

Freedom

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NOTES.

Morgan Cracks his Whip.

The outstanding feature of the Allied Conference now sitting in London is the blunt manner in which High Finance has dominated the politicians. After many conversations, Mr. MacDonald and M. Herriot agreed on a "formula" regarding the right of France to take separate action in the event of another default by Germany—one of those compromises so dear to the politicians—and everything seemed plain sailing; but they were suddenly pulled up with a jerk by the bankers, who would have nothing to do with the formula and refused to put down a penny unless France agreed to drop her claim to take separate action. The Dawes scheme or nothing, was their demand. This precious scheme was drawn up by General Dawes, a representative of Pierpont Morgan, with the express purpose of safeguarding the loans made to Europe since 1914. Speaking in the United States Senate on March 24 last, Mr. Shipstead said:—"After the war was over we were told that the day we went into the war the British Government had overdrawn its bank account with J. Pierpont Morgan and Co. to the amount of \$400,000,000, and did not have the money to 'make good' the overdraft; that a few days after we entered the war this money was taken out of the Federal Treasury of the United States and deposited in the bank of J. Pierpont Morgan. . . . I believe it is reasonable to assume that so many American dollars had found their way to the European battlefields in the shape of war contracts that about \$40 000,000,000, four million men, and the American flag had to be sent over to protect them." As the invasion of the Ruhr endangered the repayment of these enormous loans, Morgan and his banking friends are threatening to use financial pressure against France if she is obstinate. As for the German people, they are to be the slaves of High Finance for at least two generations to pay reparations, the total amount of which is not yet fixed. The germs of future wars lurk in every line of the Dawes scheme.

"Your Minister and Your Friend."

When Mr. Wheatley introduced the Housing Bill in the House of Commons on June 2, he said it would require 6s. 6d. per week from each house to meet "the burden of finance"; and if he had the power he would begin dilution on that 6s. 6d., and "I would end dilution on the last penny of the 6d." His remarks do not suggest any striking friendliness to the bankers who are going to squeeze so much money out of his housing scheme. But Mr. Snowden sings a different song. At the annual dinner of the British Bankers' Association, in replying to the toast of "His Majesty's Government," he said that in his Budget he realised the vital necessity of doing nothing that would impair the national credit. "I think the course of Government securities and gilt-edged stock during the recent weeks has proved that I have not been wrong." Certainly we saw nothing in his Budget that would scare the most timid of investors. "I was told also," he said, "though this banquet may heartily toast a Labour Government, still it was really meant for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whom you always regard, whatever party may be in office, as being in a special way your Minister and your friend. Well, I hope, whether I hold this high and responsible position for a short time or for a long time, that when the end of my tenure of office comes you will still regard me as your friend." The loud cheers from the assembled bankers were well deserved. They were a recognition of the fact that Mr. Snowden has realised his limitations as Chancellor of the Exchequer and does not intend to kick against the pricks; and the bankers felt they could afford to be indulgent to a man who was but a rubber-stamp in their hands. They soon tame Socialist lions in the City of London.

The Murder of Matteotti.

The murder of the Italian Socialist deputy Matteotti by the Fascisti was the climax to a long series of outrages on prominent politicians who had dared to speak out on the misdeeds of Mussolini's supporters. This brutal deed caused such widespread indignation in Italy and abroad that the Dictator was forced to take notice of it and to make some pretence of punishing the guilty ones. But his power to do so is doubtful, as the hordes of blackshirts seem to have got out of his control. In the course of a debate in the Senate Count Sforza asked why Mussolini had not taken action in previous outrages on deputies. "Signor Misuri had hardly left the Chamber, where he had been guilty of saying what he thought, when he was half killed on the very threshold of Parliament. Signor Amendola was attacked and wounded in broad daylight in the streets of Rome. Signor Forni was beaten till the blood ran in Milan station, in the presence of hundreds of persons. A fourth deputy, Signor Gonzales, was beaten and wounded at an electoral meeting, at the same time as the national hero Signor Rossi. . . . Fascism could fight endless battles, but not a battle of intellectual criticism. And this was what sealed the fate of Matteotti." Count Sforza has received many threats of violence for this bold speech. Mussolini has instituted a severe press censorship to stop further comment. The orgies of fire and murder which are the hall mark of Fascism have brought nothing but praise from the rulers of the world, many of whom will be only too ready to use the same methods whenever their privileges are in danger. We are under no illusions about a peaceful transformation of society in this stronghold of Capitalism.

The Downfall of Smuts.

General Jan Smuts has had a long run but at last his career of savage brutality in industrial disputes has come to an end—for the present, at any rate. In July, 1913, he and Botha were responsible for the massacre of miners on strike in Johannesburg, when twenty were killed and two hundred wounded; a deed which the Johannesburg *Worker* described as "a calculated, long-drawn murder . . . a diabolical horror which the working class on the Rand will never forget and never forgive." In the following January, when the railwaymen threatened to strike, Botha and Smuts immediately arrested the leaders. And when the Federation of Trades replied by calling a general strike, martial law was proclaimed and 60,000 Boers, fully armed, were called up and distributed on the Rand. Many hundreds were arrested, including most of the men's leaders, and eventually nine of the most prominent of them were taken from prison in the middle of the night, put on board a steamer, and deported to England. Smuts has always been the willing tool of the mineowners, and his bloody suppression of the Rand strike in 1922 will be remembered by all. In addition he has to his credit the slaughter of 300 natives by machine-guns in 1921, and the massacre of the Bondelswarts in 1923, the latter affair being the subject of an inquiry by the League of Nations. The *Daily Herald*, the organ of the Labour Party, after recalling some of the above incidents in General Smuts's career, heartily congratulated the workers of the Rand on his defeat, which, the editor said, "was as expected as it was welcome." But on the day the above comments appeared in the *Herald*, Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary, went out of his way to praise Smuts. Speaking at the annual dinner of the Corona Club, he said: "I feel I am entitled to say publicly what we all feel privately, that whatever may be the political differences, there is no man in the British Empire more entitled to our gratitude and appreciation than General Smuts." We hope the workers who voted for the Labour Party will note that Mr. Thomas's remarks have met with no protests from the party.

Push the sale of "Freedom,"

Tsar's Bribery of the French Press.

Just now, when the holders of Russian bonds are insisting on their pound of flesh, it is important that we should remember the methods used by the Tsar's Government to prepare a favourable atmosphere for the floating of these loans, some of which were used to crush the Russian Revolution of 1905.

A few months ago *Humanité* (Paris) published a series of articles, founded on documents discovered in the Russian Ministry of Finance, revealing in detail the manner in which the Tsar's Government systematically bribed the French press, and also one or two English papers, from 1904 until the Revolution of 1917 put an end to it. During this period the Franco-Russian Alliance was formed, the first Russian Revolution drowned in a sea of blood, and Finland lost its autonomy. The stream of gold that flowed to Russia (fifteen billion francs) from the thrifty folk in France, was stimulated by a press campaign bought and paid for by the Russian Government, who wished to conceal the true state of affairs in the country. In one year (1905) four million francs were spent to keep the Paris press quiet. These revelations allow us to understand how the alliance was made possible between Republican France and Imperialist Russia, and they also explain the ferocity with which the French press has hitherto opposed all attempts to come to terms with the Bolshevik Government.

More than a score of Paris daily papers were on the Tsar's pay-roll, besides many individual journalists, and a few Senators. Most of these pressmen are still in control of the bribed journals. The French press is notoriously corrupt, and is subsidised by its own Government when the latter wishes to do some propaganda for a special purpose. It is interesting to note that the Russian Government began its bribery of the press in 1904, at the direct instigation of the French Government. This is shown in a report made in 1905 by Arthur Raffalovich, a well-known financial writer, the Tsar's secret adviser upon methods of corrupting the French press. He wrote:—

"These subventions to the press began in February, 1904, at the time of the panic provoked by the outbreak of hostilities in the Far East. Upon the express request of M. Rouvier, then Minister of Finance [later Prime Minister of France] . . . the director of the [Russian] Ministry of Finance agreed to open a credit of 200,000 francs through the Russo-Chinese Bank. The Paris banks, in the common defense of Russian credit, furnished 100,000 francs in addition to our 200,000. The money was expended through the regular agent of the French Ministry, M. Lenoir, and continued until the issuance of the 800 million franc loan in May. In March, 1905, after the battle of Mukden and the failure of the French loan by fault of the bankers, Verneuil demanded an enormous sum each month until peace was signed. . . . After consulting M. Rouvier semi-officially, we agreed to increase the monthly allotment by about 110,000 francs. . . . The internal events in Russia, the disturbances, mutinies, and massacres created a very uneasy state of mind among the owners of our securities in France and it appeared that if the press were left to itself it would not fail to upset the public still more. When M. Noetzelin returned the outlook was so threatening that the Banque de Paris put 50,000 francs at our disposition, which was used as follows: 10,000 francs to the Havas Agency, 7,000 francs to Hebrard of the *Temps*, 4,000 to the *Journal* on November 30th, as much again on December 30th, plus Lenoir's commission. The costly sacrifices to Havas and the *Temps* are absolutely necessary. In our difficult circumstances the support of the majority of the press is—unfortunately—indispensable to us until the loan is put through. The papers have become greedier as the loan becomes more distant, and one may judge what they would say if given rein by the tone of a few papers which have remained outside the arrangement. . . . We must continue the 100,000 francs for three months, and look forward to paying Havas 10,000 francs for an even longer period. . . . The cancelled checks are in the hands of the Ministry of Finance."

The list of papers which were bribed included the *Temps*, the *Journal des Débats*, the *Echo de Paris*, *Figaro*, the *Gaulois*, the *Journal*, the *Petit Parisien*, the *Matin*, the *Liberté*, the *Presse*, the *Patrie*, the *Libre Parole*, the *Petit Journal*, the *Eclair*, the

Rappel, the *Radical*, the *Intransigeant*, the *Lanterne*, and a host of others, especially the financial papers.

The *Temps*, the mouthpiece of the French Government, was one of the chief recipients of the Russian gold, and during the World War it sold itself completely to the Russian Government. Some of the details of the contract, signed at Petrograd on January 15th, 1916, justify this statement:—

"The Imperial Ministry of Finance and M. Charles Rivet, representative of the *Temps* in Russia, have agreed as follows:

"The special numbers of the *Temps* devoted to the financial and economic life of the Empire will appear as free supplements, folded in with the paper, beginning in 1916. There will be two numbers per year, to appear toward the end of January and of June. M. Charles Rivet, correspondent of the *Temps* in Russia, is authorised in a letter signed by the director of the *Temps* Corporation, dated January 14th, 1916, to prepare the aforesaid supplements in collaboration with the Minister of Finance. To facilitate relations and in the interest of the publication all matters concerning it, journalistic or financial, are exclusive concern of the Petrograd office of the *Temps* and are to be handled directly between the chancellery of the Ministry of Finance and M. Charles Rivet. The Russian Ministry of Finance has entire freedom to select the text of the Russian numbers, which will be published only under its supervision. . . . Furthermore, the Russian Ministry of Finance, exclusively through the Minister's chancellery, may transmit to M. Rivet or to his representatives such economic or financial news as may seem to it of a nature to interest the readers of the *Temps*, and this news will be printed in that paper. . . . The Russian Imperial Ministry of Finance will recompense M. Rivet or his representatives for the telegraphic expenses of the *Temps*, to the extent of a maximum of 500 words per day, or of 15,000 words monthly, this to continue until the conclusion of the diplomatic pourparlers and of the events which follow the war and constitute its liquidation. . . . The *Temps* assumes all the cost of printing and distributing the Russian numbers. The Ministry of Finance grants M. Charles Rivet an annual subsidy of 150,000 francs."

But the French papers were not alone in their greed for Russian gold, for in April, 1914, we find M. Davidov, of the Russian Ministry of Finance, writing that he had been approached by the editor-in-chief of the *Monde Illustré*, and that while he had been unable to meet M. Dupuy-Mazuel's request in full he had felt its importance and had made a verbal report to the Czar, "who approved my views and agreed to grant M. Dupuy-Mazuel a subvention of 10,000 rubles, like that received by the *Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and a few other papers." This explains why Lord Northcliffe refused to "shake hands with murder." It also explains why Lord Burnham, the Jewish proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*, is opposed to recognition of the Bolshevik Government, because they killed a few aristocrats, but was eulogistic in his praise of the Tsar, whose Black Hundreds massacred so many thousands of his co-religionists.

Our Sham Democracy.

We do not say that the poor Englishman has no pleasures or even that he has no privileges, certainly not that he has no benefit from living in a civilised order. We say this, and with absolute certainty, that he has such pleasures, privileges, and social benefits as he would have if he lived under the worst Sultan in the world. There has never been in England, or in Europe, an autocracy so capricious or a caste system so cruel, that it did not leave the plain man all that the "British Constitution" has left him to-day. Health, sex, the seasons, the affections, a good joke, these are certainly the chief things needful: it is tenable that they are the only things needful. But if there be anything more, if there be any use in political power or liberty, it is not here. If democracy has any advantage over despotism, we have not the advantage of that advantage. If a clear law of the land is of value, there is no law of the land. If being tried by your peers is of value, the poor are not tried by their peers. If a free press is good, the press is not free. If real votes are good, the votes are not real. If there be any pleasure, if there be any dignity, in helping (however remotely) to rule the city or to guide the tribe, of that pleasure, of that dignity, the poor Englishman has nothing. Not a little, not a very little, but nothing.

G. K. CHESTERTON,

THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY STAGED IN BERLIN.

"Fahnen": a Dramatic Novel, in 19 scenes. By Alfons Paquet.
At the "Volksbühne," Berlin.

After thirty-seven years, our comrades Spies, Parsons, Lingg, Engels, and Fischer, forgotten by many of their own generation and unknown to the generation of our time, have been rescued from oblivion. "Fahnen" is an attempt of a German dramatist to utilise the tragedy of the judicial murder of 1887. I say "an attempt" advisedly, because the author has only partially succeeded in bringing out the great social importance of that historic event; while in his characterisation of the men strangled on the gallows on the black Friday, November 11, 1887, he has failed completely.

To fashion a work of art of the Labour struggle of the "eighties," the part played by the Anarchists, and the crime committed by the State of Illinois, thorough familiarity with the subject itself is needed—understanding of and sympathy with the personalities of the principal actors in the drama are needed. Mr. Paquet seems to be lacking in these essentials. His work, therefore, must needs be deficient.

However, I do not mean to say that "Fahnen" lacks dramatic value altogether. On the contrary, I think the play has great possibilities. But it needs a great master of the events of 1886-87, and it requires much more concentration of form. Thus, several scenes could easily be eliminated with much benefit to the play.

To those unfamiliar with the historic background of the social tragedy in Chicago, the drama on the stage of the Volksbühne may have seemed a work of art, faultless in its delineation of characters and its historical accuracy. But for us who have lived through the appalling details of the crime enacted by the State of Illinois at the behest of its industrial lords, to those to whom the clashing of the economic interests and the death of the martyred protagonists have been the most deciding factor in their lives, "Fahnen" has many discordant notes, painfully jarring.

Perhaps I can best illustrate what I mean by two quotations from the synopsis prepared by the Volksbühne in explanation of Mr. Paquet's play. They read:—

"Die Hervorhebung einzelner Personen als 'Helden' musste er ablehnen; wo Masse in Bewegung gebracht wird, ist kein Raum für Aussenleiter." (The author had to repudiate emphasis upon individuals as "heroes.") And again: "In den 'Fahnen' wird keinem Parteiprogramm ein Lobleid gesungen." ("Fahnen" sings no song of praise of any particular party programme.)

This approach to the tragedy of Chicago is mainly responsible for the defects in "Fahnen." Not that I look to art as to the channel of propaganda except in an indirect way. By a forceful interpretation of life and all the complexities of social conflicts, art always brings understanding of these complexities. But it is one thing not to emphasise the heroic in individual personalities, or not to sing "ein Lobleid" of a particular political programme. It is another to so blur the picture that it is no longer art but a jumbling together of events glossed over by an artistic veneer. In a measure this has happened to "Fahnen."

There can be no discussion of the part played by the mass in the eight-hour struggle; but the revolutionary impetus to that struggle was given by the men who died on the gallows on the 11th of November, 1887. They gave the mass-movement social depth, its idealism, and its inspiration. Spies, Parsons, Lingg, Engels, Fischer, and their comrades were the beacon illuminating the path of the masses towards a new social life based on freedom and economic equality. It was precisely this social philosophy—Anarchism—for which five men were done to death and three sentenced for life by that insatiable monster, Capitalism.

It cannot be that Alfons Paquet is ignorant of the part Anarchism played in the arrest, conviction, and murder of these men. Over and over again was it emphasised by Judge Gary, Grinnell, the prosecuting Attorney, and by the kept press that it was *not* the eight-hour movement but Anarchism which was on trial. Out of fear and terror of the spectre of Anarchism was the rope woven which was placed on the neck of its proclaimers. Any attempt, then, to blur this vital fact, or to weaken the outstanding figures in that crime for the purpose of accentuating the importance of the mass, seems arbitrary historically false, and inartistic to boot.

Let us see how Mr. Paquet conceives his characters. Spies

appears vain, conceited, even weak in the supreme moment. Parsons is a sort of good-natured dub. Fischer looks the part of the rebel pictured in the police gazette. Lingg, the most dominant figure of the Chicago drama, is barely recognisable. Yet the mere reading of the speeches of the men in court, their depth, their proud defiance, their firmness to the end, should have helped Mr. Paquet to bring them out in strong relief—characters of Greek grandeur and pathos.

Most of the scenes also suffer from defects. The court scene, for instance—the most powerful in the actual drama of thirty-seven years ago—on the stage of the Volksbühne becomes lifeless and farcical. Yet what material! What dramatic intensity! The pompous Judge Gary! The scheming, shrewd, unscrupulous prosecuting Attorney! The packed jury! The terrorised and bought witnesses! The air thick with hate and vengeance! Then the eight men against this black sea of conflict and death, standing out like giants in their idealism, their faith, their all-inclusive love of humanity. What material for the imaginative artist!

In "Fahnen" this scene should have been enhanced by the entry of Albert Parsons, who comes from his place of safety into the arena to be devoured by the wild beasts. Parsons, with the simplicity of a child, the sweet solidarity of the comrade, walking right into death in order to take his place by the side of his brothers on the felons' bench. It requires but little vision to see at once the intense possibilities of that moment. Alfons Paquet fails to avail himself of that moment, hence the scene is flat—is indeed hardly of any importance.

The last scene in "Fahnen" is the one that saves the play from being mere melodrama. It is the funeral scene—the workers laying at rest their precious dead. Multitudinous banners baptised in the blood of the hosts who had strewn the path of social emancipation reaching out unto the red dawn. Old Dietzgen, in life separated from the men, and now brought close through their death, hurls anathemas of the oppressed into the craven ears of their traducers and proclaims the approach of the day of human brotherhood. His voice, taken up by the vast mass and accompanied by the stirring rhythm of music, rises higher and ever higher, with the red banners flying against a red dawn. It is a scene profoundly moving and beautiful.

This scene proves the dramatic fibre in Mr. Paquet. If only he will go back to the events of 1886-87 and make a deeper study of the personalities of the principal actors of that period, "Fahnen" may yet become a great historical drama of social significance, a real work of art.

The acting of "Fahnen," compared with that of "Masse, Mensch" and "King Hunger," by the company of the Volksbühne was very poor. But what interested me more than the acting was the fact that such a play could be given at all in Germany. I know of no other country where it could have been staged. America being the arch-criminal in the tragedy of 1887, need not be expected to face the resurrected. But nearly all other countries would refuse to tolerate the revolutionary appeal of "Fahnen." To be sure, the German Revolution has not struck very deep into the vitals of the masses, but it has evidently advanced free expression if "Fahnen" can be produced.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Berlin, June, 1924.

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Labour's "Small Instalments."

The Labour Party are in no danger of being charged with exceeding the speed limit. Before their advent to office their speakers often promised the workers that if ever they got on the Government benches of the House of Commons they would soon get busy driving nails into the coffin of Capitalism; but six months have passed and the first nail has yet to be hammered home. Their housing proposals, in Mr. Wheatley's own words, are "real capitalism—an attempt to patch up a capitalist ordered society." The Budget, as Mr. Snowden told us, was "a step towards a cherished Radical ideal of a free breakfast table"; and their unemployment insurance and old-age pension proposals are but extensions of schemes established years ago by capitalist Governments. The unemployed, whose numbers are again on the up-grade, are still waiting for the first of the great schemes which were to reduce their ranks; although in the Labour Party's election manifesto last December they boasted that they alone had a "positive remedy" for unemployment.

Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Ponsonby, his assistant at the Foreign Office, have been active members of the Union of Democratic Control, which aims at the abolition of secret diplomacy and the control of foreign affairs by Parliament. But when M. Herriot, the new French Premier, had an interview with Mr. MacDonald at Chequers, British journalists were refused information as to what took place, and the contradictory statements since issued here and in Paris and Brussels have confused everyone. One of the four cardinal points of the Union of Democratic Control is: "No province shall be transferred from one Government to another without the consent, by plebiscite or otherwise, of the population of such province." Yet we are told that the Government have agreed to give territory in Jubaland (East Africa) to the Italian Government, presumably to get Mussolini's support on the question of reparations. Again, Mr. MacDonald sends messages to the Indians and Egyptians in the autocratic manner which his party denounced in Lord Curzon's days. So far from Parliament or the people having control over foreign affairs, they are as much ignored now as ever they were by previous Governments. Even in the matter of the blackguardly bombing operations in Mesopotamia, Mr. Leach (the Under-Secretary for Air), when questioned about it in the House of Commons, said: "I cannot honestly say we have made any change in the policy of the late Government." As the French say: "The more it changes, the more it is the same." No wonder the so-called "extremists" from the Clyde are getting restive. For our part, we fail to see why the workers should have troubled to vote for a Labour Government if the policy of "continuity" is to be applied to affairs at home and abroad.

Of course, the Labour Government have plenty of apologists, whose main excuse is that they are only a minority Government and have no real power. Mr. Clynes says they are charged with having broken pledges, but "Labour thought too much of pledges to break any. Results were only being obtained in the form of small instalments." They are pledged, however, to smash the capitalist system, and the workers may well ask when the first blow is going to be delivered. Up to the present the "small instalments" are calculated to strengthen the system. As to curbing the capitalists by legislation, Mr. Snowden in his book, "Labour and the New World," admits that all such previous legislation had "given to Capitalism a longer lease of life than it could have enjoyed had it been left to work out its will without restriction and control." Why, then, introduce more restrictive legislation?

The truth is that the Labour Government is an organised

hypocrisy. Its members are mainly concerned with clinging to office. For that purpose they bring forward proposals which they hope will gain them votes from electors with a capitalist outlook, and if at the next election they are returned with a majority over the other parties they will be compelled to follow a policy which will retain them the support of these electors. They are walking in a circle which leads nowhere, and the workers who expect the Labour Government to help them to break their chains are living in a fool's paradise. As in Russia, their new masters will speak of a "transition period" between wage-slavery and freedom; but unless the workers take matters into their own hands their children and their children's children will still be living in the transition period, with freedom ever eluding them like a will-o'-the-wisp.

Caught in the Act!

"The relationship between the Government and the police would be one of trust, confidence, and real friendship."—Mr. ARTHUR HENDERSON, Home Secretary, at the annual dinner of the Criminal Investigation Department, March 6.

On June 27 last we received a registered letter from a correspondent in San Francisco, and on opening it we found, folded up in the letter, a sheet of notepaper bearing the following message:—

"N.W.D.O.
"25-6-24.

"The Secretary.

"Regd. letter San Francisco No. 41679 submitted.

"T. J. FREAIL,
"for Pmr."

At first we were rather puzzled, but it soon dawned on us that the letter had been opened by the Post Office, and that the official who had the job of reading our correspondence had been careless enough, when resealing the letter, to enclose in it the note to the Secretary of the Post Office written by the official at the North-Western District Office when forwarding our letter.

Of course, we wanted to know more about the matter, so we wrote to the Postmaster of the N.W.D.O. and asked him on whose authority letters addressed to us were opened before delivery, as we were anxious to know who does it and for what purpose. On July 1 we received a formal printed acknowledgment of the receipt of our letter, informing us that the matter was receiving attention. After sending another letter pressing for an early reply, we received the following communication:—

"General Post Office, London, E.C.1.

"14th July, 1924.

"Sir,

"I am directed by the Postmaster-General to refer to your letter of the 28th of June, to the Postmaster of the North-Western District, and to inform you that certain letters addressed to you have been opened in pursuance of a Warrant issued by the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

"I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

"L. SIMON,

"Mr. T. H. KEELL."

"For the Secretary.

We are not surprised at this incident, as it but proves the truth of our contention that all Governments act alike. The individual is nothing, the State everything; and in the name of the State even the most highly principled of Labour Governments will descend to the degraded level of the spy. It is the nature of the beast, and that is all there is to say about it. The little note quoted above will be treasured as a reminder of the folly of hoping for the regeneration of society through the ballot-box.

"Workers' Dreadnought."

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, editor of the *Workers' Dreadnought*, announces that the present weekly series of the paper, which has continued for ten years, will now cease, and that a new and enlarged monthly series will commence in September. The paper will contain articles on Communist economics, historical, literary, and scientific subjects, illustrations, fiction, and verse.

The Persecutions in Russia.

The Communists are still venting their spleen on us for our agitation on behalf of the revolutionists in Russian prisons. In our last issue we dealt with the foolish charge in the *Workers' Weekly*, that this agitation was inspired by the Russian Whites. Since then a similarly foolish and malevolent attack has appeared in the *Commune* (June), from the pen of Guy Aldred. He deals specially with the manifesto of the International Working Men's Association and the covering letter and resolution sent out to the Trade Unions of this country by a Protest Committee comprising the Workers' Friend Group, the Anarchist Red Cross, and the Freedom Group. And he wants to know what these organisations are and who constitute them.

For the benefit of those readers of the *Commune* who may also read *FREEDOM* ("that capitalist rag," as Mr. Aldred once termed it in the *Spur*), the Workers' Friend Group is a Jewish Anarchist Group that issues the *Arbeiter Freund* ("Workers' Friend"), now temporarily suspended. The Anarchist Red Cross is the English section of an international organisation formed for the purpose of helping Anarchists in prison in Russia, Spain, Italy, and other countries, and has raised considerable sums for that purpose. Balance sheets of the Russian fund have appeared in *FREEDOM*. As to the Freedom Group, which Mr. Aldred says is "non-existent," it is the same as it always was, the group that issues *FREEDOM*. The International Working Men's Association, which he also says does not exist, is an organisation of Free Syndicalist Unions, with affiliations in France, Germany, and Spain, and publishes a monthly bulletin. Its great crime in the eyes of Communists is that it refuses to bow the knee to Moscow or to join the Red Trade Union International, for which reason it is bitterly assailed by the Communist press on the Continent.

But the malice of Mr. Aldred's attack can be seen by what follows:—

"There is no International Working Men's Association to-day. Those who issue this manifesto know this. How do they hope to serve their comrades by a fraudulent manifesto of this description? If Anarchists and Socialists are falsely imprisoned in Russia, let us protest simply and earnestly. But don't let us pile off on a trusting proletariat fraudulent manifestoes as though we were agents of a capitalist police department, instead of honest revolutionists struggling for and towards social liberty. Don't let us use bourgeois White denunciations like 'criminals' in the name of revolutionary activity! That suggests a non-proletarian origin."

The mean and spiteful insinuations in that paragraph are not even original, but a repetition of those used by the editor of the *Workers' Weekly*, and the writer is but following out the advice of Lenin, who said:—"In attacking political opponents, the form and not the substance is of importance. . . . The form then must call out in the reader or the hearer hatred, disgust, loathing for those who are being attacked. The aim of the form must be not to convince, but to disrupt the ranks of the opponents. . . . The form of the attack must be such that it should call forth the most evil thoughts and suspicion." In 1919 Mr. Aldred wrote: "We affirm our loyalty to the Bolshevik Government," and in the article under discussion he has tried to prove his loyalty by adopting the tactics of Lenin in dealing with opponents. Our readers will judge for themselves how little honesty and sincerity there is in his demand for the facts about the jailings in Russia.

For three years the Anarchist and Syndicalist press of Europe and North and South America has been calling attention to this persecution of Revolutionists in Russia. In our issue of June, 1921, we published a manifesto which was sent to Lenin and all the principal Bolshevik organisations by the Anarchist and Anarchist-Syndicalist organisations in Moscow. The only comment from Communists in this country was a letter to the *Workers' Dreadnought* saying it was a forgery. In August, 1922, we published another long manifesto signed by most of the best-known Anarchists of Europe and America. Again it was ignored by the Communists. Since then we have published statements by Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, A. Shapiro, and Mollie Steimer, all of whom have lived for

years in Russia, the last two having been imprisoned by the Bolsheviks. Still the Communists and Guy Aldred ignored them, and they have only now launched their scurrilous attacks because when we circularised the Trade Unions their members wrote so many letters to the Communist Party that some notice had to be taken. But even now they do not dare to confute the charges made, but simply tell their gullible followers that we are working hand in hand with the Russian Whites and the *Morning Post*.

Mr. Aldred asks why our comrades are in prison, what are their offences. We have said on many occasions that the charges against them are very seldom stated, and only in exceptional cases have they ever been tried. But the real reason why they are persecuted was stated by Lenin at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party, when he said in his brutally frank way that the most merciless war must be declared not only against Anarchists, but against "all petty bourgeois Anarchist and Anarchist-Syndicalist tendencies," which, according to him, were developing even within the Russian Communist Party itself. That is why our comrades are imprisoned, and all the silly talk about "armed banditry" and counter-revolution is so much camouflage.

Why Aldred should have dragged in the name of Makhno we cannot imagine, but his statement that Makhno "proves his revolutionary heroism to-day by serving as a general in the Polish White Guards, a tool of French reaction," is a cold calculated, and deliberate lie. We sent a copy of the *Commune* to Emma Goldman, who writes from Berlin as follows:—

"As to Makhno being in the employ of the Polish White Guard or French reaction, that is all a repetition of the outrageous defamations spread from Moscow. There is not a word of truth in the assertion, any more than that Makhno was with the Wrangel forces. Makhno was and is the most extraordinary figure of the Russian Revolution. He has defended Russia against every enemy, including the Bolsheviks. And he has defended it not with words, but by his marvellous strategic genius, his flaming courage, and his passionate devotion to the Revolution. His sterling honesty and his revolutionary zeal are beyond such defamations as repeated by Guy Aldred. The very fact that Makhno now lives in the utmost poverty—in fact, starvation—that he is denied the right to live in Warsaw, but is exiled to a small hamlet where he is in constant danger of his life from the Whites as well as the Bolsheviks, that an attempt upon his life was made only recently, should be sufficient proofs against the lies spread by Moscow and repeated by Aldred."

For some years Mr. Aldred has printed dishonest statements and criticisms about *FREEDOM* and the Freedom Group, which we have always ignored because of their dishonesty, but on this occasion we feel compelled to deal with his article for the sake of our comrades who are at the present moment suffering in the prisons of Russia and who are unable to defend themselves against the lies and insults of "loyal" adherents of the Dictatorship. To a certain extent Aldred's article has compensations for us, as it will no longer be possible for him to claim any connection with the Anarchist movement, to which at one time he professed adherence. "Loyalty" to Governments and Anarchism are as far apart as the poles.

In our next issue we shall publish "An Open Letter to Guy Aldred," by Alexander Berkman, which arrived too late for insertion in this issue.

Publications on the Russian Revolution.

- Workers and Peasants in Russia: How they Live.** By AUGUSTINE SOUCHY. 2s., post-free.
- Anarchism and the World Revolution.** By FRED S. GRAHAM. 1s., post-free.
- The Crushing of the Russian Revolution.** By EMMA GOLDMAN. 4d.; postage, 1d.
- The Russian Revolution and the Communist Party.** By FOUR WELL-KNOWN MOSCOW ANARCHISTS. 6d., post-free.
- The Kronstadt Rebellion.** By ALEXANDER BERKMAN. 6d., post-free.
- The Workers' Opposition in Russia.** By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY. 6d.; postage, 1d.

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

THE LAWLESS LAW.*

"Who will defend us from our guardians?" is an oft-quoted question that occurs to us after reading the book by Mr. Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labour of the United States from 1913 to 1921, in which he deals with the hysterical outburst against aliens which was generally known as "the Red Crusade." The tale begins in May, 1919, when sixteen explosive packets were intercepted in the post; at the same time another was delivered at Senator Hardwick's home in Georgia, and on being opened by a coloured servant it exploded and blew off both her hands. Immediately the papers were full of stories, supplied by the detectives, about a mythical "Committee of Five," described as the "most desperate band of Anarchists ever organised in the United States." But in spite of all the talk about "imminent arrests," no trace of the culprits was ever found, and in a few weeks, as Mr. Post says, "the sensation was over and detective chatter about the postal bombs had lost its headline value." In the early days of June, however, a fresh scare took place. From no less than seven cities there came reports of bombing assaults upon residences, the most sensational being at Washington, where a bomb damaged the front of Attorney-General Palmer's residence, the man who was supposed to have placed it there being blown to pieces, only unrecognisable bits of flesh and shreds of clothing being found. An agitation at once began for laws to deport all alien "radicals," and to curb American agitators. Mr. Palmer, the Attorney-General, promptly appointed a notorious private detective as chief of an information division in the Department of Justice, which at once became a secret police centre. Although reported several times as being hot on the trail of the criminals, the police never connected anyone with the explosions.

But Mr. Palmer decided that something must be done, and he entered upon a crusade aimed at the Communist Party, the Communist Labour Party, and the Federation of Unions of Russian Workers. The papers were supplied with scare information that the Attorney-General was going "to stamp out the 'red' menace," and on November 7th, 1919, simultaneous raids upon meetings of the Federation of Russian Workers took place. In the following January, however, the most spectacular of these raids took place. Numerously recruited for the occasion from private detective and strike-breaking agencies, and actively supported by local police authorities, the detective auxiliary of the Department of Justice raided lawful assemblages in thirty-three cities and towns. Many thousands of arrests were made without warrant; indescribable brutality was used, the victims being crowded together in rooms and cells without proper ventilation or sanitation, in one case only one closet being available for 800 prisoners. Citizens and aliens were arrested indiscriminately, but the former were released after a short imprisonment. Property was destroyed, libraries ransacked, and literature carried away. Not one bomb was found, and only four pistols. And although merciless "third degree" methods were used, not one conspiracy came to light.

Having secured his victims, Mr. Palmer announced his intention of deporting them, and demanded deportation warrants from the Secretary of Labour, under the impression that his demand was sufficient for their issue. But Secretary of Labour Wilson and Mr. Post, his assistant, refused to grant the warrants without proof of guilt according to law, and a great part of this book records the bitter struggle between the Department of Justice and the Department of Labour. Mr. Palmer fed the press with stories to the effect that Mr. Post "had cancelled the deportation warrants of more than 1,000 Reds arrested by the Department of Justice, and had let loose on the country these public enemies, some of them fugitives from justice." But Mr. Post stuck to his guns. As a matter of fact, only a very few of the thousands arrested were proved to be "revolutionary," even in the Palmer sense, and most deportations were solely on the ground of membership of the Communist Party; the Communist Labour Party was proved a legal organisation. The Department of "Justice" did everything in its power to prevent its victims putting up the defence to which they were legally entitled,

and fixed excessive and impossible amounts as bail to keep them in prison. It acted as prosecutor, judge, and jury, and sentenced them without hearing. Nineteen out of twenty had joined the Communist Party branch for social purposes and had no idea of its aims and objects, but membership being proved, deportation followed.

As a result of his stand for legality, Mr. Post had to face impeachment proceedings instigated by Mr. Palmer's supporters; but he put up such a spirited defence that the proceedings fizzled out.

And the thousands of victims of these brutal and illegal raids—what compensation had they for all their sufferings? None at all. After being kept in prison for months, on false evidence faked up by detectives anxious to please their superiors, these men were released, to find their homes broken up, their jobs gone, and misery and suffering the lot of themselves and their families—all brought upon them by those whose supposed profession is to protect individuals in their "pursuit of happiness," as the Declaration of Independence says.

Mr. Post's book is a revelation of the methods of "100 per cent. Americanism," and should be a certain cure for those deluded individuals who think the State originated for the protection of the weak.

NEWS FROM CHINA.

DEAR COMRADE,—Thank you for your kind reply and for the pamphlets on the Russian Revolution. I translated Souchy's "The Workers and Peasants of Russia," some of which has appeared in the second number of the *Freeman*, the organ of the Shanghai comrades. This monthly contains about fifty pages. We divide it into several parts—(1) Criticism of current events; (2) translations of the works of Kropotkin and others which have not yet been translated; (3) translations of the books on the Russian Revolution which you sent me, reports direct from Russia and other countries, and so on.

Besides this purely Anarchist monthly, we publish the *China Labour Herald*, which appears every ten days. It is the organ of the Shanghai Labour Confederated Association, and is anti-Bolshevik, tending somewhat to Syndicalism. We cannot propagate Anarchism among the workers, but Anarchist Syndicalism.

Now I will tell you of some Communist trickery. Several days ago the Communists in Shanghai spread a rumour that the editor of the *Labour Herald* (Mr. Tsao-Chou, an Anarchist) was a spy of the Northern Government. (As the Communists are officials in the Southern Government, please notice that, by order of the Third International, all Chinese Communists assist the *Republican Party* to provoke the *Social Revolution*!) The Communists also bribed two or three representatives of the Labour Unions of the Confederated Association (there are twenty-four Unions in the Association) to protest against Mr. Tsao-Chou. And they reported to the police that our comrade was an Anarchist and was energetically propagating "dangerous thoughts" among the labourers. The result was that Mr. Tsao-Chou was arrested by the English police; but as they could not find any grounds for punishing him as an Anarchist, he was fined 10 dollars and released. I doubt whether there are any Communists in any other country so mean and so base as those in China!

We wish to add an Esperanto column to our *Freeman* in order that comrades in other countries may know of our movement in China. But we cannot send to them because we have very few addresses. Will you help us to get over this difficulty?—With best wishes, cordially yours,

KEH-KONG WOO.

Care of Hujncz, Commercial Press, Paosan Road, Shanghai.

April 8.

[We hope all Esperantist comrades will write to our Chinese comrades.—ED. FREEDOM.]

We Want to Buy

P. Kropotkin's "Great French Revolution."

Dr. Paul Eltzbachers's "Anarchism."

Jean Grave's "Moribund Society and Anarchy."

FREEDOM—Complete file from October, 1886, to December, 1890. Good prices will be paid for any of the above if in fair condition. Before sending books, state price required. Address, Manager, Freedom Press.

* "The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-Twenty." By Louis F. Post. \$1.50. Chicago: Charles Kerr and Co., 341 East Ohio Street.

LENIN AND PROUDHON.

It is hard indeed for politicians to astonish us, but we confess to having caught our breath when reading certain quotations from Lenin which *Humanité*, of Paris, has thought fit to publish. Here is one extract:—

"The whole history of bourgeois Parliamentary countries shows that ministerial changes are of very little importance, for all the effective work, all the administration, is in the hands of a gigantic army of functionaries. Well, this army is impregnated, to the very marrow of its bones, by a spirit essentially undemocratic. It is attached by thousands and thousands of bonds to the great organisms of capitalistic exploitation. To attempt, by means of this State machinery, to bring about such social transformations as the suppression, without compensation, of the great land properties, the monopoly of cereals, etc., is to fool oneself to the limit, and at the same time to deceive the people. This machinery may serve a republican bourgeoisie for the creation of a republic under the form of 'a monarchy without a monarch,' such as is the Third French Republic, but it is absolutely incapable of realising reforms; of, I will not say abolishing, but simply limiting, in any manner more or less effective, the rights of capital and the 'sacred' rights of individual property."

This might have been written by an Anarchist, and Lenin drives the lesson home by illustrations taken from the histories of England, France, and Russia. The old political machinery, he maintains, is worse than useless, and against it he sets up the Soviets as representing a "type of State machinery infinitely more elevated, incomparably more democratic." Perhaps it is needless for us to remark that Lenin wrote all this, and much more in a similar vein, when he was still in opposition. He seizes power, and, presto! what a change! Then the "incomparably more democratic" becomes a thing of scorn, and the Dictatorship looks after its own skin by maintaining and strengthening all the old officialdom, including, with much enlargement both of numbers and power, the Tsarist police.

But why on earth did *Humanité*, one of the Dictatorship's adoring henchmen, resurrect this awkward document? It even has the stupidity to declare that in it Lenin "has set out, in a manner which is irrefutable, the question of political power to the proletariat."

"One of the most solemn moments in the evolution of authority," wrote Proudhon nearly a century ago, "was that of the promulgation of the Decalogue before the people, prostrate at the foot of Sinai." And he adds: "All legislations have adopted this style; all, when addressing Man, employ the formula of sovereignty—Thou shalt not assemble. Thou shalt not print. Thou shalt not read. Thou shalt respect thy representatives and thy officials, whom the fortune of the ballot or the good pleasure of the State has given thee. Thou shalt obey the laws their wisdom has decreed. Thou shalt pay faithfully the taxes they have imposed. And thou shalt love the Government, thy Lord and God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength; because the Government knows better than thyself what thou art, what thou art good for, and what is good for thee, and has the power to chastise those who disobey its commandments, and to reward, even to the fourth generation, those who are agreeable to it."

"O, personality of man! Can it be that for sixty centuries you have grovelled in this abjection? You call yourself holy and sacred, but you are only the prostitute, the unwearied and unpaid prostitute, of your servants, of your monks, and of your soldiers. You know it, and you permit it. To be GOVERNED is to be kept in sight, inspected, spied upon, directed, law-driven, numbered, enrolled, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, estimated, valued, censured, commanded, by creatures who have neither the right, nor the wisdom, nor the virtue to do so.....To be GOVERNED is to be at every operation, at every transaction, noted, registered, enrolled, taxed, stamped, measured, numbered, assessed, licensed, authorized, admonished, forbidden, reformed, corrected, punished. It is, under pretext of public utility, and in the name of the general interest, to be placed under contribution, trained, ransomed, exploited, monopolized, extorted, squeezed, mystified, robbed; then at the slightest

resistance, the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, despised, harassed, tracked, abused, clubbed, disarmed, choked, imprisoned, judged, condemned, shot, deported, sacrificed, sold, betrayed; and, to crown all, mocked, ridiculed, outraged, dishonoured. That is government; that is its justice; that is its morality. And to think that there are democrats among us who pretend that there is any good in government; Socialists who support this ignominy, in the name of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."

THE MODERN PATRIOTISM.

The State's patriotism, the capitalist's patriotism, is, when compared with the national revolutions of a century ago, a retrogression. It goes back on the road that reason and humanitarianism have beaten out, and relegates us to the brutality and instinct of the beast. Moreover, its sincerity is problematical. In his uncompleted treatise on this subject, Bakunin noted, in 1870, that "bourgeois utilitarianism had killed patriotism." What could be more truly and shamefully international than the great banking interest, or High Finance? What could be more ignobly international than that speculation in the blood and hunger of the people which the Stock Exchanges conduct by wire from New York to Paris, from Rome to Berlin, from London to Buenos Aires, day in and day out, hour after hour, without an instant's pause? And every rise and fall in prices means more tears and blood.

However, whether the capitalists and our rulers do or do not believe personally in that patriotism their journalists and orators exalt is unimportant. It is certain that this patriotism which translates itself into militarism, into imperialism, into colonialism, into placing its iron heel on countries of another tongue and race; which violates the fatherland of others, and makes all this an obligatory official religion and an instrument of tyranny—it is certain that such patriotism is a reversion to barbarism and to the primitive morality of the savage. It is all the worse because, while the savage is sincere, our capitalists and rulers have formulated a morality dictated by their class interests, and caste or personal ambitions; one which has no connection with that sentiment for the fatherland whose name they exploit.

The dominant classes and castes, by appealing to this sentiment, lead astray and demoralise a great portion of the population, and especially the inexperienced young. On this they bring to bear all the enormous forces of moral influence, direct and indirect, at their disposal, such as the press, the school, art and literature, all of which have become most mercenary. The young of all classes succumb to these maleficent suggestions and absorb this poison so hostile to liberty and to the proletariat.

Our young people should try to open their eyes, and understand that this "love of country" is only that cold and brutal "Reason of State" which sacrifices to the political and economic interests of the privileged, of power and wealth, the well-being and liberty of the country, and all that which youth loves and sympathises with most—independence, justice, human dignity, the cause of the weak and oppressed, moral beauty, fraternity, a future of hope.

The State, which is the political expression of caste and class, is not only not the "fatherland" or the nation, but is its parasite and worst enemy. This, which to-day may seem to some a paradox, was well understood by the most enlightened Italian patriots of 1848. "Every nation has its own barbarians and its own reactionists," Cattaneo warned us; "and Italy has been the servant-maid, not only of the foreigner but of men of her own blood." (From the Italian of Luigi Fabbri, in "Pensiero e Volontà.")

The quotations are from a lengthy review of Bakunin's study of Patriotism, and Fabbri shows that Bakunin recognised this passion as deeply rooted in the past history of the race, and therefore natural. He draws the sharpest distinction between the patriotism of the French and Italian revolutionists of 1793 and 1848 respectively, who strove for the liberty and independence of all nations, and the lust for alien territory which is our modern Imperialism's gospel.

American Financiers and France.

"He who goes a-borrowing goes a-sorrowing." This is as true of nations as of individuals, as the French Government found out when it called in the help of American financiers to stabilise the franc. In a recent article in the *Nation* (New York) M. Edouard Herriot, the French Premier, says:—

"When I was called to confer with Millerand a short time ago, it was not for political purposes, but with regard to the financial situation. I willingly gave the President the assurance that we, the Radical Socialists, considered it would be our first duty to safeguard the equilibrium of the budget. But I went no further. . . .

"I was informed by Millerand and de Marsal (Minister of Finance under Poincaré) that before the American financiers agreed to what is known as the Morgan loan of 100,000,000 dollars for the recovery of the franc, they asked for a guaranty in gold and other rather general political guaranties.

"The Bank of France was obliged to place funds to the credit of the moneylenders amounting to 528,000,000 in gold francs as a guaranty for the loan. This amount fully covered the loan. Aside from this, the French Government agreed to engagements of a general character. This method of treating France like Turkey is extraordinary."

Now that M. Herriot knows how brutal the financiers can be, perhaps he may be more indulgent to Germany. But he seems too scared to stand up to his old foe, Poincaré.

International Work of Anarchist Publications.

Anarchism is essentially international, therefore all Anarchist propaganda, whether by the spoken word or in writing, should have international publicity. Our literature must play a great part in moulding the society of the future, but diversity of language is one of its chief stumbling-blocks. Generally speaking, each country is acquainted only with the works in its own language, with the exception of a few translations of some of the best-known writers. If our movement is to grow, we must spread our ideas broadcast, and thus help to intensify the struggle against all forms of authority, especially at this moment when the workers are being led away by the propaganda in favour of dictatorship or of Labour Governments.

In a praiseworthy attempt to get over the difficulty of language, an active group of Anarchists have formed an organisation under the name of "International Work of Anarchist Publications," which proposes: (1) To publish translations in various languages of works of great propaganda value which are at present available in one language only; (2) to publish translations of works of a similar character which have not yet been published; (3) to spread as widely as possible books, pamphlets, and manifestoes of interest in our propaganda; (4) to collect and classify all works and all facts having the character and purpose of Anarchist propaganda, and thus form an Anarchist encyclopædia which should prove profitable to the movement.

The group particularly emphasise that they do not wish to encroach on the work of publishing groups in other countries, but rather to assist them to find a larger field for their activities. Comrades who have MS. ready for publication are invited to send particulars to this publishing group, who, if the work is of a suitable character, will publish it in several languages. They have already substantial funds at their disposal, and have taken a large shop as headquarters, with books in all languages on sale.

All communications should be addressed to—Librairie Internationale, 14, Rue Petit, Paris (19).

"Freedom" Guarantee Fund.

The following amounts have been received since our last issue: A. Denido £1 0s. 6d., Volonta Club (San Francisco) £4 10s., T. S. (May and June) 10s., A. B. Howie 2s., B. S. 5s., Wm. C. Owen 10s., F. Arndt 13s. 4d., E. Travaglio £1 2s. 2d., C. Blandy 2s., G. P. 2s., M. A. Cohn £2, A. D. Moore 2s., B. Black £1 10s., A Friend (per Sam Cohen) 11s. 6d., L. G. Wolfe (May and June) £2.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS.

West London Anarchist Communist Group.—Open-air Meetings at The Grove, Hammersmith. Every Wednesday and Saturday, at 8 p.m. Sundays, 7.30 p.m. Speakers welcomed.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- "Russia's Counter-Claims." By W. P. Coates. London: National "Hands Off Russia" Committee, 3 Adam Street, W.C.2.
 "Socialism and Finance." By F. W. Pethick Lawrence, M.P. 6d.—"Socialism and the Mining Industry." By Emrys Hughes. 6d.—"Socialism for Women." By Minnie Pallister. 6d.—"One Union for Railway Workers." By P. R. Higginson. 2d.—London: I.L.P. Information Committee, Adam Street, W.C.2.
 "Staffing in Public Elementary Schools." Edited by Barbara Drake. 1s.—"Houses to Let." By the Right Hon. John Wheatley, Minister of Health. 1d.—London: T.U. Congress and Labour Party, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1.
 "As a Doctor Sees It." By B. Liber. \$2.50. New York: The Critic and Guide Co., 12 Mount Morris Park West.
 "Michael Bakunin: Gesammelte Werke." Band III. 2 Mk. Berlin: *Der Syndikalist*, Kopernikusstr. 25, O 34.
 "Regresso ao Estado Primitivo." By Waldemar Duarte. 2\$000. Rio de Janeiro: Grupo de Propaganda Social.
 "Laborista Movado." Memor-Numero al Sakae Osugi kaj Noe Ito. With Biography and Bibliography of Osugi (in Esperanto). Tokyo: *Rodo Undo Sha*, 15 Komagome, Katamachi, Hongo.
 In Chinese:—"God and the State." By Michael Bakunin.—"Modern School and Educational Reform." By Francisco Ferrer.—Translated by Johnson Yuan, Institut Franco-Chinois, Lyon, France.

CASH RECEIVED (not otherwise acknowledged).

(April 30 to July 30.)

- "FREEDOM" SUBSCRIPTIONS.—E. A., M. S., F. A. Blossom, A. D., L. R. W., A. P., J. W. Fleming, S. S. Lee, B. Lara, E. Ratcliffe, A. Symes, Dr. F., B. O., E. Richmond, W. Fraser, A. Kendall, V. Mantovano, J. H. Naylor, W. M. S., R. N. Baldwin, A. De Russi, G. Robertson, H. Hansen, I. Y., M. Tiboldo, R. A. Lown, E. Vivas, A. Winocour, R. Stubbs, J. D. Winton, A. Hajduk, J. B. Barnhill, O. Charette, M. Kisliuk, R. A. Cohen, G. K. Smith, M. Johannsen, J. O'Brien, P. Incampo.

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.

PAMPHLET AND BOOK LIST.

- ANARCHIST COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES.** By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3d.
THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 4d.
THE WAGE SYSTEM. By P. KROPOTKIN. 2d.
ANARCHY. By E. MALATESTA. 3d.
THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT. 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. 1d.
ANARCHISM AND DEMOCRACY. By John Wakeman. 1d.
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.
FOR LIBERTY: An Anthology of Revolt. 6d.
REFLECTIONS ON POLITICAL JUSTICE. (Selections from the Writings of William Godwin.) 4d.
 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.
THE EGO AND ITS OWN. By Max Stirner. 6s.; postage 4d.
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