

Freedom

VOL. XXXVII.—No. 404.

FEBRUARY, 1923.

MONTHLY: TWO PENCE.

NOTES.

France and the Ruhr Valley.

The French Government is steadily pursuing its policy of strangling the economic life of the Ruhr Valley, as a means of compelling the German industrialists to agree to the terms demanded by the French industrialists. The workers in the newly occupied territory bitterly resent the military invasion and have adopted a policy of passive resistance, but the French have a terrible weapon in their control of the food supply, and they will probably try to starve them into submission. Once again German workers are being compelled to fight on behalf of their masters, who keep at a safe distance and cheer them on to further sacrifices. Their leaders have appealed to the workers of Europe, especially those of France and Belgium, to declare a general strike and boycott against France, but so far without result. The International Federation of Trade Unions and the two Labour and Socialist Internationals met at Amsterdam on January 27 to consider the situation, and, as might have been expected of this crowd of Trade Union officials and politicians, contented themselves with passing some utterly futile resolutions, advocating "the exercise of pressure upon the Governments, by means of Parliamentary action, to induce them to accept the mediation of the League of Nations." The International Federation is constantly boasting of the many millions of members it has under its wing, but it has shown itself as helpless in this crisis as the Socialist International was in 1914. Our own Government, in the words of the King's Speech, "while feeling unable either to concur or participate in this operation, are acting in such a way as not to add to the difficulties of their Allies." The truth is that France is now occupying the dominating position in Europe which the British Government went into the War to prevent Germany obtaining. The military power of Germany has been supplanted by the military power of France, which can only be checked now by a greater military force or by the united power of the workers. But the latter will certainly not pull the chestnuts out of the fire for Stinnes and Co.

Monopolists Block House-Building.

The housing question is a difficult problem only if you look at it from the capitalist's point of view, but to us it seems very simple. We have in this country all the raw materials necessary for the building of houses, and enough men unemployed to do the work. Why, then, are they not being built? Because the monopolists stand in the way. They insist that before you can build on their land, use their clay for bricks, cut down their trees for timber, or dig in their mines for iron ore, you must pay the tax they demand. Then the builders must make their profits, the house-owners must make their profits, and the bankers must get their bit out of it. Before we can lay one brick on another this horde of highwaymen has to be paid blackmail. In London to-day people are sleeping six, seven, and eight in a room, for lack of better accommodation; yet if one walks through the shopping district in the West End he will see dozens of enormous blocks of new shops being erected, fitted with every modern convenience. At Wembley thousands of men are engaged in building the British Empire Exhibition and the great Stadium where men will chase a leather ball. The work being put into the Exhibition would alone provide sufficient houses to relieve the overcrowding in London. But there are prospects of great profits at Wembley, whilst the hard-working Londoner cannot afford the "economic rent" demanded by Monopoly. Britishers went "over the top" in France against their supposed enemy; it is now time they went "over the top" against their real enemies at home, whose entrenchments are made of musty parchments reinforced by slavish reverence for Acts of Parliament.

Helping the Birth-Rate.

The War wiped out so much of the virile manhood of the nations involved that the Governments are adopting various methods to ensure a fresh supply for future wars. The birth-rate in France is notoriously low, "birth control" having been practised for many years; but the necessity of increasing it has led the authorities to give bonuses and relief from taxation to all those having large families. So now patriotic and thrifty Frenchmen are busy preparing the 1940 and 1941 "classes," meaning the youths who will be called up for the Army in those years. In Turkey they want to use compulsion, and one bright member of the Angora Assembly has introduced a Bill making marriage compulsory for bachelors of twenty-five years of age, and "there must be at least one child every three years." Few details of the Bill are published, but we should like to know the penalties for not having the proper number of babies. Who will they punish—husbands or wives? In America and at home the eugenists are more concerned about the quality rather than the quantity of cannon-fodder, one of their favourite ideas being the "sterilisation" of all those who do not come up to the standard as parents. In some American States this is already in force, and we read of one poor woman—the victims are always poor—who had had several children without asking permission of Church or State who was ordered to be sterilised, if able to undergo the operation. In Illinois a Bill is to be introduced for the compulsory sterilisation of men and women likely to become parents of "socially inadequate" children. There is to be a State "eugenicist," who will bring people before the proper Court, and if his charges are proved the victim is to be "eugenically sterilised in a skilful, sane, and humane manner." Humane? Even Dr. Marie Stopes advocates this method of dealing with men and women, but soothes her conscience by saying that whilst it prevents procreation it "does not debar the subject from experiencing all his normal reaction in ordinary union." All these people are not only disgusting in their methods, but also unscientific, as they deal only with effects and not with causes.

Light in the Pulpit.

There is much disturbance in religious circles in New York because the Rev. P. S. Grant, of the Episcopal Church, has been blurting out a few truths about the Christian religion and saying things contrary to the Thirty-nine Articles. Among other things, he says that the consecration of churches is derived from the age of witchcraft, magic, and taboo. If he continues his studies in that direction he will find many more practices and symbols of the Church have a pagan origin, and were grafted on to the Christian religion in its early days, notably the Communion, the cross, and the festivals of Easter and Christmas. There is nothing new in what the reverend gentleman has said, but it is unusual to hear it from the pulpit. When a clergyman is ordained he vows to keep within the limits of the Thirty-nine Articles, and he knows that he will bring down on his head the wrath of his superiors if he strays from that narrow path. Mr. Grant has been asked to resign, but he claims freedom of thought. Of course he is wrong. He is paid to teach a certain doctrine, and he must deliver the goods. There can be no freedom of thought in a pulpit. The Church does not exist to tell the truth, but is concerned mainly about retaining its hold on the ignorant and superstitious. As soon as the light of truth shines on it its power will be gone; therefore it is a matter of life and death for it to exclude the truth. It is of the dead past, and has a deadening influence on all it touches. We wish we could bring this home to the Labour movement here, which is overrun with clerical gentlemen. Their work is to prepare people for a life in the skies; the workers must pin their faith to winning a life of bliss in the present and not chase mirages in the hereafter, for they are only mirages.

ANARCHISTS AND THE REVOLUTION.

Our exchanges still abound in controversies, and this we think entirely good. At present we stand dazed before a gigantic social transformation which we are quite unable to turn to our account because we have not troubled ourselves to understand it. Any one can get excited and shout "Revolution!" but to analyse the situation, get at its key, and thereby discover the point at which the attack should be delivered is a very different matter.

Of these controversies the one between Colomer, of *Le Libertaire* and *La Revue Anarchiste*, on the one hand, and Malatesta, of *Umanita Nova*, and Bertoni, of *Le Réveil*, on the other, seems to us the most notable. It raises two great questions: (1) the use of violence, (2) money as a tool of distribution. Incidentally it involves the consideration of Syndicalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, as will be seen by the following extracts from Malatesta's latest reply. He says, in part:—

"Colomer loses sight of what is the very basis of Anarchism, viz., liberty for oneself and others. He gives us, therefore, an Anarchism which the Tsar and Kaiser would have accepted, and which could be used to justify the exploits of a Clemenceau and a Mussolini. To him violence is an evil only when it has been legalised and codified; only when it has become a 'law' enforced by the courts, the official representatives, the people's commissioners, and other constituted authorities. He does not understand that laws and regulation Governments come after violent action, for the purpose of confirming and perpetuating the victors' rule. Would Colomer call the actions of the Fascisti Anarchist violence? They, indeed, have violated every law and shown contempt for the courts and official authorities, but this they have done in order that they may the better oppress and enslave the workers."

Malatesta then remarks that Colomer at times appears to be more of a Syndicalist than an Anarchist, and continues:—

"Colomer is a fanatic of violence, and considers it a prejudice to wish its use limited to defence against the violence of others and the conquest of that liberty which violence denies. Apparently he would regard all violence as good when resorted to in the name of Anarchism. Morality he denies. In his view, to say that it is bad to do one thing and good to do another is to speak like an authoritarian. Is everything, then, to be allowed—even oppression and the exploitation of another's labour; even the formulation of laws and the constitution of Governments? In my opinion, if violence is justifiable even when it goes farther than defence necessitates, it is equally justifiable when used against ourselves, and we have no right to protest. In such case all we have to rely on is material force, and that, most assuredly, we do not possess."

On the question of money, Bertoni and Malatesta have insisted that during the period of readjustment which must follow even the most completely successful revolution some medium of exchange will be required, if only as between town and country workers. In this connection Malatesta writes:—

"It is because he does not take time into consideration that Colomer fails to see the real difficulties and solves all questions by poetical flights into the future. The peasant, who is no poet, if he is required to furnish an insurgent population with his products, will think to himself—'The revolutionists may triumph and then money will have no value; but it may turn out otherwise, and then, if I have not insisted on payment, I shall find myself left without either money or products. Pay, therefore, now, and we will see what comes later.' For the rest, Colomer, who is a 'violent without scruples,' does not conceal his intention of forcibly compelling the peasants to give up their products; but, since in reality he also has his scruples, he quiets his conscience by branding as capitalists all those who may refuse to give up their products except for such compensation as may appear to them sufficient. Capitalists! Even if they are workers who have cultivated the soil with their own hands! Even if they are farm labourers who have expropriated their masters and do not wish to give up to the city folk for nothing the products of their own toil which they have taken back from their exploiters! Does not Colomer see that, apart from the questions of time and justice, what he calls 'positive violence' will have to be organised? Does he not see springing up the Red Army, the Tcheka, the people's commissars, the bureaucrats who direct the concentration and distribution of the goods sequestered? Does he not see the

tyranny which will install itself in the name of the public interest and the revolutionary cause? And, better still, in the name of Sacred Anarchy?"

It is evident that Colomer has not yet realised the effect which the requisitioning of food had upon the peasants of Russia. They simply refused to grow more than was necessary for their own needs, and Lenin has since admitted that his method was a mistake.

IS THIS ANARCHISM?

The proceedings of the French Anarchist Congress held recently in Paris are reported by FREEDOM, of necessity, in an abbreviated form, but it has given their pith honestly and fairly. *Le Libertaire* professes to be delighted, and it seems, therefore, the more imperative that those who feel very differently about it should be allowed to voice their thought. For my part, I confess frankly that the published speeches and resolutions fill me with dismay.

Let me invite Anarchists to consider, first, the nature of the doctrine in which they are supposed to believe. This should be easy. What reason is there for imagining that Anarchism, compounded of "an" (without) and "arche" (rule), means either more or less than what its name implies? There is no reason. The word is most precise, and all its noted exponents admit it freely. If anyone doubts this statement, let him read the preface to Eltzbacher's "Anarchism," a standard work.

We live at present in a society based on coercion, wherein the masses, rendered helpless, are ruled by those who have obtained a monopoly of power. Anarchism seeks to overthrow that rule and substitute for it a society arranging all its affairs by mutual agreement. Obviously that can be accomplished only by the destruction of the special privileges that give the ruling class its power. Obviously the ideal can be realised only by showing the disinherited masses that their first duty is to rescue themselves from that condition of helplessness into which they have fallen; and that this can be done only by securing that individual equality of opportunity, in both production and distribution, which should be recognised as the inalienable right of every human being.

This is Anarchism's task—a great and noble one. It bases itself on truths that are the very cornerstone of Life, and its business is to present those truths so simply that a child can understand them. It must appeal to that hunger for individual justice which, whatever cynics may say to the contrary, is the dominant passion of the human heart. It has to explain that the putting these truths in practice is not impossible; that, indeed, it can be easily accomplished, and that until it is accomplished all castle-building as to the future is absurd. For my part, I do not pretend to know what particular system the disinherited will adopt when they have won their economic freedom, but I am very certain that no improvement is even thinkable until that freedom has been gained.

The land question is fundamental. Did the Congress discuss it, or show one single sign that Anarchism regards free and equal access to natural opportunities as the inherent right of every human being, and the denial of that right as the basis on which Capitalism and wage-slavery repose? Indeed it did not. On the contrary, the one representative of the peasantry who took part in the proceedings was derided when he ventured the opinion that his class, being in contact with the soil, enjoyed more real economic freedom than does the wage-worker of the city. Yet it is true, and the history of the last eight years is there to prove it; for throughout Europe the peasant has kept his head above water, and often prospered greatly, while the proletariat of the cities has been starving. Moreover, how stupid this attitude when it is considered that France is essentially a country of peasant proprietors; and how idiotic when we reflect that wars have as their one object the grabbing of additional territory out of which Monopoly, employing the slave-labour of the disinherited, expects to gather wealth!

The improved arrangements by which free producers may freely and equitably interchange their products form a large and

necessary part of Anarchist literature, it being self-evident that the existing system of finance is piracy incarnate. Do Anarchists really believe that distribution, which becomes more completely international as means of communication grow more perfect, is possible without some medium of exchange? Evidently this Congress was of that opinion, for, although it opened with much fine talk about the discussion of Anarchist principles in the columns of *Le Libertaire*, its editor, M. Colomer, insisted vehemently that the money question must be taboo. "Would you propose to open *Libertaire's* columns," he asked, "to a controversy on this subject: 'Is Authority Anarchistic?' Well; your asking us to discuss the money question in the Anarchist Union's organ seems to me no less ridiculous." Whereupon Sebastien Faure, who has some reputation, suggested that, although for internal affairs no form of money might be needed, for exchange of products with foreign countries some system of currency might be required! This proposed compromise the Congress rejected indignantly, as well it might.

What was actually accomplished was an elaborate system of organisation on Syndicalist—that is to say, on Trade Union—lines. To me that is worse than worthless, for my memory carries me back over a heart-breaking series of similar and utterly futile experiments which cover a period of more than forty years. Invariably hitherto they have come either to nothing, or have resulted in the formation of a new official hierarchy; and my hope is that Anarchists will stick to the cultivation of their proper garden, as honestly and intelligently as in them lies. The world to-day is floundering amid tumultuous seas, and the one thing it is looking for most eagerly is some beacon that will show a clear and steady light.

WM. C. OWEN.

PRINTED PAGES.

Our Enemy the State. By Gilbert T. Sadler, M.A., LL.B. London: C. W. Daniel, Graham House, Tudor Street, E.C.

Mr. Sadler's indictment of the State is backed up by facts drawn from many sources, the cumulative effect being very powerful. He sets out, first of all, to prove that the State is not society, but is "the body of men in each nation that controls the army"; and he argues that this is not only true of the modern State, but was also true of ancient Athens and Rome and the mediaeval State. To-day, in spite of all our talk about democracy and "the will of the people," the decision as to war and peace is legally the prerogative of the King—the head of the ruling class; and in August, 1914, we were plunged into war almost without warning, and certainly without our consent. The author is especially vigorous in his denunciation of the marriage laws, which are enforced by the State even when contrary to all ideas of decency and human dignity. And no Anarchist could be more unsparing in his exposure of land monopoly, financial trickery, and wage-slavery, all of which rest on the power of the State. Mr. Sadler is opposed to the use of force as a means of ridding ourselves of this monster; instead, he says "the time has come to adopt Tolstoy's suggestion to boycott the State, to refuse to pay taxes or vote or be Members of Parliament, or soldiers. Then a new unarmed Commonwealth of Friends may be created." This book will find its way into the hands of many who would hesitate to read Anarchist literature, and thus help to swell the ever-growing tide of revolt against the State and all its works.

The Child and the Home. Essays on the Rational Bringing-Up of Children. By Ben Zion Liber, M.D. \$2.50. New York: "Rational Living," 61 Hamilton Place.

Dr. Liber gives us a splendid exposition of the principle that is slowly—very slowly—gaining ground among educationists, than only in an atmosphere of freedom can we expect children to develop into strong and self-reliant individuals. We cannot hope for a race of free men and women if our children are brought up to fit in with the prejudices and privileges of the capitalist class. The author starts at the very beginning, when the babe has just been ushered into the world, and he follows it from the cradle through childhood to the day when, as youth or maiden, it plunges into the great adventure of life, frank, fearless, and open-eyed. His leading argument is that children should not be "taught" but be allowed to learn for themselves. "The more you help a child, the more helpless he will be.

It is true that the child may sometimes gain much by our experience; but our experience should not be imposed upon him. He should rather absorb it, by seeing us at work. He must make mistakes and try out his own forces in order to obtain his own experiences. He must have his own adventures, his own failures, make his own discoveries and inventions; he must find out by himself as much as possible. This is the only way in which one learns and assimilates anything." And—"the parents should be armed with the utmost patience." The book is saturated with libertarian ideas, which the author puts before us in a plain and practical manner, and we wish it a wide circulation among those who are inclined to think that parents have all the "rights" and children none. In fact, we think the sub-title of the book should have been: "Essays on the Rational Bringing-Up of Parents." Dr. Liber deals with every aspect of a child's life—food, clothing, health, games, etc.; and has also much to say on the teaching of sex, pointing out the many tragedies that happen owing to the conspiracy of silence on this subject. We have derived much pleasure from this book, in which the author shows his great sympathy with and unbounded faith in the young generation "knocking at the door."

The Poison that Destroys. By E. D. Morel. 2d. London: Independent Labour Party, 8 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

The support that people in this and other countries are giving to France—and her Allies—in her brutal treatment of the German people is based upon the almost ineradicable illusion that Germany was solely responsible for the War, that she was the wolf that made an unprovoked attack upon the innocent Allied lambs, and that in consequence no punishment can be too severe for her. Mr. Morel tears the mask from this widely fostered delusion and exposes it as a damnable and deliberate lie. He shows that the Allies were equally guilty with Germany, that for years they had been preparing for the struggle, and that, so far from the war being sprung on them without warning, the Allies had actually been working for a clash. Mr. Morel does not make vague statements, but proves his case by quotations from official documents and from books written by some of the principal actors in the drama. He asks for "a national inquiry into the causes of the War and the disaster of the Peace." There are far too many highly placed personages involved for this inquiry to be granted; if it were, and the truth really laid bare, the ruling class in this country would lose some of its leading lights. But by the time the facts become generally known the individuals responsible will have passed away, mourned as national heroes by a befooled and betrayed people.

Bars and Shadows. The Prison Poems of Ralph Chaplin. \$1.00. New York City: The Leonard Press.

The author wrote these poems whilst serving a twenty-years' sentence in a United States' prison for giving expression to opinions on the War contrary to those held by the Government. Nothing beyond that was ever proved against him, but it was sufficient to earn him the brutal sentence which he is now serving in company with many other members of the I.W.W. We would like to quote several of these poems, especially "To My Little Son," which has been printed in the workers' press far and wide; but we must content ourselves with the following lines from "Salaam" as proof that the writer's spirit is still unbroken, in spite of the cruel blows of Authority:—

"Nor can they bend me to their will
Though black their numbers swell,
Nor bribe with hopes of paradise
Nor force with fears of hell;
Me they may break but never bend,—
I live but to rebel!

I go my way rejoicingly,
I, outcast, spurned and low,
But undreamed worlds may come to birth
From seeds that I may sow.
And if there's pain within my heart
Those fools shall never know."

There is little hope for a people that allows its rulers to imprison such men as Ralph Chaplin, men "too stubborn-willed to bend our necks to Wrong."

I say, and I will sustain it against all the powers of the earth, that the slaves are as culpable as their tyrants, and I do not know whether Liberty has more cause to complain of those who invade her than of those who are fools enough not to defend her.—MIRABEAU.

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 Street, London, N.W.1.

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

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We Must Save Ourselves.

It seems almost impossible to get people to realise the true economic situation in this country. Since the trade boom collapsed three years ago the outlook has steadily got worse, and to-day it is blacker than ever. We need not quote the Government's very conservative statistics of unemployment, because there is hardly a working-class household in the country that is not suffering from its effects. But one or two instances will show the blight that has fallen upon industry. We read in the *Manchester Guardian* :—

"The days when Nottingham stood pre-eminent as the world's most prosperous lace industrial centre are now but a memory. To-day the trade is almost dead, thousands of skilled workers are walking the streets, machines are silent, the large warehouses stand empty, and manufacturers are heading for bankruptcy. Signs of even the slightest revival in the trade are too remote to speak about. . . . To-day there are not even 10,000 people engaged in the trade, and not one of these is working full time. In 1914 there were over 50,000 lace operatives in regular employment. . . . Mr. C. Wardle (the operatives' secretary) states that the employees are on the verge of starvation, and that the machines are rusting for want of use. He does not think that any amount of unity between the employers and the employed can remedy the slump."

In the cotton industry the situation is almost as bad. At the annual meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, the president, Mr. Clare Lees, said the fortunes of the cotton trade were inseparably bound up with India. In the years immediately before the war the Indian consumption of cotton piece goods was over 4,000 million yards, of which this country supplied nearly 3,000 million yards. In the year ending March, 1922, the consumption dropped to 2,800 millions, whilst at the same time the production of the Indian mills increased by 45 per cent. to over 1,700 million yards. The effect of this, said Mr. Lees, had been felt by every man and woman in Lancashire. This loss of Indian trade alone was equal to nearly two full days' work a week for the entire trade for twelve months.

The position of these two industries—lace and cotton—is typical of the position of all the industries of this country which are dependent on foreign trade—that is, that there is not the slightest hope of any appreciable change for the better for some years to come. Yet, whilst all concerned realise this fact, they seem too cowardly to face the situation. Beyond asking the Government to protect what trade there is, they do nothing but sit still and twiddle their thumbs or hang round the labour exchanges. The fatalist attitude of the great "captains of industry" is almost incredible. The president of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, quoted above, is as helpless in face of the situation as a boy who has just left school. He says:—

"When a nation became so overwhelmingly industrial as Britain and lost the balance between agricultural and manufacturing industry, it was dependent for the disposal of its products on the ability and willingness of overseas purchasers to buy them. Such a nation had handed its destiny, to some extent, into other people's keeping. That was the reason why England, victorious in the war, financially sounder than any other European country, had the greatest amount of unemployment. The cause lay outside of ourselves, and the ultimate remedy would have to come from the same cause."

That last statement is a cowardly falsehood. We have to realise that it is not the action of a great race of people to let their livelihood depend upon whether Indian peasants can afford to buy new shirts or loin cloths, or whether people thousands of miles away can buy lace curtains or lace handkerchiefs. We are no longer "the workshop of the world," and it is for the people here at home to set themselves the job of getting their living from their own soil and their own raw material. The wide-flung commerce which brought untold wealth to British landlords, capitalists, merchant princes, and many others has brought industrial slavery, wars, and other evils to the workers. Now that it has collapsed and can no longer provide them with the bare necessities of life, the workers must find other means of obtaining them. The longer the present situation lasts, the worse it will get. The disturbed state of Europe consequent on the invasion of the Ruhr by France has shattered whatever prospects there were of any improvement, and the workers are now absolutely forced to consider whether they will carve out a new life for themselves on the soil of this country or be dependent for the rest of their days on the crumbs thrown to them in charity by their masters. It is useless for them to look to their political or industrial leaders to help them. Many of them think along the same lines as the capitalists, and even those who see the uselessness of Parliamentary reforms are too timid to speak plainly on the matter. The vital importance of freeing the land from the grip of the monopolist is fully realised by many, but they shrink from the fight.

There is, however, no other way out. We must, somehow or other, regain full and free use of the soil of this country, and begin to build up a new society in which the producers of the necessities of life shall retain full control of their distribution, and where monopoly will no longer squeeze tribute from the sweat and toil of the workers. This new society will necessitate a complete revolution in our social and economic ideas, and will mean a revolutionary sweeping away of the system now in a state of decay. If our masters and rulers wish it, this great change might be brought about peacefully. But in any case, sooner or later, it must come. The old system is tottering to destruction; if we would save ourselves, we must build another more worthy of free and equal men and women.

THE MARTYRED ANARCHISTS OF RUSSIA.

DEAR COMRADES,—From our report [see page 12] you will see what monies have been received for our comrades in Bolshevik prisons, and in what manner the funds have been disbursed by our Society of Aid in Moscow. The need of the Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists of Russia is very urgent. Some are in prison and many are exiled to distant provinces. Others are now awaiting deportation to foreign countries, and they also are in needy circumstances.

And now we have received word from Petrograd about the trial of our comrades there. It is the first time the Bolshevik Government has given Anarchists a public trial, and it has done it by charging them with "banditism" and placing them in the dock together with common criminals. In this manner the Bolsheviks want to create the impression abroad that Anarchists and criminals are one and the same, that they work hand in hand, and are therefore tried together. Quite properly some of the Anarchists (as well as the Left Social Revolutionists) refused to attend the trial or reply to any questions, considering it beneath their revolutionary dignity to answer to charges of banditism and murder. Some of these idealists, who have for years been in the revolutionary movement and who participated in the October Revolution, were sentenced to death, among them being four Left Social Revolutionists. Some others have been sent to prison for many years. It is said that the death sentences have been temporarily suspended, but no positive information about it is at hand.

These are most villainous tactics on the part of the Bolsheviks, and our comrades everywhere must see to it that the people should not be misled by these methods of the "Communist" Government. The situation is very serious, and true revolutionists in Russia are all the time exposed to this despotic persecution of the Bolsheviks.

It should be clearly understood that the situation with regard

to political prisoners in Russia is to-day exactly the same as it was during the régime of the Tsars. Now as then, and perhaps even more than before, Anarchists in Russia need the help of their comrades abroad. It is most necessary to organise in every country an *Anarchist Red Cross* to aid our comrades imprisoned by the Bolsheviks—imprisoned for their loyalty to their ideals, as they used to be for the same reason under the Romanovs. We therefore urge our comrades in every country to organise such a Red Cross for the Anarchist martyrs of Russia (whether they be in prison, exiled, or deported), and to do their utmost to create *permanent aid* for these victims of Bolshevik tyranny and persecution. Such organisations and the aid they will give will not only be substantial financial support to our suffering comrades, but will also serve as a great moral force to encourage and inspire the Anarchists of Russia in and out of prison.

Comrades, the eyes of the Anarchists of Russia are turned toward you. You are their only hope. May they not suffer disappointment.

Faternally,

ALEXANDER BERKMAN, A. BORCHI (Italy), EMMA GOLDMAN, LANSING (Holland), A. LEMOINE (France), E. LINDSTAM (Sweden), A. ORLANDO (Argentina), RUDOLF ROCKER (Germany), A. SHAPIRO, C. BJORKLUND (Sweden).

Address: F. KATER (Russ. An. Aid), Kopernikusstr. 25, Berlin O. 34, Germany.

FRENCH ANARCHIST CONGRESS.

The French Anarchist Union held a three-day Congress in Paris last December, which was well attended. Sixty-six delegates, representing forty-one organisations, participated, as did also a number of Anarchists who were present merely as individuals. The discussions were animated, there was a very general exchange of opinions, and opinions differed greatly. In this free and untrammelled interchange of thought lies, as we see it, Anarchism's strength. Thus, and thus only, can growth be assured and some adequate conception of the difficulties of the social question finally be reached.

The proceedings opened with an inquiry into the circulation and financial condition of *Le Libertaire* and *La Revue Anarchiste*. The former prints 12,500 copies weekly, and has a subscription list approximating 2,500. The latter had, in August last, 1,320 subscribers. Both publications have suffered severely from the present phenomenally hard times. Naturally there is no superfluity of cash. With Anarchist papers this is inevitable, for the expenditure on outside propaganda eats up their funds.

In this connection there was lively debate as to the advisability of establishing in *Le Libertaire* a special section to be known as the "Free Tribune," in which it would be possible to express ideas, responsibility for which the editors and the Anarchist Union would not care to take. The Congress finally adopted the following resolution:—"Inasmuch as we reach our decisions not by majorities or minorities but by free accord, there should be free discussion among militant revolutionary Anarchists, apart from the course the paper itself pursues, which is determined by Congress resolutions."

A long and vigorous discussion on methods of organisation ensued, some favouring membership cards and fixed dues, others declaring that this would centralise the movement, that it smacked too much of militarism, and that only voluntarism, inspired by belief in Anarchism, produced satisfactory results. There was opposition to the constitution of a Committee of Initiative, which Colomer advocated; and more than one delegate insisted that the local groups represented the movement's real strength, the activities and utility of the Federations being over-estimated. By some, at least, the Anarchist experience with the C.G.T.U., in which such ardent faith was recently reposed, had not been forgotten. Eventually the Congress passed a long resolution in favour of fixed dues, and of a Committee of Initiative to be composed of two delegates appointed by the Federation and a "bureau" consisting of a secretary-treasurer and an assistant, chosen by the Congress.

Syndicalism, with which the third day opened, brought out divergent lines of thought, some declaring that to neglect the Syndicates was to doom our movement, others being for confining the propaganda to straight Anarchism. The Congress finally passed the following resolution:—

"The Anarchists, being of the opinion that the Syndicates, as

working-class organisations, ought, by reason of their composition and activities, to play a great rôle in social transformation and post-revolutionary reconstruction, consider that it is necessary to penetrate and animate them with our revolutionary and libertarian ideas. Believing that the present straits in which Syndicalism finds itself are due mainly to centralisation, officialdom, and the intrusion of politicians, the Anarchists declare that its evolution must be toward the one and only form which assures the proletariat complete emancipation, viz., Anarchist Federalism."

Then followed a discussion on "Anarchists in the Revolution," and this, reported very fully in *Le Libertaire*, was evidently most animated. It was opened by Meurant, who, instancing the spirit of revolt which took possession of the German Army in November, 1918, asked how it had come about that Social Democratic authoritarianism was able to turn it to its own account. His own answer was that boldness of action must go hand in hand with boldness of thought. He declared himself in favour of the abolition of all money values. Nevertheless he asserted the necessity of co-operating with the peasants, for the rôle which Anarchists would have to play was both destructive and constructive, on the largest scale. He gave a short sketch of the constructive measures that, in his opinion, it would be necessary to adopt, and we notice that among them was supervision of imported raw materials.

Content emphasised the necessity of coming to an understanding with the peasantry, and suggested that in this connection the money problem might be found a formidable stumbling-block.

Michaud, the only peasant in the Congress, then spoke. He pronounced himself sceptical as to the alleged blessings of industrial progress, and advocated the simple life. In his judgment the working man is not as free as is the peasant, but he insisted that the latter is not a revolutionist, that his evolution will be slow, and that it can be helped forward only by sharing his life and teaching through example. If a revolution should occur and assume a dictatorship phase, he would favour coming to terms with it, in order to get libertarian concessions.

This speech was criticised severely. Bastien regarded Federal, local Syndicalism, in which town and country workers would participate equally, as all-sufficient. Colomer considered that the difference between the town and country worker had been over-emphasised, and ridiculed Malatesta and Berton's contention that there would have to be some medium wherewith the city population could purchase food from the provinces. "Money a tool of Anarchism!" he cried. Should Anarchists join hands with peasant exploiters? Feraudel, on the other hand, insisted on the necessity of winning over the peasants; and Guyomard called for a special propaganda among them which should be of an anti-taxation and anti-militarist character. From this point the debate turned largely on the money question, and the following resolution was adopted:—

"The Anarchists, always eager to hasten the downfall of authoritarian institutions, will participate with unceasing activity in all popular movements, hoping thus to animate them with their Anarchist ideal. All their efforts will be directed toward bringing about a revolution that shall establish free production and free consumption among the organised workers, and they refuse absolutely to make use of or accept responsibility for any of the artifices exploitation or authority employs. Being by definition Anti-Statists, they cannot assume the right to guarantee and impose, even during a so-called transitory period, a centralising money standard for labour. Naturally, should a revolution fail to arrive at an Anarchist solution of the problem, we should be compelled to put up with money, as we have, alas! to put up with the existing régime. Should the revolution not lead to the realisation of Anarchism, and should it uphold any form of social authority, the Anarchists will continue their educational work and revolutionary activities, with a view to destroying every new form of oppression."

Fraternal greetings were voted unanimously to all political prisoners, Cottin, Gaston Rolland, Jeanne Morand, and Bousquet being specially named; and it was decided to appeal for funds in order to push the agitation for their release. Bastien, Colomer, and Guyomard were appointed delegates to the forthcoming International Anarchist Congress.

ANARCHISM VERSUS SOCIALISM.

By WM. C. OWEN.

32 pages, with Wrapper. Price, Threepence.
FREEDOM PRESS, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.1.

RUSSIAN ANARCHIST PRISONERS FUND.

(Account up to December 15, 1922.)

RECEIVED BY A. B. THROUGH "BRAND," STOCKHOLM.

103 francs, 25 francs, 32 lire (Italian), 25 lire (cheque not cashed).
 90,000 Austrian kronen (Ramus, Austria).
 80 dols. (Group Volonta, California, U.S.A.). N.B.—Received as American Express Cheque, which Express Co. refused to cash. Being investigated.
 6 dols. (Ohio). Other sums sent to Brand from America received in kronen.
 1,500 Swedish kronen. Includes 190 kronen from Inter. An. Aid Federation, New York, and 87 kronen 50 ore (25 dols.) from Lenick, Canada; both sums for Anarchist exiles in Germany, and have been turned over to them.
 1,400 Swedish kronen. One-third was paid to exiles in Germany, as directed by Argentine contributors. The 1,400 kr. was paid to me in 100,611 marks 11 pf.
 1,176 Swedish kronen. 1,500 Swedish kronen (received Dec. 1, 1922).

RECEIVED DIRECTLY BY A. B.

50 dols. (Group Volonta, California, U.S.A.).
 50 dols. (Lilian Kisliuk, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., per Freedom, London).
 96 dols. (Circolo Educativo, Boston, U.S.A., per M. E. F., New York).
 £10 (Zabelinsky, London). Received in Swedish kronen.
 13,045 German marks (Pecheff, Bulgaria). 300 German mks. (Gustave, Uruguay).
 11,277 " " (Rothestein, St. Louis, U.S.A.)
 402,500 Austrian kronen (Ramus, Austria).
 25 leva (Petkoff, Bulgaria, per A. Sh.).
 £5 (Zabelinsky, London). £25 (collected by Freedom, London).

SENT BY A. B. TO OUR AID SOCIETY IN MOSCOW.

128 francs, 32 lira (sent March, 1922). 130,000 Austrian kronen (April).
 50 dols. (April). 40 dols. (July). 400 dols. (August).
 50 dols. (August). Special fund for sick comrades in Russia.
 500 Swedish kronen (August). 2,000 Swedish kronen (October).
 1,000 " " (December). £5 (December).

REPORT OF THE MOSCOW SOCIETY FOR AIDING ANARCHISTS IN THE PRISONS OF RUSSIA.

DISBURSEMENT OF THE AMOUNTS RECEIVED BY A. B.

1922.		Roubles.
April...	Comrades in Moscow prisons...	4,501,000
"	Released comrades	1,000,000
May...	Moscow prisons...	1,718,000
"	Yaroslavl prisons	1,500,000
June...	Released comrades	2,000,000
July...	Exiled comrades	1,000,000
"	Released comrades	1,000,000
August	Moscow prisons...	20,229,000
"	Sick comrades	10,000,000
"	Exiles	3,000,000
September	Kholmogor Concentration Camp	55,576,000
"	Petrograd	10,000,000
"	Medical treatment—sick comrades	10,000,000
"	Moscow prisons...	27,330,000
"	Postal expenses...	494,000
October	Petrograd Branch of Society...	20,000,000
"	Moscow prisons...	20,599,000
"	Sick	30,000,000
"	Kholmogor Concentration Camp	114,000,000
"	Technical work...	15,000,000
"	Newspapers for exiles...	1,400,000
"	Telegrams and incidentals	1,155,000

N.B.—Above report till end of October. Special fund of 50 dols. distributed in Russia by A. Sh. for sick and disabled comrades.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

T. SHAPIRO, *Treasurer* (Moscow).S. KRASNOSCHOKOVA, *Secretary* (Moscow).

Publications Received.

"Vasilisa the Wise." A Dramatic Fairy Tale. By A. V. Lunacharski. Translated by Leonard A. Magnus. 3s. 6d. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Carter Lane, E.C.4.
 "The Passing of Usury." By Alfred B. Westrup, Ph.D. 6d. London: The Author, 141 Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2.
 "The State in the New Social Order." (Fabian Pamphlet No. 200.) By Harold J. Laski. 6d. London: Fabian Society, 25 Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.
 "The Lost Lands of Lewisham." By J. W. Graham Peace. 2d. London: Commonwealth League, 43 Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
 "The British Labour Movement." By G. D. H. Cole. 6d.—"The Development of Capitalism." By Maurice H. Dobb. 6d.—"Finance." By Emile Burns. 6d.—"English Economic History." By G. D. H. Cole. 6d.—"The Press." 6d.—London: Labour Research Department, 162 Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1.
 "Motherhood and Child Endowment." 6d. London: Trade Union Congress and Labour Party, Eccleston Square, S.W.1.
 "Esperanto for All." 2d. London: British Esperanto Association, 17 Hart Street, W.C.1.
 "Justice and the I.W.W." By Paul F. Brissenden. Chicago, Ill.: General Defense Committee, 1001 W. Madison Street.
 "Was It Murder? The Truth about Centralia." By Walker C. Smith. Seattle, Wash.: North-West District Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1857.
 "Pamyati Petra Alekseyevich Kropotkina." Moskva: Vsyerosissky Obshchestveny Komitet po Uvekovecheniu Pamyati P. A. Kropotkina.
 "Artistas y Rebeldes." Pro Rodolfo Rocker. \$2.50. Buenos Aires: Editorial Argonauta, Casilla de Correo 1940.
 "Die Opfer und Märtyrer des Justizmordes von Chicago, 11 November, 1887." Von Pierre Ramus. Wien-Klosterneuburg: "Erkenntnis und Befreiung," Schiessstattgraben 237.
 "Freiheit in der Erziehung." Von F. Domela Nieuwenhuis. Leipzig: Junge Anarchisten, A. Dressel, Hildegardstrasse 52.
 "Easy Socialism." By K. Kato. Freeman's Pamphlets, No. 1. (In Japanese.) Naha, Loochoo, Japan.
 "El Sindicalismo Libertario en Cataluna." Por Anjel Pestana y Salvador Segvi. 30c.—"Mi Palabra Anarquista." Por Manuel Marquez. 40c.—"Organizacion y Revolucion." Por Ricardo Mella. 40c.—"El Comunismo en America." Por Anjelina Arratia. 40c.—Santiago de Chile: Editorial Lux, Luisa Soto, Correo 5, Casilla 6010.

"Freedom" Guarantee Fund.

We could easily do with more money, as we are still worried about debts to comrades who have helped us in times of crisis, hoping to be repaid when our financial position improved. They are still hoping. The following sums have been received to date (February 10):—

F. Distefano 13s., A. Hendel 19s., F. Goulding 2s., J. A. Osborne £1 2s., W. M. S. 2s., E. W. Lynch 1s., T. Brothers 4s. 3d., Gateshead Sympathisers 10s., T. S. 5s. 6d., P. Hertford £1 1s., Wm. C. Owen £1, G. P. 1s., L. G. Wolfe £1, D. M. Ballard 2s. 6d., A. D. Moore 2s., B. Williams 2s., "Dawn" Group (Seattle) £2 5s. 2d., E. Z. 6d.

Frank Kitz Funeral Fund.—E. Ratcliffe 2s. 6d., Collected at Minerva Café 8s., T. K. 5s., H. P. B. 2s. 6d. There is still a deficit.

Anarchist Discussion Circle.

Every Saturday evening, 7.30., at the Minerva Café, 144 High Holborn, W.C. (entrance at rear of the building). Open to the public.

THE CRUSHING OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

Price, Fourpence; postage, 1d. Price in U.S.A., 10c.

WORKERS AND PEASANTS IN RUSSIA: How they Live.

By AUGUSTINE SOUCHY.

Price, 1s. 3d.; postage, 3d.

THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY: A Review and an Outlook.

By ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

By FOUR WELL-KNOWN MOSCOW ANARCHISTS.

Price, Sixpence each, post-free.

FREEDOM PRESS, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.1.

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

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.

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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.

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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.

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

SYNDICALISM AND THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH. By E. Pataud and E. Pouget. Paper covers, 2s. 6d.; postage, 3d.

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