promised their utmost help to the brave fighters.

Comrade Tabbis reported that on July 2, at Genoa, a Conference was to be held between the General Confederation of Labour (reformist), Syndicalist Union, the seamen, the railwaymen, the Socialist Party, and the Anarchist Communist Union, in order to come to an understanding as to concerted action on the following questions: the boycott of Hungary, the defence of the Russian Revolution, and the danger of a new war against Albania. Anarchist comrades were asked to take part in a national general strike. At the last moment it became known that this Conference had been postponed at the request of the Socialist Party, which news was received with great indignation.

Declaration of Principles.

Malatesta spoke on this subject at great length, and summed up as follows:—

"We want to eradicate the exploitation of man by man; we desire that men, united by a conscious and mutual solidarity, should work voluntarily for the welfare of all; we desire that society should be constituted so that all human beings should have the means for the achievement of the utmost prosperity, the highest moral and material development; we want bread, love, liberty, and science for all.

"In order to attain this goal, we consider it is absolutely necessary that the means of production should be accessible to all, and that no man or no group of men should be able to coerce their fellows, nor to use their influence in any other way than through reason and example.

"Therefore we stand for: Expropriation of land and capital for the use of all; the abolition of government.

"These objects can be obtained by: Propaganda of the ideal, organisation of the people; continual struggle, peaceful or otherwise, according to circumstances, against the Government and the possessing class, in order to gain a maximum of well-being for all."

As there were present not only members of the Anarchist Union but also Individualist and anti-organisation Communist Anarchists, long debates took place in order to attain concerted action in the future.

Second Day.

After a long discussion in which the majority of speakers spoke in favour of Syndicalism, the following decision was arrived at:—

"The Congress realises the necessity of organisation and the fight of the workers against Capitalism, and, as a result, the unity of the proletariat on this field; reaffirms that, in view of the fact that there are several Labour organisations in existence, the Italian Syndicalist Union is the one which has to-day the most advanced and revolutionary programme, and declares its solidarity with these comrades, who are exhibiting a great amount of unselfish activity; and it advises all comrades to support the actions of the I.S.U. in its revolutionary and anti-State activities, either by affiliation and the formation of new sections or (where this is impossible owing to local conditions, or where, in order to avoid dangerous splits, this is not advisable) in groups or committees of direct action in opposition to reformism, to unite all elements, and to affiliate these groups or committees with the I.S.U."

The next item on the agenda was the problem of the united front of the Italian proletariat, which is divided on the industrial field in the reformist Confederation, in the Syndicalist Union, and in very class-conscious Catholic Trade Unions. Politically, the workers belong either to the Socialist Party with its different wings, from the sorriest reformists to the Communist Parliamentarians, or to the extremely revolutionary Republicans and the Anarchists. The Catholic People's Party is also very strong. Besides these there exist innumerable autonomous groups of all tendencies. Dissensions have hitherto stood in the way of united action. Malatesta has repeatedly pointed out the great need for united action among all parties. The discussion on this point was protracted and very fruitful. In several localities there is to-day already a common united front, whilst in others the attainment of this object is difficult and even impossible. The following resolution was passed:—

"The Congress authorises and advises the formation of small local Groups of Action, outside the parties and existing organisations in the different localities, consisting of all those elements which will declare themselves ready to go into action at the first decided opportunity, and to fight with all their means against the existing institutions."

Third Day.

The Workers' Councils.

The following resolution was adopted after a lively discussion:—

"The Congress believes that the Councils in the factories, etc., are of great importance because of the approaching revolution and the consequent need for technical organs of expropriation and immediate taking over of industries after the revolution. But should present-day society maintain itself, then they will succumb to its modifying influence. The Congress recognises the Workers' Councils' ability to organise all manual and brain workers at the point of production, in the spirit of the principles of Anarchist Communism. It recognises them as absolute anti-State organisations and the nucleus of the future direction of industrial and agricultural production. It also recognises their ability to develop in the wage-workers the consciousness of the producer, and their usefulness to the aims of the revolution in so far as they can transform the discontent of the workers and peasants into a determination for expropriation.

"The Congress therefore appeals to all comrades to support the formation of Workers' Councils and to work actively in their development, so that they do

not deviate in their structure or in their activity; to fight every attempt at side-tracking, and to see that in their formation all workers of every factory, organised or unorganised, take part."

The next resolution dealt with the compulsory membership of Trade Unions and Workers' Councils. Eventually it was decided that:

"The Congress, of the A.U.I., perceiving that in many instances workers cannot obtain work without joining Trade Unions, declares that Trade Unions are the expression of the growing consciousness of the workers and should not tyrannise any worker. The Congress protests against this infringement of liberty, which can only injure the organisations themselves because it robs them of their idealistic substance and fighting spirit, and engenders decay."

Then followed a lengthy debate on the Press, which was of no interest to us foreign comrades.

Fourth Day.

The Congress dealt with the question of international relations. Virgilio Manzonì opened the debate. He emphasised the importance of international relations, especially to-day, on the eve of great events. He reminded us of the negotiations with the Confederazione del Trabajo, and spoke on the reaction in North and South America, which is mainly directed against Anarchists and Syndicalists. He spoke against joining the Third International, but emphasised the necessity of getting into touch with the Anarchists of all countries for the purpose of forming an Anarchist International, believing as he did that the final struggle would be between the principles of Authority and those of Liberty. This does not preclude working in conjunction with the extreme wings of the Socialist parties and the Third International.

Binazzi expressed the hope that the A.U.I. will revive the Anarchist International, whose regeneration he expects; Anarchists were numerous in all countries and could accomplish much. Further discussion proved that many comrades hold the opinion that affiliation to the Third International should not be dismissed lightly. Most probably we should be expelled, but even this would be of propagandist value. In any case, the formation of an Anarchist International of our own should be proceeded with. The following resolutions were passed:—

Declaration of sympathy with the Russian Revolution.

"The Second Congress of the Anarchist Union of Italy welcomes with joy the Russian Revolution, which is a further step towards the Revolution; it protests against all attempts of suppression by force of the Russian Revolution which are being made by the international bourgeoisie; and declares its full solidarity with all movements and proletarian initiatives which have as their aim the prevention of the suppression of the Soviet Revolution.

ALESSANDRO MOLINARI AND COMRADES."

Resolution on the Third International.

"The Anarchist Congress recognises in the Third International more a tendency and a wish than something really existing. About the organisation which has taken this title, and which is under the leadership of the Russian Bolsheviks, there are vague and conflicting reports, on which it is difficult to pronounce a final judgment. There are indications that the Moscow International is based on authoritarian ideas and on the exclusive tactics of the authoritarian and Parliamentary Communists, which would make it impossible for Anarchists to join that body. From these considerations one can understand and hope that, because of its revolutionary tendencies, Labour organisations should join the Third International. But an exclusively Anarchist organisation like the Anarchist Union of Italy could not, as things stand at present, consider a proposal to join the organisation known as the Third International.

LUIGI FABRI."

For the Anarchist International.

"The Congress declares that it welcomes the idea of an International Anarchist Federation on the lines decided upon at Amsterdam in 1907. It requests the A.U.I. to study this question, to get into communication with the comrades of all countries, and as a first step, as soon as circumstances permit, to convene an International Anarchist Congress, for the purpose of forming an Anarchist International with the aim of carrying Libertarian Communism to victory."

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The question under discussion was "The Soviets and their Establishment." The following resolution was passed:—

"As regards the Soviets and the Workers' and Peasants' Councils, the Congress believes that they only have a justification for their existence during the time of the victorious clash between the exploiting and exploited classes, and therefore that their activity in capitalist times and their efforts to create in an artificial form of organisation the future revolutionary order is anti-revolutionary and Utopian, as the new regime will be the result of the economic and social relations which on the morrow of the Revolution will be created in free development by free revolutionary forces; and

"The Congress advises comrades to put no revolutionary value on an eventual creation of such organisations inside the bourgeois order. Should they spring into being during times of armed revolutionary insurrection, then it is the duty of all Anarchists to join them in order to see that they retain their original autonomous, decentralised, federalist character; that they do not degenerate into political, Statist, and authoritarian organisations which would rule the productive functions and create a new social hierarchy, thereby bringing about a new division of classes."

The remainder of the afternoon was devoted to a discussion on an agitation for the benefit of political victims, the agitation in Southern Italy, and other minor questions. Amongst them was a recommendation in favour of the study of Esperanto.

One hundred and eighty-two towns were represented at the Congress.

(Translated from *Der Freie Arbeiter*, Berlin.)

Illicit day comes at last. Th' people iv this gr-reat counthry gather at th' varyous temples iv liberty, in barber-shops an' liv'ry stables, an' indicate their choice iv evils.—*Mr. Dooley*.

THE "MORNING POST" AND THE JEWS.

There is, we think, one error in the long series of articles published by the *Morning Post* and entitled "Behind the Red Veil." We would suggest that the genius for conspiracy attributed to the Jews is traceable not so much to their participation in Freemasonry as to their love of chess. That is an abominable game, for it involves the overthrow of kings through the destruction of the castles that shelter them and the knights and bishops designed for their protection.

Speaking seriously, however, what balderdash is this? Society gradually outgrows the feudal state—in its more primitive form, at least—and the French Revolution comes to birth. A flood of human energy bursts the barriers within which the nobility has pent it up so long, and modern civilisation mounts the stage. Because a handful of Jews devised a new and revolutionary Masonic ritual!

Again the dam is breaking. Again it is being discovered that talent, as Napoleon put it, has no career unless it will be servile; that the masses have no chance; that society is still so ill-arranged that it cannot satisfy even its elemental wants. Again there is an uproar; world-wide this time, because invention is annihilating distance and knitting mankind into one whole. And the *Morning Post* asks its readers to believe that this also is the work of a few Jews, meeting in cellars and plotting the destruction of our Empire, our religion, and our race!

Naturally the picture has some traits of truth. It is true that the British Empire is staggering toward its fall; but that is because the millions it assumes to rule are no longer contented with the inferior rôle decreed for them. It is true that Christianity is being relegated to its proper place—as being merely one of many attempts to solve the riddle of the universe; but that is because investigation has proved that the main tenets of the Church are false, and the men and women of to-day no more believe in them than the British Empire believes in turning the left cheek when its right is smitten. It is true that the influence of our race is dying, but that is because we have stripped our own workers of their natural rights, condemned them to conditions under which our cattle could not exist, and shattered the very centre of our strength by debasing our young manhood into food for powder and employing it in the extermination of the subject races, whose guardians we profess to be. Therefore, the browns, the yellows, and the blacks are ceasing to believe in the moral superiority of the whites; and the fear of what will follow is becoming a nightmare to the class that reads the *Morning Post*.

The process is an entirely natural growth. Of course, it is international; both because thought and increasing knowledge travel as freely as does the wind, and because what is done in London to-day or New York to-morrow affects, sooner or later, the Russian mining in Siberia and the negro packing ivory in the forests of Darkest Africa. FREEDOM, for example, has constant demands from China and Japan for our own literature, just as it has from Europe and the United States.

In all this the Jews play necessarily a prominent and active part. No one ever accuses them of being stupid, and two characteristics distinguish them. In the first place, no race has struggled for the establishment of democracy so long and tenaciously as has the Jewish. Our reading of the Bible—if we read it—should have taught us that. In the second place, perhaps as a consequence of the first and because of the hostile environment to which the Jews have been compelled to adapt themselves, they have a veritable passion for philosophical discussion. Go to the Ghetto, anywhere, if you want to hear Anarchism or Socialism, the latest developments in literature, or the newest thought-currents talked intelligently. They are a race of linguists and they study movements. Of course they shine in this international debate. Of course they sense, more quickly than any other people, the present world-wide ferment, and throw themselves into the struggle.

Our aristocracy may have its virtues, but it lives in the past, thinks in accordance with its own set forms, and has few sympathies beyond its own immediate circle. Therefore it never really knows. Therefore it dreads the new, and is panic-stricken at the reflection that eventually it will be held to strict responsibility for the tragic errors into which Know-Nothings fall. Therefore it must have scapegoats; and, as it believes only in the big stick, its scapegoats naturally will be selected from among the intelligent, whose unorthodoxy it regards as the primary cause of this great world-unrest. We are in for an era of persecution, and undoubtedly the Jews—the poor Jews, not the Rothschild minority—are specially marked out for sacrifice. That is the true meaning of the *Morning Post* articles.

We agree that the British Empire is under attack. Necessarily so, because the oligarchy that now runs the Empire sees fit to make itself the champion of those very forces against which the human race is rising in revolt. Round our Empire the international Money Power is rallying. Under its wing every land-grabber is finding shelter. It is out-Caesaring the Caesars, and unless it has the good sense to purge itself of the predatory influences now paramount in all its councils, it will fall as fell the Roman Empire. We did not go into the War that Mammon might be enthroned. Our men fought and died that Liberty, with its gospel of human equality and brotherhood, might take his place. For that point the avalanche has started. Only when it gets there will it stop.

W. C. O.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

France.

Le Libéraire, having discovered that its subscribers in Tunis, Africa, were not getting the paper, wrote to the post office there, inquiring the reason. It received the following reply:—"SIR, Answering your letter of July 6, I have the honour to inform you that the seizure of the papers was ordered by the military authority." We quote this because it gives the key to our latest French exchanges. As a result of the failure of recent strikes, they have little to report along the line of Direct Action, and are confining themselves chiefly to militarism, the Government's support of Poland, the Third International, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Most of these papers have been carrying a call—issued by the Anarchist Federation—for a meeting that shall protest against arbitrary authority in all its forms, oppose militarism and war, manifest its solidarity with those in prison, demand a general amnesty, and raise its voice against the iniquitous stupidity of those who govern us. The call is in itself a propaganda tract.

The Syndicates, the C.G.T., and noted Labour leaders are being criticised severely. Parliamentarism comes in for remorseless attack. The split between the Italian Anarchists, on the one hand, and the Italian Socialists and General Confederation of Labour, on the other, which followed the upheaval at Ancona, is keenly discussed. In this connection one may refer to the remarkable interview with Anatole France, reported in the *Observer* (London) of August 22. His view of the situation is most sombre, for his answer to the first question asked him was: "Europe is very ill; dying." He considers that the situation can be saved only by an international pooling of resources and such community of action as was displayed among themselves by the actual fighters in the War; but he doubts the capacity for such an effort. In his opinion, the one country that will issue triumphantly from the increasing disintegration is Russia, for there something great is being born, and thence will come a Socialism which is Europe's only hope. What we are witnessing at present is the first attempt, made under conditions most unfavourable, and necessarily crude and utterly inadequate.

Les Temps Nouveaux reprints a letter from one of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party in Russia, which appeared recently in *La République Russe*. It opens with the statement that two years of suppression of the Press have made the people stupid, and that this applies specially to the Bolsheviks themselves. The writer claims that the Lenin cult is killing all civil courage, and he gives a sorry picture of the penalties inflicted on those who venture to rebel. He also insists that—as was the case in France in 1794—Russian officialdom and the speculators it carries in its train are interested in having the war continue indefinitely. On the other hand, Wrangel's choice of Krivochéine as Civil Dictator shows how absurd is the pretence that he wishes to satisfy the interests of the peasantry. Krivochéine was Minister of Agriculture under the Tsar, and notoriously a savage reactionary. The real struggle is between the feudal landed proprietors and the peasantry.

Spain.

The Communist Party has been organised recently in Madrid, with the avowed object of introducing a Soviet regime and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The great mass of Spanish Anarchists seem to have accepted this programme, with all its political implications. A strong note of protest comes, however, from *El Productor*, of Seville, one of the oldest and most outspoken of all the Anarchist papers. It writes: "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat! In Russia such a thing does not exist. In Russia the workers are groaning under the Dictatorship of a Party, a dictatorship pitiless and inexorable toward the weak and the exploited."

Italy.

Malatesta, who has worked with almost superhuman energy for the creation of a common front against the common foe, is finding himself forced into uncompromising war with the Socialists and the leaders of the General Confederation of Labour. According to his standpoint, which is also ours, these gentlemen have been actually strengthening the Giolitti Government, which will be just as repressive as it dares to be, and smothering a revolutionary situation which only needed freedom to develop into one of great promise and immediate benefit to the masses. According to his opponents, he has been pushing things far too fast, and bringing down on their heads Governmental reprisals they are not yet prepared to meet. This, of course, is always the position of those who, putting their own small interests above the larger ones of the general cause, tremble for the safety of their Trade Union funds, their subscription lists, their party following, and their own influence as pillars of the movement. Malatesta has been engaged also in a most illuminative polemic with Maxim, one of Lenin's ablest spokesmen. Maxim urges (1) That the "general interest" is paramount, and that this contains, "in the germ at least, the whole principle of Authority"; (2) that, for years to come, the Revolution will need to be defended by arms, and that this implies a division of labour, some acting as soldiers and others as producers. As to the first argument, Malatesta replies

that "this pretended general interest has been always the lie used to justify tyranny." As to the second, he says:—"Some work, others defend. It is thus that they have always explained and justified the army, the police, the magistracy, and all oppressive and parasitic institutions. The one handles the spade and the other the sword, and naturally the swordsman smites and exploits the spademan. Let us beware of Communism such as this." Who, do you think, has the best of the discussion?

In *Le Réveil* the editor, Bertoni, writes powerfully on the First International, believed to be so strong and proving actually so impotent when faced by the Franco-German War; of the Second International, looked on as a giant and showing itself a helpless infant when the great War broke out; and now of the Third International, fashioned by Lenin in his own image, and proclaimed as, at last, the Saviour so long foretold. What sense is there in all these conferences, in all these delegations, sent hither and thither at endless expense and to the neglect of the agitation work they should be doing where they belong? "These leaders of the Italian proletariat, who went on travelling all over Russia while their own peninsula was in open insurgency, seem to us to have been of disservice rather than of service to the revolutionary cause." If you want to see the world for nothing, and be feted into the bargain, become a Labour Delegate.

ANARCHISM AND BOLSHEVISM.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM)

DEAR SIR,—“Senex” and Mr. Winter are both driving us into civil war, which will aggravate the Power horrors already present. Their unity may prove to be only the unity in attack, not complete unity. Both support, in July FREEDOM, the Power way of life, which makes the recurrence of war inevitable. One condones “the expropriation of the bourgeoisie” in Russia, and the other asks for the “forced transfer” of land from the “wrongful” owners.

Only new impulses will make life a harmony. Only an ideal will lead us to them.

Bakunin says: “Let us firmly keep our backs to the past, and look forward, for forward lies our sunlight, forward is our salvation.” John Tamlyn says: “Man is out of the infinite past, and when he forgets this and turns his back on his instincts, society soon becomes a herd of automatons, run by a few madmen.” These statements are only contradictory from incompleteness. Our instincts come from the past. Out of the infinite past comes our instinct for seeking security. I know men who sneer at this, and say that only the heroic will save us, but it is not necessary that we all should be so. This instinct is intensely active to-day; as yet it trusts to Life as Power, but I see many signs that it is moving. Liberty is a more helpful and attractive-for-all form of security, and so I hold that our deepest instinct will aid us to Liberty; it is this instinct which enables the idealist to get a hearing. But, as Bakunin said, we must turn our backs on Life as Will to Power, which is opposed to Liberty.

Mr. Winter's deepest instincts welcome the ideal; his later developed ones repudiate it as impractical. What I have faith in is his consciousness. Let him study earnestly the difference between real life and abstractions—it is supremely important. Reality is on the side of Liberty, while Power depends on conscious belief in unrealities. Conscious belief is different to instinctive faith. Mr. Winter consciously believes that “expropriation of the bourgeoisie”—which phrase covers an abstraction—is progress; he thinks that the aggravation of the Power horrors is justified by it. He now is prepared to condone further horrors by using another abstraction, “the dictatorship of the proletariat, to prevent the counter-revolution.” Men with rudimentary consciousness, who mostly guide their lives by instinctive faith, will only very slowly adopt the Liberty life, until they see living examples of it who have found full security in it. I ask Mr. Winter to clear his mind of abstractions and become one of these living examples, and not wait to be converted by them.

“Senex” has his consciousness clouded by the abstraction “peasant.” He says that Lenin in Russia and Malatesta in Italy have both found that the peasant has the whip hand. Now the same word may describe a reality or label an abstraction. The peasant as such—a tiller of the land and resident on it—has obviously not the whip hand in the fighting of to-day; but used by “Senex” as a label for an abstraction it stands for a Power organisation equipped with all the munitions of modern war. “All power to the Soviets!” was the abstraction which Lenin used to build up his Power organisation. The Soviets were a peasants' institution. Now, will not the organisation which “Senex” wishes to build up have the power to put men into the moulds that suit its own ends?

Abstractions hide Power horrors; they are to be talked, written, and thought about, but they are not real like life is, and no progress is possible to them, they do not exist.—Yours,

SYDNEY COOPER.

Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise: which having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest.—*Proverbs of Solomon.*

FREE LOVE.

A rather foolish discussion has been going on in the columns of that organ of Nonconformity, the *Daily News*, on Marriage and Morals. And the people generally who live in this most moral of countries have got matters so muddled up in their minds that they actually believe that Marriage is synonymous with Morality. If So-and-So is described as an "immoral man," the phrase is understood as conveying an exact idea of in what his immorality consists.

Here is "M. F. L.," who writes from Derby to say: "There is no romance in free love, for no man worthy the name who really loved a woman would live with her under such conditions." Let us rewrite the sentence, leaving out the negatives: "There is romance in bought love, for any man worthy the name would live with the woman whose love he had really bought." This, of course, is not what the lady means. She is quite willing to leave the decision as to what love is moral, and what immoral, to a number of men who fasten their collars at the back of their necks.

For two hundred years every Quaker marriage was regarded as being immoral, and every child born of Quaker parents, in the eyes of the law, was a bastard. These people died and were buried, and went to their own place to be—presumably—punished for their immorality—in the eyes of the "M. F. L.'s" of a century ago, that is. Then in the twinkling of an eye almost their immorality was changed into morality—by an Act of Parliament. The miracle of the loaves and fishes was as nothing to this miracle. That men and women, dead, buried, and turned to dust years and years ago, were transformed in a moment—the time required for a single signature—from devils into angels, and by an Act of Parliament too, is unbelievable. The fact is, that Parliament and the Church condescended at last to recognise the essential morality of that freedom of love believed in by the Quaker community.

The ceremony of marriage is one of the most significant evils of our times. It was unsparingly denounced by Robert Owen, and indeed this discovery was the most important of all those that he made. And it is an evil—if for no other reason—simply because Prostitution is its twin sister. *Marriage cannot exist without Prostitution.* We may prove some day that Prostitution cannot exist without Marriage; as it is we can only establish the truth of the first proposition.

Havelock Ellis, in the concluding volume of his "Studies in the Psychology of Sex"—one of the really great books in the English language—says:—

"The history of the rise and development of prostitution enables us to see that prostitution is not an accident of our marriage system, but an essential constituent which appears concurrently with its other essential constituents. . . . Prostitution is clearly inevitable; it is not so much the indispensable concomitant of marriage as an essential part of the whole system."

This is the considered opinion of a man who has surveyed, as no other man has done, the whole field of sex.

To the average woman her marriage certificate is the thing which binds her husband to her. It is her charter of right. In reality it is her bond of slavery. She may not leave the brute she has come to loathe, because she has been united to him in a certain building, between certain hours of the day, by an individual who claims to have special authority conferred on him—or her. She has only one life to live—when that is done she has no surety of any other—and that life must be passed in pain and in misery because, forsooth, some number of mortal men have said she sins if she should do otherwise.

If Love were free, she would be in a position to bargain! As it is, she must submit. By law, indeed, she can be compelled to submit her body to her husband as often as he may require the use of it. The thing has only to be mentioned for it to be seen how degrading it is. The law's compensation is that she may rape a male of any age without committing any offence against the law. (This raping of males is done more often than most people imagine.) And thus is liberty established by law.

Let the supporters of Marriage answer this question: If Love is not to be free, what then shall be its price?

JOHN WAKEMAN.

General Convention of the British I.W.W.

The annual General Convention of the British I.W.W. took place on August 28, at 28 East Road, London, N. 1. Fellow-Worker H. A. Simmonds was elected General Secretary and Treasurer. The following resolutions were adopted:—

(1) That the General Executive Board be composed of two delegates from each Local Union.

(2) That a Committee be elected from the G.E.B. for the purpose of publishing fresh literature, and also to keep in touch with I.W.W. organisations abroad.

(3) That a monthly Bulletin be issued.

(4) That an I.W.W. Song Book of 24 pages be published, with the most popular I.W.W. songs in it, the price to be 3d.

There was a quiet determination displayed at the Convention which augurs well for the future of the I.W.W. organisation in this country.

E. M.

POLITICS.

Practically all politicians pursue the method which the *Nation* (New York) describes as typical of France. "You draw up two platforms: one for the public, which you have only to write; the other for the financiers, which you have to write and to execute. You publish the first; you keep the second secret, for it relates to Government contracts, concessions, tariffs, rebates, supplies, and such things. You go on for a certain length of time carrying out this second programme. Eventually you make the inevitable slip, and it is the turn of somebody else."

AVIS.

Paul Robert et Edouard Decroix sont priés de donner de leurs nouvelles de suite au camarade Gorion, 7 Passage Gillet, Pierrefitte (Seine), France.

CASH RECEIVED (not otherwise acknowledged).

(August 8 to September 7.)

"FREEDOM" SUBSCRIPTIONS.—W. W., H. P. B., E. A. James, L. Child, S. F., H. G. Russell, F. R. Rouser, C. Jensen.

"FREEDOM" GUARANTEE FUND.—E. M. 1s., H. P. B. 7s., J. Tamlyn 2s., E. C. R. 1s., A. Perry 1s., R. Peddie 2s., "Zero" 1s., A. Baker 2s., J. S. 2s., F. Goulding 1s., L. G. Wolfe 10s., Outing (August 29) £1 15s., P. H. £5, W. A. Smith 1s. 6d., E. H. Olds 2s. 6d., A. D. Moore 2s.

NOTICES.

WHITECHAPEL.—Clothing Workers Industrial Union No. 9 hold Open-Air Meetings every Sunday, 11.45 a.m., and Monday at 8 p.m., at the corner of Fulbourne Street and Whitechapel Road, E. Speakers welcome. Hon. Secretary, A. Gilbert, 35 Cephas Street, Mile End, E.1.

CARDIFF.—Our comrade A. BANKS, 1 Carmarthen Street, Market Road, Canton, Cardiff, stocks FREEDOM and all Anarchist publications, and is willing to supply groups and branches with advanced literature of all kinds. Comrades calling will be welcomed.

PLYMOUTH.—JOHN TAMLYN, back of the Market, Sunday evenings, 6.30.

IN AID OF THE "WORKERS' FRIEND."

A GRAND SOIREE AND BALL

WILL TAKE PLACE AT THE

CROWN HALL, 40 REDMANS ROAD, STEPNEY, E.,

ON

Saturday, October 2nd.

Commence 7 p.m.

Ball till 2 a.m.

Tickets, Two Shillings.

BOOK AND PAMPHLET LIST.

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

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELISEE RECLUS. 2d.

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

LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3d.

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS. With Portraits. 2d.

ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. 1d.

THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL: A MARXIAN FALLACY. By W. TCHERKESOFF. 2d.

FOR LIBERTY: An Anthology of Revolt. 6d.

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.

LIBERTY THROUGH ANARCHIST COMMUNISM. By H. OAKLEY. 1d.

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM IN PLAIN ENGLISH. By L. A. MOTLER. 1d.

THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTION. By George Barrett. 2d.

ANARCHISM AND DEMOCRACY. By John Wakeman. 2d.

ENGLAND MONOPOLISED OR ENGLAND FREE? By "Senex." 2d.

REFLECTIONS ON POLITICAL JUSTICE. (Selections from the Writings of William Godwin.) 4d.

Postage extra—1d. for each pamphlet.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM. By PETER KROPOTKIN. Paper Covers, 1s.; postage 2d.

FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS. By PETER KROPOTKIN. Cloth, 2s. 6d.; postage 4d.

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD. By P. KROPOTKIN. Cloth, 2s.; post. 3d.

MUTUAL AID. By P. KROPOTKIN. Cloth (with Appendix), 3s. 6d.; postage 6d. Paper, 2s. net; postage 3d.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE. By William Morris. Cloth, 3s. 6d.; paper, 2s. 6d.; postage, 3d.

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

SYNDICALISM AND THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH. By E. Pataud and E. Pouget. Paper covers, 2s.; postage, 3d.

WALDEN. By Henry Thoreau. 1s. 6d.; postage, 3d.

SONGS OF FREEDOM. Edited by H. Salt. Cloth, 1s. 6d.; postage 3d.

POLITICAL JUSTICE: Essay on Property. By William Godwin. Cloth, 3s. 6d.; postage, 3d.

THE SOUL OF MAN UNDER SOCIALISM. By Oscar Wilde. Limp Cloth, 2s. 6d.; postage 2d.

Orders, with cash, to be sent to

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

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