

Freedom

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NOTES.

The Invasion of the Ruhr Valley.

Taking advantage of Germany's default in the delivery of coal as reparations, the French Government has at last taken the long-threatened step of seizing part of the Ruhr Valley, an army of between 30,000 and 40,000 being used for that purpose. What the ultimate outcome will be no one can foresee, but one can say for certain that the French taxpayer will get very little relief, whilst the universal resentment in Germany may lead to an explosion spreading damage far and wide. We do not think the French Government is quite so mad as our daily press would have us believe. Having a huge army at its command, it is using reparations as an excuse for extending its economic and political power in Europe, seizing the opportune moment when its old enemy, *perfidie Albion*, is entangled in the Turkish trouble. The British Navy may rule the waves but it is a useless weapon on the Rhine. If French capitalists can secure control of the minerals and industries of the Ruhr Valley, they will dominate Europe, and that old weapon, the Balance of Power, will fall from the hands of British capitalists. Will the latter strike before it is too late? Will they throw the workers of the Empire into another bloody struggle in an effort to retain their supremacy? Socialists, Labour Members, and Liberals are shouting in chorus: "Refer the dispute to the League of Nations!" How childish. If France has the power to take what she wants, the mumblings of the Geneva Junta would have as little effect on her as would a bow and arrow on an ironclad. How righteously indignant we all are in this country! How every one denounces France for her brutality! But who seized the German colonies, the German navy, the German mercantile marine, German patents, and the German private property in this country? Those young Frenchmen who to-day march into the Ruhr are of the same class as those poor deluded fools of all nations who were mown down by the grim reaper on the battlefields of Europe and Asia from 1914 to 1918. Having given all power into the hands of their masters, they are compelled to march when the order is given; and until that power is destroyed the devilry will go on. But that power of life and death must be destroyed—not given to others to wield.

Don't Hurt the Poor Landlord.

When we read about the rent strike and the tribulations of the poor landlords we cannot help but smile. According to the law, a landlord must give a tenant notice to quit (to conclude the contract) before he can increase the rent. When rents were allowed to be increased under the Rent Restrictions Act a great number of landlords neglected to hand in at the same time a notice to quit. Now a court has decided that those increases are illegal and must be refunded. The total sum involved runs into millions of pounds spread over the whole country. Many tenants are refusing to pay any more rent until the excess paid has been worked off, and the landlords are squealing and say they are faced with ruin. But we cannot squeeze out a single tear for them; in fact, we can hardly suppress our mirth. It was only a "trifling informality," they say; surely the tenants will not be allowed to take advantage of a slip like that. And some of the magistrates are talking in the same strain. But we can remember countless instances when the boot was on the other leg; when the "trifling informality" favoured the landlord, who pressed his legal advantage to the uttermost. The poor widow turned out of the shop on which her livelihood depended, the poor worker turned into the street, or the shopkeeper squeezed to the last possible farthing when renewing his lease. And when the victims pleaded for mercy the landlord said, like Shylock, "I will have my bond." If they turned to the courts for relief, the pompous gentleman on the bench replied that "the law must take its course." So the more the landlords squeal, the more we shall smile.

A Class Struggle Inevitable.

Mr. Emil Davies, who is regarded as an expert on economic questions, gave an address last month to the Bank Officers' Guild, and drew a very gloomy picture of the future. The standard of living in practically every European country, he said, had got to be scaled down to the economic position of that country. He thought a good many of our labour struggles would largely hinge upon this. Already the agricultural workers, the miners, and the unemployed—who with their wives and families accounted for 12,000,000 out of the 40,000,000 population—were on a bare subsistence level, and others would also have to come down to it; and Mr. Davies said a fierce struggle between class and class was inevitable, each trying to lift itself up or prevent itself being dragged down. Production was not the problem: mankind solved that problem a hundred years ago. The problem was distribution. There we think he hit the nail on the head. We have all the natural resources and the necessary scientific knowledge for the production of all that we require—there is no possible shadow of doubt on that point. But our people who show such marvellous skill and intelligence in the production of wealth are as mere children when it comes to distribution. Let them confine the distribution of that wealth to those who assist in its production, and the trick is done. The parasites and the monopolists would have to work or starve. If, however, the present system continues, in the next few years those who cultivate the soil will be the only people with a safe footing. Those engaged in luxury trades and other non-essential industries will be steadily and inexorably starved out, and nothing but a revolutionary change can prevent a great disaster. The problem has a comparatively simple solution. Mark Twain tells a story of a prisoner who sat in his cell for years, pining for freedom. One day it occurred to him to open the door; he did so, and walked out. When will the workers of this country walk out of the prison built by Monopoly?

Birth Control Banned.

Two victories have been gained recently by the Society for the Protection of Ignorance in Sex Matters. Last month the Edmonton District Council dismissed Miss E. F. Daniels, a health visitor, for giving information to mothers on the subject of birth control and the limitation of families. On January 10, at the West London Court, Mr. Boyd, the magistrate, ordered that Mrs. Margaret Sanger's pamphlet on birth control, entitled "Family Limitation," must be destroyed as obscene. These two cases show the obstacles that bar the way to full and free information on sex matters. Mrs. Sanger's pamphlet is illustrated and explains the use of preventives, and Sir William Arbuthnot Lane said he could not imagine any clean man seeing anything indecent in it. But the magistrate saw it. Miss Daniels said she saw so much misery caused by the birth of unwanted children in poor families that she ignored a warning by the Medical Officer of Health, and told the women where they could obtain the necessary information. But the Edmonton Council decided that the misery must continue. At the back of all these prosecutions are the medical fraternity, fighting to protect their privileges and vested interests. They themselves will sell birth control knowledge for guineas, but cheap or free information by others would destroy the monopoly granted them by the law. The legal monopolists stand shoulder to shoulder with the monopolists of medicine.

International Anarchist Congress Postponed.

It having been found that there was not sufficient time for the preliminary discussions and to arrange for the attendance of delegates from distant countries, the Congress arranged to be held in Berlin this month has been postponed to April 1.

FREE LAND MEANS NO WAGE-SLAVES.

British East Africa has been discovered to be a white man's country. It has an area of 189,838 square miles and a population of 4,000,000, of whom some 3,200 are Europeans. It has a Labour Problem—the exact opposite to our own. With them it is never a question of finding jobs for men, but always of finding men for jobs.

Notwithstanding that the natives are without Trade Unions, Labour Members, Labour Bureaux, or Unemployment Insurance, they are able to defy all the efforts of the white employers to exploit their labour, and can, and do, refuse to work for them. Naturally, the white men who are interested in developing the country, and who recognise the truth that no development is possible without labour, are concerned about what they are pleased to call the laziness of the niggers, and, with a view to discovering some satisfactory solution of their Labour Problem, a Commission was appointed, "on the suggestion of the Landholders' Association, to inquire into the reasons for the shortage of labour, obtaining information from the employers and employees."

Under the chairmanship of His Honour Mr. Justice Barth, the Commission examined 272 witnesses in all, the Evidence and Report making a volume of 336 folio pages, which may be seen in the Library of the Colonial Office.

Extracts from the evidence of typical witnesses and from the Report itself:—

Lord Delamere, owner of 150,000 acres, said:—

If the policy was to be continued that every native was to be a landholder of a sufficient area on which to establish himself, then the question of obtaining a satisfactory labour supply would never be settled.

He considered the soundest policy would be to curtail the Reserves, and although it might take a few years before the effect on the labour supply was apparent, the results would be permanent.

In other words: so long as the native has free access to land he is under no obligation to work for another for wages, and cannot be compelled to do so; deprive him of that access, and "the results would be permanent."

It having been suggested that the natives should be taught how to make the best use of their land, Mr. T. Howitt, another witness, and a landowner, said:—

He did not favour the idea of natives being taught better methods of agriculture in the Reserves, on the grounds that, if they were taught to work in the Reserves, the tendency would be for them not to come out at all.

Mr. H. Tarlton explained why:—

Better methods of agriculture would increase production, and the easier it was made for the native to grow his produce the less would he be inclined to come out of the Reserves to work.

All the witnesses saw clearly the cause of their trouble, and were quite frank about the whole business. They did not talk the usual nonsense about over-production, dumping or foreign competition, nor did they hint that it was in any way due to over (or under) population. It was too obvious that the natives, having access to natural resources (*i.e.*, the land), were free. The next witness shows that he, at any rate, knew how this deplorable state of affairs could be remedied.

Mr. J. Boyes, owner of two farms, area not stated, said:—

The scarcity of labour was due to the mistaken policy of the Government, which apparently did not worry whether settlers were able to get labour or not. . . . There were a number of tribes who up to the present had practically never come out to work, and he considered that the natives were deteriorating through not being made to work. If it were at all possible, he would be in favour of them being forced to do so. . . . It should be pointed out to them that we had only obtained the power we held through having had to work.

He would take the attitude that he knew better than they did what was for their benefit.

The whole population of the Reserve near Nairobi adjacent to the Railway should be shifted and given land elsewhere; he suggested the Bamboo Forest . . . to which they would be pleased (?) to go, while the land vacated by them should be granted to white settlers. . . . Through the adoption of his

suggestion many natives would probably take up their residence on lands owned by settlers.

This witness was not asked to explain how it was that the natives would be both "pleased to go to the Bamboo Forest" and "would take up their residence on lands owned by settlers"—presumably as rent-paying or service-rendering tenants. Mr. Boyes is a white settler!

On the subject of the Native Reserves the Commissioners say:—

The Commission has not sufficient information before it to decide whether the demarcated Reserves are too large, though there seems to be a general opinion in the country that this is the case.

That is to say, the white settlers in the country are of this opinion. Naturally!

Having concluded their inquiry, the Commissioners state:—

The reasons for the shortage of labour we considered from the evidence to be the following:—

The wealth of certain tribes arising from the large quantity of land at their disposal, the natural fertility of their Reserves, the possession of large quantities of stock, and the profits of trade.

It is clearly recognised that there are practically no natives who need to work for wages in order to live.

The natives of our own white man's country would do well to ponder over this statement. The above extracts from the evidence of practical business men should serve to convince them that the contrast in labour problems is due to the monopoly of land, and should lead them to direct their united efforts to destroy that monopoly.

J. W. G. P., in *Land Values*.

THE DEMOCRATIC CUCKOO.

The proletariat in every country is deceiving itself cruelly if it imagines that this is a mere struggle between Labour and Capital, and that through such struggle the working class will win at once emancipation. By reasoning thus the masses get a weak and too-restricted view of things, while, under their very noses, there is springing into life and developing an intense political activity a class composed of individuals who are in an entirely distinct economic category. This class is endeavouring to dominate the State and enslave the workers for its own ends. This new species which is thrusting itself in between Labour and Capital is Democracy. Its aim is to take the place of a decadent bourgeoisie. Its tactic is the bringing about of a political revolution by employing the methods of so-called Scientific Socialism.

There is good reason for the fear that this intermediary group, this fourth ruling caste, may seize and turn to its own profit the fruits of the great struggle which Labour has waged against Capital. What has taken place in Russia, and the situation in the workers' movement as it now exists in many other countries, inspires us with that fear.

Bolshevism represents merely one branch of Marxism, but at present the most active and aggressive. As for Marxism in its entirety, together with the other currents of political ideas to which it is related, they are simply the movement toward power of this fourth caste—Social Democracy. This movement began about eighty years ago. Having recognised that Capitalism was doomed to disappearance, Democracy announced to the world at large its own model of society—Collectivism and Socialism. This became thenceforth the aim of all its struggle. Political parties were utilised as organs and weapons in the struggle. Their task was to consecrate the workers' movement to the service of Democracy. And right well they have succeeded. For many years past the workers' movement has been subordinated to these parties and used to serve the ends of a class both alien and hostile to it.

This was the period in which the proletarian class did not understand itself, and had neither become conscious of its own interests nor formulated them clearly. Its movement was exploited without scruple, therefore, by currents of thought to which it was a stranger. The experience of the Revolution in 1848, of the Paris Commune, of party politics during the last fifty or sixty years, has shown the workers that all professions of "love of the people" and "love of the workers" which do not come from their own proletarian ranks are a mere absurdity or, as most generally happens, a form of blackmail. With this discovery their revolutionary class-consciousness began to develop, and it led them to Revolutionary Syndicalism.

M. NE. (in *Le Libertaire*).

POSITION OF ANARCHISTS IN RUSSIA.

Soviet Russia is the only State in the world where Anarchism—absence of governmental authority—is *officially* recognised as the ideal of social development. This principal recognition is not only inscribed in the fundamental laws of the country but has been administratively expressed by the State itself, on its own initiative, in the monument to Bakunin, in re-naming one of the principal streets after Kropotkin, and in other assertions of the kinship of Socialism and Anarchism. When the President of the Cheka addressed the imprisoned Anarchists with the words: "You are our heirs," he indicated even more clearly the principal attitude of Government circles to Anarchism.

On the other hand, in no other country than Russia has the Anarchist movement provided so much help to the authorities, co-operators in the "Russian experiment," as outsiders dub the Soviet system. We do not here mean renegades of Anarchism, but those Anarchists who, acquiescing and maintaining their ideological outposts, at the same time serve under the Soviet authority. And, be it noted, that almost all Russian Anarchists, with a very few exceptions, adhered to this point of view, both at the time of the November revolution and for the first period ensuing.

It would have appeared that such mutual relations should have fostered specially favourable conditions for the development of Anarchism. In fact, the result was the opposite. Never have the words of Kropotkin been more conspicuously corroborated: "Human progress is indivisible; it is possible only when it includes all."

We do not pretend, in a cursory article, to write a full appreciation of the position of Anarchists in Russia; much as we might wish to do so, it would not be possible. The conflict between authoritarians and Anarchists is inevitable; experience has dissipated many hallucinations, and the ranks of the Soviet Anarchists are thinning out more and more.

We for our part wish that this conflict might have developed in a spirit of a more up-to-date and cultural character. Russia, despite all her backwardness, is not a country of redskins, to use Kropotkin's biting satire, in which tomahawks are the supreme argument of right. In our day dungeon and exile as a reply to the free expression of opinion are as a method of action no better than jungle law. Three hundred years ago Galileo was flung into prison, subjected to torture and humiliations, for the single offence of daring to discover spots on the sun which God had created. Have we Anarchists not the right, without endangering our liberty, to discover many spots on the Soviet sun, a creation of human hands?

The powers that be, in proclaiming our ideal as their ultimate ideal, afford themselves an excellent measure of our right to criticise and to seek other better ways on which the revolution might progress. Let them use their belauded discipline of party and service to recall order, but not in the manner of certain zealous executors of their will. A comrade, from Ivanovo-Voznesensk, asks: "Have the local authorities the right to take away Anarchist literature, both old and modern, both pamphlets and large works, which are freely sold among you in Moscow, whilst we are forbidden them in our private libraries and have them confiscated at the preliminary search?"

Has not the time come to pass on to the observance of revolutionary justice and to cease denouncing our young comrades, especially in the provinces?

—From *Pochin* (Moscow).

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A QUEER REVIEW.

A review of my "Anarchism versus Socialism," which FREEDOM issued recently as one of its propaganda pamphlets, gives me the opportunity of saying certain things which seem to need saying. The review appeared in *Le Réveil de l'Esclave* of December 1, and is by Manuel Devaldes, its editor. In his opinion I advocate "doctrinaire Anarchism which is sterile to the highest degree, and worse than sterile—destructive. Not only is Owen violently anti-Socialist, he is equally anti-Syndicalist, anti-everything that is not Anarchism of the most sectarian type." For proof that "he who has a liberal spirit, and allows reason to govern him, can harmoniously associate Socialism, Syndicalism, and Anarchism," he refers me to the writings of John Stuart Mill, William Morris, Oscar Wilde, and others. Especially, he declares, has this "been proved peremptorily" in "Roads to Freedom" by "the great heart and vast brain which is Bertrand Russell."

It will be gathered that the review is hostile, and scorn is poured on me for my declaration that the experience of the last eighteen years has confirmed me in my views. This stamps me, in M. Devaldes' opinion, as "one of those who neither learn nor forget." Unfortunately I remain unrepentant. As stated in the Foreword to the present edition, the pamphlet was written to explain the difference between the Anarchist and Socialist philosophies; and it expressed the conclusions to which some twenty-five years of study of the literature and intimate acquaintance with the politics of Socialism and Trade Unionism had forced me. I had found both those movements working always for the upbuilding of a heartless State mechanism in whose grip the Individual, as it seems to me, is crushed. Most assuredly what has taken place since 1914 has not given me, nor any other Anarchist, reason for questioning the truth of that position.

In my pamphlet I follow step by step the course those who start by belittling the Individual and magnifying the State machine, as the supposed guardian of the public's welfare, will find themselves compelled to take. I plead for individual freedom, to be attained by individual rebellion against a system which enslaves mankind by allowing the few to monopolise what should be for the free and equal use of all. My cry is: "Strike straight for economic freedom, individual and collective! Monopoly is an accursed thing. Overthrow it by individual and collective revolt! Neither seek to rule nor suffer others to rule you! Above all, do this thing yourselves, and do not trust the doing to an official class!"

Is this a "sterile and opportunistic" creed? My own belief, stated specifically in the pamphlet, is that it is precisely the one all predatory powers regard with detestation and will combine to crush. For that reason I advocate it—not as a literary diversion but as calling for simple measures which, sooner or later, the race will have to take. The present period of transition is being needlessly prolonged. Muddled thought and cowardly, peace-at-any-price compromise threaten to prolong its agony to the crack of doom.

The workers' war to-day is no longer with the private Capitalist or Monopolist alone, but much more with the so-called democratic governing machine which dominates the position and shelters him beneath its wing. A new and powerful class, equally apart from and hostile to the workers, now occupies the saddle, and only by clinging to its stirrup can Plutocracy survive. Were it compelled to stand alone, the workers would make short work of it.

This, as the Anarchists see it, is the evolution that has taken place within the last few years. The authors cited by M. Devaldes were not alive to it, because in their time it had barely begun. As for Mr. Bertrand Russell, he is a political Socialist, and when he wrote "Roads to Freedom" had only a bowing acquaintance with Anarchist literature and thought. His book betrayed it, as I explained in a review published in FREEDOM more than a year ago.

I used to enjoy M. Devaldes' articles in *L'Ordre Naturel* (Nature's Order). Good heavens, what can he find that is natural in our present society, straitjacketed by Authority and governed from the cradle to the grave, not by the Law of Life but by the arbitrary mandates of the ruling few?

W. C. O.

ANARCHISM VERSUS SOCIALISM.

By WM. C. OWEN.

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Tear Down the Fences.

We tell the workers of this island that their present position is hopeless. They are now cut off entirely from the means necessary to the support of their own lives; they are now utterly dependent on the good-will of an employing class which, in its turn, is dependent on world-markets it no longer controls; they have now been reduced to helplessness. As such even those who find employment will be, and must expect to be, exploited to the marrow of their bones.

This is the situation, and our workers ought to face it straight. The men engaged in mechanical and manual labour ought to recognise that there is nothing whatever ahead of them but arduous toil, miserably paid, and growing more and more uncertain. The vast army of men and women employed as clerks ought to recognise that they have nothing to look forward to but the being shelved after years of faithful service, with the workhouse or suicide as no improbable end to their heart-breaking struggle. As for the host of unemployed—a host more likely to increase than to diminish—it has no chance at all. Charity may lift it for the moment an inch or two out of the mud, but into that mud, more and more deeply, it is doomed to sink again.

What sense is there in fooling ourselves for ever? As wage-workers our backs are up against the wall. No half-way measures will save us. Our slums are unmatched in any other country, and foreigners visit them as one of England's typical sights, just as they visit the Chamber of Horrors at Madame Tussaud's. The precarious position in which our workers now find themselves is the talk, and too often the laughing-stock, of all the world. No other country is cursed with such an unemployment problem as that which here is chronic. Our lives are hard and dull, ignominious and insecure. From a practical standpoint they are barely worth the living.

How are we to get out of all this? First, we have to make up our minds that we are going to get out of it, quickly and at any cost. That is our job. It is up to us to put it through without a moment's needless delay, and to do it thoroughly. This island has to be made a place where he who is willing to do useful work is assured of a comfortable living, and where he who won't do such work is bound to starve. At present we are eaten up by parasites. The working bees wear their lives out gathering honey for the hive; the drones devour it. That is the whole story.

We can't get out of this by shouting worn-out catchwords, such as "Workers of the World Unite!" We can't get out of it by talking about the wonderful things the workers are doing in Russia, or some other country about which we know practically nothing. We can't get out of it by hiring others to organise us. Such men are hirelings, and, caring only about their own comparatively easy jobs, don't want quick changes. The politicians have always talked and played for time; and what they have done in the past they will go on doing. The Socialist party, for example, is a century old, and what has it accomplished? Nothing. These waiting policies are not for us.

This is essentially our business; we ourselves have to attend to it, and we have to attend to it at once. All we need do is to agree on a perfectly simple programme and insist on enforcing it here and now. All we have to say is:—"We are tired of you idlers, and of the monopoly by which you maintain yourselves at our expense. We abolish that monopoly. We throw this country open to the productive brain and muscle of its inhabi-

tants; of every one of them, on equal terms. We give you just as good a chance as we demand, and we demand just as good a chance as you will have. Henceforth no favourites. Work and you shall get the full fruits of your labour, for no idler will have the opportunity of filching them from you. Refuse to work and you will starve."

Anyone can understand that sort of programme, and there is not one among the disinherited workers who will not endorse it instinctively. To the masses the confused, compromising, often self-contradictory programmes for which they are now asked to vote are completely unintelligible; but every one can see that men and women ought to earn their living, and ought not to be continued in positions which enable them to force others to earn it for them. What good do we get by allowing a few people to fence in the mines, the woods, the agricultural lands, the building sites, all the natural resources of this island?

Clearly we get no good at all. Clearly the wealth to be derived from these sources—and under modern scientific methods that wealth is inexhaustible—goes exclusively to those who have been allowed to fence them in. Clearly these inestimable resources ought to be for the free and equal use of productive industry, and should not be at the disposition of the idler. No wonder, for example, we are miserably housed when we are barred from the materials out of which those houses have to be constructed, and from the sites on which they must be placed.

Tear down the fences! That is the whole programme. Throw everything open, and on equal terms, to industry, and to industry alone. This is the first and last word in economics, just as the basic law of life always has been, and always will be, "He who will not work, neither shall he eat."

With all who are working, intelligently and honestly, for this plain and honest programme, we Anarchists unite. For those who seek to compromise and emasculate it, to water it away and delay its realisation, we have no use. Our propaganda is as straight as a gun-barrel, and we know that if the barrel is crooked it will be impossible to hit the mark.

W. C. O.

Anarchists and Social Revolutionaries on Trial.

DEAR COMRADE,—We have just received the following letter from Russia. The source is absolutely reliable, and the letter speaks for itself. We urge you to give it immediately the widest publicity.

ALEXANDER BEREMAN.

Moscow, December 4th.

About the 9th of this month (December) there will take place an extraordinary trial. The defendants are 25 persons, of whom three are our comrades, several Left Wing Social Revolutionaries, and the rest, the majority, criminals of the worst type. The accusation against them is of a serious character, and it is expected that the penalty will be death. The fact is that the Government has deliberately framed-up idealists and seeks not only to send innocent people to death but to blacken their names and the movement to which these sincere revolutionists have given their lives. All 25 are accused of robbery and banditism. I doubt whether any other Government would dare to take such a step. It is only here that ever such a terrible outrage could take place. There is one woman among our three comrades who are the victims of the Government frame-up. She is a firm character and refuses to attend a trial that charges her with black crimes. It is very likely that the other revolutionist idealists will do likewise. I shall notify you later about it.

The workers abroad must know about this damnable organised frame-up and *raise their voices in protest against it!* I close this letter in hope that something will be done.

(Signed) X.

[The result of the trial has not yet reached us.—ED. FREEDOM.]

Now Read This.

At the preliminary session of the Fourth Conference of the Communist International, held recently in Petrograd, according to the *Communist*, "Comrade Felix Kon proposed a resolution of greeting and approbation to all political prisoners pining in the jails of Europe and America. The resolution was carried unanimously." Could hypocrisy go further?

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

France invades Germany, Belgium joins in the invasion, the mark drops out of sight, and the franc and lira fall steadily day by day. Obviously the effect on wages, on security of employment, on the entire economic situation, must be enormous. In reality it is incalculable. No one knows what the immediate outcome will be, and apparently the Labour movement, as a whole, knows least of all. At present it is drifting helpless.

As was to be expected, amid these stormy waters the only ones who show themselves capable of keeping anything like an even course are the Dictatorships. In Russia, Poland, Hungary, Italy, and indeed almost everywhere, they are becoming more and more dominant, and even those Governments which call themselves constitutional draw nearer to autocracy. In the Argentine Republic, for example, our comrades are being harried by the authorities remorselessly, and the long-established Anarchist daily, *La Protesta*, has now fallen under the ban. However, the movement shows great and most courageous activity. The motormen's organisation continues its publication of *La Bandera Negra* (The Black Flag), the last issue of which is exclusively anti-military; the Workers' Federation of Buenos Aires has published and given extensive circulation to a 96-page brochure, in which infamies perpetrated on the working class in 1920 are thoroughly exposed; and the International Propaganda Group in the same city is reported as now completing arrangements for a tour of the chief cities of Chile, Peru, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Brazil. Our Buenos Aires comrades have their own publishing house, which has issued many works by noted Anarchist writers. "Artists and Rebels," by Rudolf Rocker, is the latest; but an "Anarchist Manifesto," by Pierre Ramus, and Luigi Fabbris' "Dictatorship and Revolution," are promised shortly.

In Italy the Mussolini Dictatorship is working overtime and, as is the habit of the species, thrusting its finger into every pie. Army reform, postal reform, educational reform, university reform, park reform, and countless others, have, at least, the virtue of keeping the bureaucrats busy earning their salaries. After July 1st rents are to be no longer restricted, as they have been during the last eight years, and the landlords are to be free to work their will upon the helpless tenants. It is easy to see for whose interests this particular Dictatorship, founded by the man who only yesterday was a great Socialist leader, is working. It is also easy to see that Signor Mussolini's present popularity among the workers is not built of materials likely to last.

The Russian Dictatorship, hiding itself behind a continuous barrage of thunderous revolutionary phrases, is not understood so easily. *Der Freie Arbeiter*, of Berlin, which has a much more intimate knowledge of the Spanish movement than is to be found in this country, estimates that 95 per cent. of the members of the revolutionary Trade Unions in Spain are Anarchists. For the moment, however, there is much confusion in their ranks over the question of adhesion to the Red International. In France, at the recent Union of the Seine Congress of the C.G.T.U. (General Confederation of United Labour), Monmousseau finally carried the day for Moscow. His argument was (1) That Anarchism in connection with the Syndicalist movement is an anachronism; (2) that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the Confederation's proper flag. Colomer opposed him vigorously; Gaudeaux brought up the case of Schapiro, and the reply was that he had been expelled from Russia because he had signed, in *Le Libertaire*, a manifesto hostile to the Government. A reading of the speeches delivered at this Congress shows once more than delegates can talk one way and vote another.

As for Russia herself:—We note, among many other things, that the Government warns German workers against emigrating to Russia. It will lease the land only to those who have the capital needed to build their own houses and stock their farms with the necessary machinery and cattle. According to the *Isvestia*, Red Navy Weeks are about to be held all over Russia. In its own words:—"There can be no doubt to-day as to the need of a strong Navy. Russia must have a strong fleet. The Soviet Republic is consolidating itself politically and is growing

and spreading territorially. Russia, by the re-union with the Far Eastern Republic, has once more recovered an outlet to the Pacific Ocean. This has increased our sea frontier and has made it imperative for us to increase and strengthen our Navy."

In other words, conscription of the severest type, and the building up, under the cloak of Proletarian Revolution, of another military Empire. To this our own Government, always passionately enamoured of Empires, will give, sooner or later, its benediction, and already a new Triple Alliance looms into sight. For Germany also is now recognised as having great elements of future strength, and with the strong our own British Raj is always ready to make a deal. As Powers, France and Italy are obviously decadent, and with those who can really help us to exploit and keep in check the now rebellious Orient we, to-day as much Asiatic as European, shall come to terms. So the making of the real Proletarian Revolution will have to be the work of very different hands.

MALATESTA HITS BACK.

The discussions held last September at Bienne, as preliminary to the Saint Imier Congress, brought out sharp differences of opinion, Colomer, who advocates the seizure of power and violence without stint, being specially severe in his criticism of Bertoni and Malatesta. The latter replies in a late number of *Le Libertaire*, and we translate portions of his article which raise questions of the first importance. On the question of power he writes:—

"We do not wish to conquer power, and we do not wish any one else to do so. If, through lack of insufficient force, we cannot prevent the formation and continued existence of Governments, we try, and we shall always try, to weaken them as much as possible. Whenever, therefore, it is a question of overthrowing or weakening a Government we are always ready to take action, without troubling ourselves too much (I say 'too much' but I do not say 'not at all') as to what may happen afterwards."

Here we ourselves may point out that Benjamin R. Tucker years ago, in his "Instead of a Book," elaborated this as being the attitude Anarchism necessarily must take, and we may add that it is the basis of our undying hostility to Socialist philosophy and tactics. Socialism multiplies governmental regulations and restrictions; multiplies, therefore, the oppressive forces needed to keep the masses in subjection to those regulations and restrictions; multiplies, therefore, the barriers which, sooner or later, will have to be overthrown. If we cannot upset them at the moment, we should try at least to weaken them, and we should oppose to the utmost of our ability that erection of new ones which is now so prevalent. This seems to us the very A B C of Anarchism.

Closely connected with this is the all-important question of the resort to violence, and on this Malatesta writes:—

"For us violence is only, and can be only, for the repulse of violence. When it is used for positive purposes it either fails completely or succeeds in establishing the oppression and exploitation of some by others. The construction and progressive improvement of a free society can be the result only of free evolution, and it is precisely our task as Anarchists to defend and assure this freedom to evolve. To overthrow, and to unite for the overthrow of, political power, with all the train of repressive forces that uphold it; to prevent, or endeavour to prevent, the formation of new Governments and new repressive forces; never to recognise a Government and to be always struggling against it, while claiming for ourselves, if need be by force, the right of organising, of living as it seems to us good to live, and of experimenting with such social forces as appear to us most promising—to act thus, granting others equal liberty of action: this is our mission."

As a counsel of perfection this seems to us beyond reproach; but we maintain that perfection is completely unattainable under the economic conditions to-day existing. Until the monopoly of production, which rests on land monopoly, and the monopoly of distribution, which rests on our present money system, are overthrown, the masses will have to continue living as they live at present. Fine sentiments and glowing exhortations will not improve their lot. Somehow the means of production must be rendered freely accessible to one and all of us, and somehow the producer must have restored to him full control of the distribution of his product. To show how this can be accomplished scientifically, practicably, workably, seems to us one of the great tasks to which Anarchism must now address itself.

DEATH OF FRANK KITZ

We regret to announce that as we go to press we hear of the death of our old comrade Frank Kitz. He had been suffering from bronchitis and asthma for some time, and recently entered St. James's Infirmary, Balham, where he passed away on January 8, at the age of 74. He had probably been connected with the revolutionary movement for a longer time than any other person in London, and in his "Recollections and Reflections" which he contributed to FREEDOM (January to July, 1912) he gave us many interesting glimpses of the early days of the movement, in which he was very active.

His burial will take place at Battersea Cemetery, Morden, on January 13. To save him from a pauper funeral a few comrades have advanced the money for a private one, and we appeal to our readers to help us to repay them. Donations should be sent to FREEDOM Office.

"HILFSRUF."

This Jewish journal is published by the Group for the Relief of Russian Anarchists, for the purpose of exposing to the world the position of our comrades under the Bolshevik Government. There are a number of interesting articles by comrades well qualified to deal with the subject. R. Rocker draws a parallel between the Tsarist persecutions and those of the Bolsheviks, other contributors being Alexander Berkman ("The Soviet Government and the Anarchists"), M. Mrachny ("Lubeanky No. 2"), Volin ("From my Memories"; impressions of his prison life), G. Maximov ("A Slight Misunderstanding"), A. Shapiro ("My Arrest and Deportation"), and M—n ("In Defence of the Russian Woman"). The cost of publication of *Hilfsruf* has been defrayed by voluntary subscriptions, and all the proceeds from its sale will go to the fund for the relief of oppressed Russian Anarchists. Copies can be obtained from H. Potashnik, 163 Jubilee Street, E.1. Price, 6d. (U.S.A., 20 cents).

The following pamphlets in the Russian language can also be obtained from the same address (6d. each, postage 2d.) :—

The Persecution of Anarchists in Soviet Russia.
Instead of a Programme.
Woman and Syndicalism.
Why the Bolsheviks Expel Anarchists.
Anarchists and the Russian Revolution.

Why "Free Society" Stopped.

We wish to explain briefly our reasons for ceasing the publication of *Free Society*. This paper was issued in the U.S.A. and supported by the foreign-speaking Anarchist movements. Its aims were to propagate Anarchism and to build up an Anarchist movement. We realise that for the moment we have failed. The reasons are various; firstly, indifference on the part of our American comrades; secondly, they have not yet realised that in order to be heard we must organise. Another reason is that our financial position is bad, those comrades who supported us previously being no longer able to do so. In these circumstances we decided to cease publication of the paper for an indefinite period.

We now appeal to all our comrades who realise the necessity for the creation of an English-speaking Anarchist movement in the United States to co-operate with us and together we will make another and a more successful effort. Anarchist movements in foreign languages already exist here, and are very effective in many parts of the country. Considering the utter bankruptcy of the "Communist" International and the terrible industrial conditions here and abroad, Anarchist propaganda has a splendid opportunity. Our ideas must be spread. It can be done here and now if those comrades who realise the great possibilities will begin to form groups and federate one with another. If comrades wish to inform us of the position in their district, they can do it through FREEDOM until other means are devised.

We give below a financial statement. The balance in hand will be used for the distribution of Anarchist literature.

FREE SOCIETY GROUP.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT (August 20 to November 30, 1922).

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
	\$		\$
<i>Life Sustaining Fund—</i>			
San Francisco ...	5.00	Mailing of <i>Free Society</i> ...	13.80
Detroit, Mich. ...	7.00	Meeting Halls ...	6.00
F—n, Boston, Mass. ...	1.00	Stationery ...	1.30
J. S., Los Angeles, Cal. ...	2.00	Paid for Literature ...	15.00
Subscriptions—via London ...	13.50	Mailing Pamphlets ...	1.22
" M. S. ...	1.00	Total ...	37.82
" M. K. ...	1.00		
" L. K. ...	1.00		
New Jersey Group ...	4.00		
Sale of Literature, New York ...	10.45	Balance in hand ...	51.18
Balance in hand, Aug. 20 ...	43.15		
Total ...	\$89.10	Total ...	\$89.10

REBUILDING THE WORLD: An Outline of the Principles of Anarchism. By JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON. Price 3d., postage 1d. From Freedom Press.

A Good Start for the New Year.

We are pleased to state that there is a slight change for the better with the coming of the New Year. Increased orders for literature have come in, which is more welcome even than donations as it means more propaganda. At the same time donations are up to the average. Now we want an increased circulation for FREEDOM. We hope every reader will do his or her best to get at least one new reader as soon as possible. The following sums have come to hand to date (January 10):—

G. Robertson £1, T. S. 5s., Anarchist Communists (Detroit) 12s. 9d., W. Harrison 5s., J. A. Nielsen £1 0s. 9d., A. Kendall 1s., A. J. R. 2s., H. G. Russell £1, P. Incampo 4s. 4d., K. Walter 5s., G. Teltsch 4s. 3d., W. Sinclair 2s. 6d., Elizabeth 10s., E. C. R. 2s. 2d., A. Hazeland 5s., R. Moore 2s. 6d., R. Jones 2s. 6d., A. Snellenberg 4s. 3d., J. R. Armstrong 2s. 6d., A. R. T. 16s. 6d., A. Smith 2s. 6d., L. G. Wolfe (Nov., Dec., Jan.) £3, P. Mitchell 1s. 9d., E. F. Dean 1s. 3d., A. D. Moore 2s., W. Ms. 1s. 6d., L. Bioulet 1s. 8d.

Anarchist Discussion Circle.

The meetings of the Circle, ever since the opening night, have been very successful, the room being packed on several occasions. The principal subjects discussed have been the Land Question, Labour in Russia, the Money Question, and the attitude of Socialists to the State. Various schools of thought have been represented, and all have had a fair hearing. The meetings are open to all—friends or opponents—and we shall be pleased to book dates for all those willing to open a discussion on any social question of interest. The Circle meets at the Minerva Café, 144 High Holborn (back entrance), every Saturday evening at 7 o'clock; discussion commences at 7.30. Subjects are announced in the *Daily Herald* on Saturdays.

CASH RECEIVED (not otherwise acknowledged). (December 10 to January 10.)

"FREEDOM" SUBSCRIPTIONS.—F. Edgerton, G. F., J. E. Matthews, G. Wickel, A. Fiominghi, J. Desser, J. Seltzer, J. Sheffe, M. Simkin, M. Lombard, M. Tiboldo, A. J. R., M. L. Greenawald, Circolo S. S., W. J. Ryan, L. Zani, S. Puglisi, J. S. Kovaloff, L. D. Abbott, K. Walter, W. Sinclair, F. Large, T. S. Crosby, E. C. R., A. Hazeland, R. Moore, E. D. Hunt, J. R. Armstrong, S. Wood, S. Houston, J. Ettringham, G. Cotter, R. Summerville, J. Cornwall, A. R. T., B. Platin, A. Smith, E. H. O., S. Tallon, W. Ms., A. Winnecour, L. Bioulet, P. Parsons, D. Baxter, E. J. Hale.
FOR ANARCHIST REFUGEES IN GERMANY.—E. F. Dean 1s. 3d.

ALBUM OF THE FUNERAL OF PETER KROPOTKIN in Moscow, February 13, 1921. With an Introduction by R. Rocker. Contains 31 photographs, including two of Kropotkin taken after death. Price 1s., postage 2d. From FREEDOM PRESS.

BOOK AND PAMPHLET LIST.

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3d.
THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 41.
THE WAGE SYSTEM. By P. KROPOTKIN. 2d.
ANARCHY. By E. MALATESTA. 3d.
THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELISEE RECLUS. 2d.
LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3d.
OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM. By George Barrett. 4d.
THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTION. By George Barrett. 2d.
ANARCHISM VERSUS SOCIALISM. By WM. C. OWEN. 3d.
ENGLAND MONOPOLISED OR ENGLAND FREE? By WM. C. OWEN. 2d.
ANARCHISM AND DEMOCRACY. By John Wakeman. 2d.
THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL: A MARXIAN FALLACY. By W. TCHERKESOFF. 2d.
AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
THE CHICAGO MARTYRS. With Portraits. 2d.
ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. 1d.
Postage extra—1d. for each 3 pamphlets.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM. By PETER KROPOTKIN. Paper Covers, 1s.; postage 2d.
FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS. By PETER KROPOTKIN. Cloth, 2s.; postage 4d.
THE CONQUEST OF BREAD. By P. KROPOTKIN. Cloth, 2s.; post. 3d.
MUTUAL AID. By P. Kropotkin. Paper, 2s. net; postage 3d.
NEWS FROM NOWHERE. By William Morris. Cloth, 3s. 6d.; paper, 2s. 6d.; postage, 3d.
WHAT IS PROPERTY? By P. J. Proudhon. Cloth (1 vol.), 4s. 6d.; paper covers (in two vols.), 3s.; postage, 5d.
ECONOMICS OF LIBERTY. A statement of Proudhon's system of social organisation. By JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON. Cloth, 2s.; postage 3d.
ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Emma Goldman. 7s. 6d.; postage 6d.
PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST. By ALEXANDER BERKMAN. 12s. 6d., postage 8d.

Orders, with cash, to be sent to
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