

Freedom

VOL. XXXVIII.—No. 416.

MARCH-APRIL, 1924.

MONTHLY: TWO PENCE.

NOTES.

"G. B. S." and the Abbey Elections.

Winston Churchill's candidature, as an Anti-Socialist, for the Abbey Division of Westminster attracted widespread interest, and many wordy battles were fought between the Socialists and Anti-Socialists. Bernard Shaw, in spite of—or was it because of?—the rehearsals of his new play, "Saint Joan," rushed into the fray with a letter on behalf of the Labour candidate, Fenner Brockway. He said he had received an election address from the Conservative candidate, Mr. Nicholson, who said he was out to defeat Socialism. This was the cue for a little humour on Shaw's part. He writes: "Imagine Westminster without Socialism, no streets, no bridges, no public lighting, no police, no schools, no water supply, no courts, no post and telegraphs and telephones, no army, no navy, no returning officer, no election, no Big Ben, and no Parliament. That is what Mr. Nicholson stands for. A regular Anarchist, I call him!" Could there be a more wilful distortion of the facts? Mr. Nicholson and the interests he represents are just as much in favour of all those things as are the pale pink Socialists of the Fabian Society. The great landlords of the Conservative Party are always pleased to see such public activity, because it helps to improve the value of their land on which the people must work and live. And as long as that monopoly of monopolies is untouched Mr. Nicholson and the Conservatives will welcome every extension of municipal and national enterprise favoured by Shaw and his friends, for while the ground landlord sleeps they are gratuitously increasing the rental value of his property. What the Conservative Party fears is not the "gas and water" Socialism of Tothill Street and Eccleston Square but the expropriation of the landlords without compensation, which is the demand of the Anarchists and of all those who realise that only when men have free access to the natural resources of the earth can they break the chains of slavery. Bernard Shaw knows as well as we do the difference between Mr. Nicholson and an Anarchist, but he is not above distorting an argument if it will help to gain a few more votes for the Labour candidate.

Poincaré Won't Budge.

Mr. MacDonald's letters to Poincaré have not had the slightest effect on the attitude of the French Premier. He replies in equally friendly phrases, but always winds up by saying that his terms for a settlement are the same now as those he presented to Bonar Law and Baldwin. Of course, if Britain and the United States will help Germany to pay her debts, he will be very pleased; but France will not clear out of the Ruhr or leave the Rhine until her security is safeguarded. The "security" she seeks is to render Germany helpless by retaining in one way or another her grip on Germany's metal and chemical industries, so necessary in modern warfare. She will allow her enemy to work, but only under the eye of a policeman. Last August Mr. MacDonald said we cannot "successfully challenge the present military position of France," so her price must be paid by those who wish to deal with her. Frenchmen and others smile when British statesmen advocate disarmament. "When the devil was ill the devil a saint would be," but there are no apparent signs that the British Lion has been converted to vegetarianism. We know that some members of the Labour Party are sincere pacifists, but we can hardly believe that any British Government would ever dream of disarming to-day. Besides being leader of a minority party in Parliament, Mr. MacDonald would have to fight the Imperialists in his own Cabinet. Everywhere military and naval preparations continue and once more we are approaching the situation of 1914—powder laying about all over the place and fools striking matches.

Workers Kicking Again.

The Labour Government is being sorely tried by its friends in the Trade Unions, strike following strike. The stoppage of London's buses and trams was a ticklish problem for the Government, and it seemed at one time that they were going to proclaim "a state of emergency" and try to run the transport system themselves. However, a little bullying and a promise of favours to come induced employers and Trade Union officials to accept the usual compromise. The new Bill for the control of London traffic, which was introduced in the House of Commons during the strike, was a deciding factor. It gives a virtual monopoly to the T.O.T. Combine, and the Advisory Board it sets up will give Mr. Bevin, the strike leader, an excellent opportunity of displaying his diplomacy. We shall not be surprised if he becomes one of its first members. This strike, however, is but an incident in the general unrest. The workers are beginning to rally from their defeats of the last two or three years, and are now demanding that the cuts in wages be restored to them. Miners, shipbuilders, engineers, building workers, and others will soon be locked in struggles with the bosses. In fact, as we write all work at the British Empire Exhibition is held up by a sudden mass strike, and the Continental air services stopped by a strike of air pilots and mechanics at the Croydon Aerodrome. This year's Empire Exhibition was to signify the unity of the British race, but the division between the Haves and the Have-Nots, the exploiters and the exploited, was never more pronounced than it is to-day. There never can be peace so long as the present system exists, and the workers should unite to sweep it away instead of wasting time on futile strikes for a few extra shillings.

Oil Scandals in U.S.A.

The revelations of corruption among Cabinet Ministers brought to light by the inquiry into the transfer of oil lands from the State to private capitalists have been an eye-opener for the citizens of the United States, who have discovered that their political gods have been paid instruments of great oil magnates. The Republicans were first involved, and the Democrats began to throw mud at them; but now both parties are horribly smeared. McAdoo (President Wilson's son-in-law), ex-President Harding, President Coolidge, the Secretary of the Navy, the Attorney-General—all have been linked up with the transfer of the Navy oil lands to Doheny and Sinclair. Naturally, this scandal has caused a terrific scare among the politicians, who fear that the people will lose faith not only in the old political parties but in Government itself. The *New York Times* says: "A great impetus will be given to discontent." Senator Pepper says: "Something like an explosion has occurred perilously near the foundations of the Republic." And Senator Walsh, who has been the moving spirit in the unearthing of the scandal, says: "The structure of our government rocks upon its very foundations." So efforts are now being made to minimise the affair by saying it is only an isolated incident, and the American Ambassador here says we must not jump to the conclusion that all public officials in America are corrupt. But Senator LaFollette tells us that the oil lease scandal is but the "latest of a series of organised raids upon the public treasury and the public domain carried out with the connivance of public officers." Strange to say, the editor of the *Daily Herald* supports the Ambassador and warns us to avoid "ensoriousness" about scandals in public life, because we have the same evils in the Empire. "Under Capitalism this sort of thing is bound occasionally to happen." Perhaps Mr. Hamilton Fyfe sees the possibility of such happenings under a Labour Government and wishes to forestall criticism. The corruption here may not be so flagrant as in the United States, but we are robbed as shamelessly and remorselessly by means of the State as any people in the world. Not "occasionally" but all the time.

Push the sale of "Freedom."

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov Lenin.

When I read the eulogies of Lenin by some of his bitterest foes, I am reminded of Angelica Balabanova's admonitions to Clare Sheridan, the lady who made busts of Lenin, Trotsky, and some other Bolsheviki leaders. Balabanova said to her: "Would you have thought of sculpting Lenin three years ago when the English Government denounced him as a German spy? Lenin did not make the Revolution. The Russian people made it. Why not sculpt Russian working men and women—they are the real heroes of the Revolution? Why all this sudden interest in Lenin?"

With Balabanova I would say to those who now wax so laudatory of Lenin (among them one even finds some Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists), why this sudden sympathy? Why this ecstatic outburst of homage to the man who but yesterday was considered anathema. Is it because of the antiquated belief that one must speak kindly of the dead? Is it that one needs courage to go against the tide of popular hero-worship? Or is it just rank hypocrisy? These writers know as well as Balabanova that Lenin did not make the Revolution. More, they know that he has unmade the Revolution. Bit by bit, beginning with the historic "breathing spell," the Brest Peace, until March, 1921, when he imposed his New Economic Policy upon his sheep, Lenin was at his chosen task to unmake the Revolution, to emasculate it, to shear it of its purpose, to destroy its substance, retaining only the outer garments of the Revolution to be flaunted during dress parades of the Third International.

The task was not easy. The Russian people, who had staked their all in the Revolution, believed fervently in its strength, possibilities, and endurance. Lenin was too shrewd to go against such deep-rooted belief, such popular enthusiasm. On the contrary, he went with the people and was for the most extreme measures. His aim, however, was something quite separate and distinct from the aims of the people. It was the Marxian State—a formidable, all-inclusive, all-absorbing, all-crushing machine—with Lenin and his party at its helm. To this deity Lenin had dedicated his life.

When the revolutionary waves swept Lenin into power, his hour had come—the hour to realise his dream. Not even his bitterest enemies can say that Lenin ever stopped at anything to achieve his aim. What if the Revolution was crushed in the process? What if thousands of lives were sacrificed to a monstrous machine? What if Russia was brought to wreck and ruin? The Marxian State emerged from the blood and ashes of a great beginning. The honours for that feat belong entirely to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. No one worked more diligently and with such complete abandon to his purpose. The future, however, will not hesitate to show up the doubtful character of the honour which has fallen to the lot of the dead leader of Bolshevism, or Leninism, as his flock now fondly call the autocratic political scheme resting heavily upon the shoulders of fettered Russia.

The eulogists of Lenin call him great. His was certainly not the greatness of mind and heart—two essential fibres in the texture of true greatness. Lenin himself would have scoffed at such—to him—"bourgeois" attributes. Largeness of spirit, generosity of heart, understanding for and compassion with an opponent, were utterly lacking in the man who was yet so very human in errors and often criminal blunders. It was given to Lenin on more than one occasion to demonstrate real greatness, but he was so constituted that he saw neither the glorious opportunity nor its universal significance. In that Lenin remained true to his innermost self. *Dnie* (Day) of January 27 tells an interesting story. It was in 1890, during the terrible famine in Russia. The whole Russian intelligentsia, regardless of differences of opinion, united to devise ways and means to minister to the starving people. Tolstoy wrote a burning appeal for help. In the centre of the famine district, Samara, a group of intelligentsia gathered to discuss their work for the famine-stricken. At that meeting a young man rose who expressed

himself as follows: "The famine revolutionises the masses and facilitates the struggle with the Russian autocracy. I, therefore, consider the proposed relief work of this committee a crime. Of course, I have no desire to participate in this crime." The young man was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov Lenin. I do not know whether the writer of this story (he was present at the meeting) is quite exact in his quotation of young Lenin's speech. But it is so significant of the man's make-up, and so much part of his attitude toward life and human suffering, that the story may well be true.

Lenin has demonstrated the same cold relentlessness on another significant occasion, in relation to Dora Kaplan, the Social Revolutionist who had attempted his life. He knew that Kaplan, with years of *katorga* on her back, was prompted in her act by no personal or counter-revolutionary motive. He knew also that her death would add nothing to his recovery or contribute to the well-being of Russia. He could have delivered himself of a grand gesture which would have endeared him to the very party Dora Kaplan belonged to. He could have spared her life. That would have shown greatness, and may have added a new and vital element to the whole course of the Revolution. But no one can get out of his skin. Being bereft of greatness, Lenin turned Dora Kaplan over to his henchmen, the Tcheka. Is it likely that Tolstoy, Kropotkin, or Bakunin, the three great Russians, would have been guilty of such unnecessary and futile cruelty? But why cite these universal spirits? There were two women in the Anarchist movement, Louise Michel and Voltairine de Cleyre. Their lives, too, had been attempted. How did they act towards their assailants? Did they demand the pound of flesh? On the contrary, both refused to be a party to murder; they pleaded for the lives of the men who had come to destroy them. When one compares the action of Louise Michel and Voltairine de Cleyre with that of Lenin, the latter makes a very poor showing indeed.

Yet Lenin had greatness, but it was the greatness of Jesuitism, the will to cunning, to unscrupulousness, and an utter disregard for the stupendous sacrifice brought to the altar of his deity. In that sense the Torquemadas of all times were great. Some of them were known to have wept when they sent their victims to the torture chamber or to the stake. Perhaps Lenin, too, has wept over the toll of his obsession. Unfortunately, such tears have been the paralysing factor of the spirit of man, and have curtailed his attempt at new forms of life. The Torquemadas were ever the most reactionary and truly counter-revolutionary forces in human history. And Lenin was reactionary. All his political performances since 1917 are a living proof to his counter-revolutionary inclinations. Counter-revolutionary in the sense that each of his tactics added to the collapse of the Revolution.

The Brest Peace struck the most deadly blow to the Revolution. The formation of the Tcheka turned Russia into a human slaughter house. The forcible tax collection, with its punitive expeditions, destroyed thousands of lives and devastated entire villages. Kronstadt with its bloody toll. The decree of war to the knife against Labour Opposition and the Anarcho-Syndicalists. (This secret order given to the Tenth Congress of the All-Russian Communist Party has now come to light. It was used as a prop by the Leninites in the recent discussion with the Opposition.) Finally, the re-introduction of Capitalism by means of the New Economic Policy. All that and more sprang from the brain of the man who is now canonised as the saint of the Communist Church, and all these measures helped to crush the Revolution and destroy the hope of the Russian people. But not only Russia; the whole world has paid for the Jesuitism of Lenin, for it has disintegrated the ranks of the oppressed everywhere. Only time will prove the chaos, distrust, hatred, and disruption Leninism has spread broadcast.

But, then, Lenin believed implicitly in the need of sowing confusion, loathing, and disintegration. He considered it a vital part of his doctrine. We have his own word for it. "Krasnaya Latopies," No. 7, contains an address of Lenin

to the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democrats, the Workers' Party, representing Lenin's defence before a trial committee of the party. He was charged with libel and slander of thirty-one Mensheviks who had bolted the party and had formed a block with some Cadets. The leader of this group was F. Dan. Lenin said this:—

"In attacking political opponents, the form and not the substance is of importance. In fact, the form represents the tone which makes the whole music. 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; not to improve their mistakes, but to annihilate, to wipe off the face of the earth their organisation and their work. The form of the attack must be such that it should call forth the most evil thoughts and suspicion, and spread chaos and confusion in the ranks of the proletariat."

When he was asked if he did not consider such a method reprehensible, Lenin replied:—"Yes, if used in one's own united party, against one's own comrades. But in the case of all political opponents, it is not only not reprehensible, it is commendable and necessary. I repeat, in my attack on the bolted group of the Mensheviks I deliberately and consciously used the kind of form which would disrupt the ranks of the proletariat, and would sow hatred, distrust, loathing against our political enemies."

No one can accuse Lenin of ever having minced words. But that does not cover up the fact that all his life Lenin injected a dangerous poison into the ranks of the proletariat. Gradually his own ranks were infected by it. So long as Lenin held the Bolshevik sceptre nothing was permitted to come to the surface. Now, when death itself has relaxed the iron hold, the poison so long dammed up has rushed forward, and is threatening to engulf the whole edifice so painfully built up by the great Jesuit of modern times.

Death is the equaliser of all life. It has come to Lenin as it has come to hosts of victims of Leninism, only in a more merciful manner. Dora Kaplan, Fanny Baron, Lev Tcherny, and scores of others were made to die more than one cruel death before they were put against the wall by Lenin's Tcheka. Their bodies did not lie in state. No homage was paid to them. There were no funeral dirges sung, nor did the forty-times-forty churches of Moscow ring out their mournful sounds. Theirs was an ignominious death, for they remained true to the Revolution, hence unsuccessful. Not so Lenin. He was successful. He has built up a machine. He has resurrected the evils the Revolution had come to slay—Capitalism, exploitation, and all that follows in their wake. Small wonder Lenin was buried with the pomp of a potentate, and that his kingdom is now being recognised by the European Powers. Why not? The Revolution is dead. Long live Leninism!

The Vatican, Mussolini, Patriarch Tikhon, the reactionaries, adventurers and gamblers of the world, now pay tribute to the man whom seven years ago they would have killed on sight. Liars and hypocrites all of them. Their display of respect and sympathy is only the cloak to cover their glee over the fact that Leninism is turning over to them the key to the wealth of Russia, which they all stand ready to drain to its uttermost.

However, the last word in the destiny of Russia has not yet been said. The people, so sublime in their wrath during the October days, will rise again to bear witness to the inalienable truth that the triumph of Leninism and its dead master was at the same time their tragic defeat.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Organised Idolatry.

"The Prime Minister towered head and shoulders practically above everyone in the House of Commons."—Miss Margaret Bondfield (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour).

"Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is the biggest thing the country has ever seen."—Mr. Stephen Walsh (Minister for War).

"The art of government is the organisation of idolatry."—G. Bernard Shaw.

THE GOLDEN STATE.

"It is dangerous to belong to any organisation at all, because they have laws by which you can be made guilty of treason if you belong to any society which has members who belong to some other society which at some time or other expressed sympathy with some other society which was affiliated with some other society to which exception could be taken, and so on. It is very ingenious and sounds like a comic opera, until one gets fifteen years' penal servitude. One of the finest women living was recently convicted in this way. She is rich and influential, and no one seems to know what has happened to her. She was out on bail, in view of an appeal, the last time I heard of her; but one must not inquire too closely. . . . They imagine Magna Charta was adopted in this country, yet there is no jail delivery here. One may be years in prison without trial. And now we have Prohibition! Art. Young, the cartoonist, sent out a Christmas card with the slogan: 'A Million New Laws by 1925. Any Laws will do. Then perhaps we may be able to obey some of them.'"

The above is from a letter by an old friend now in California—the State made famous by Henry George and many other noted writers and battlers for freedom. The woman referred to is Miss Anita Whitney, a well-known philanthropist, whose sole offence was that she was a member of the Socialist Party, which changed its name to Communist during the War. Writing from personal knowledge, we give it as our opinion that a more harmless, not to say impotent, body it would have been hard to find, for it consisted mainly of Germans who wasted their time on learned discussions respecting the economic interpretation of history, and similar innocuous futilities. However, during the War it was declared illegal, and, to the amazement of everyone, Miss Whitney was condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment for having retained her membership in it. We ourselves, knowing her absorption in various charitable occupations, have thought it probable that she had forgotten all about it.

Here is another and more recent instance of "justice" as it is now being administered in this boasted "land of the free." The California Defence News Service is working actively for repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Law. One of its circulars found its way, by accident, to a man named Arnold, who had been drawn for jury service. Thereupon the official, one Tom Connors, who had posted the circular, was charged with "corruptly attempting to influence a juror," and was sentenced to five years' imprisonment!

California, a rich and beautiful State, has become the happy hunting-ground of millionaires and land monopolists. A righteous public indignation has attacked and criticised these people, and they have retaliated. As they dominate the legislature, the law courts, and the press, they have been able to institute a veritable Reign of Terror. Probably Russia has shown us nothing worse. For some years past whoever has ventured on any form of educational propaganda has done so at his own deadly peril.

Our "Amiable Piracy."

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

When the superannuated editor of *Liberty* gazes on the strong and graceful lettering of FREEDOM's title, his face wears a most self-satisfied expression, and he remarks in an undertone, with a twinkle in his eye: "Imitation is the sincerest flattery."

BENJAMIN R. TUCKER.

Nice, France, Feb. 9, 1924.

[Our friend Tucker has taken a long time to discover what he terms, in a covering letter, our "amiable piracy." The "strong and graceful lettering" of our title first appeared on No. 31, June, 1889. But perhaps this is his way of telling us that he scorned to read the exchange copies we sent him for many years.—ED. FREEDOM.]

ANARCHISM VERSUS SOCIALISM.

By WM. C. OWEN.

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The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

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No Dictators Wanted.

We are being humbugged, as the masses have always been humbugged by those who have used them as stepping-stones to power. But there is this much about it—nowadays the imposture is exposed more quickly. Events move fast. Their news is telegraphed to all the quarters of the globe, and is discussed through countless channels. Roughly, but more exactly as time passes, all that has happened in Russia is becoming known. Socialism is being dragged into the open, and its worship of the dictatorial State is getting understood as what it is. The storm-tossed waters are beginning to run clear. We are arriving at the facts.

Everyone knows that this island is owned by a mere handful of landlords, and that the masses have been driven into a few great cities where they must eke out a precarious existence on jobs doled out. The Socialists promised to tackle that, for their one anxiety was to get the people's vote. Now, observe how they redeem the promise. Their Chancellor of the Exchequer fathers a bill under which, for example, the Duke of Westminster will receive some £50,000,000 compensation when they nationalise his land—that is to say, when they transfer it to the custody of their bureaucratic State. The agricultural labourer is receiving 23s. 6d. a week, and they propose to free him from his slavery by letting him a cottage at 9s. a week and appointing Agricultural Committees to see to it that land is properly cultivated. And the Independent Labour Party Socialists issue a pamphlet setting out their land policy, which will be virtually that of the Labour Party now in office. Here is an extract to which we invite attention:—

“Our markets are dominated by imports. The key to control is that the State should set up a chartered, disinterested monopoly for the purchase, importation, and storage of staple foodstuffs. It must have sole right to import wheat, flour, and meat. It should work with a State guarantee under the Ministry of Agriculture, but as a detached Board of Supply. There was ample experience of such schemes under war contracts.”

Remember that the State everywhere, under every form of Government, is a Dictator which issues its edicts in the form of laws; takes from the earnings of the public, in the form of taxes, whatever sums it chooses, and compels with all the violence at its command submission to its arbitrary invasions. What the Socialists now propose to do is to extend that autocratic power to a point at which their officials will command our food supply. Then “Obey or Starve!” will be the ultimatum, enforced with all the punitive powers Authority possesses.

Do you wonder that the Anarchists, who are fighting for Freedom and Equality of Opportunity for All, oppose that programme? But please observe that this is Socialism's real programme everywhere. With smooth and honeyed words it is working here for what Lenin put through with fire and sword in Russia. The Third International smothers Mr. Ramsay MacDonald with abuse because he is moving too slowly for its taste, but Mr. MacDonald is trying to get, by soft talk and political jugglery, exactly what Moscow is after. Rule, domination, control, the straitjacketing of you, and me, and everyone outside the governing circle—this is the universal programme. It constitutes the Socialist solidarity throughout the world.

Let us pass to Russia for proof. In March, 1917, the Tsar had abdicated, the official class and the aristocracy had been overthrown, the peasants were streaming back from the War and were taking possession of the land. No power could stop them, but on November 7 Lenin and his followers, using “All power to the Soviets!” as their seductive battle-cry, seized by violence the reins of Government and brought about a second Revolution. On the following day, as Trotsky tells us in his “Russian Revolution” (p. 88), a Congress of the Soviets—pale shadows of the actual governors—was held; a new central authority, the Council of People's Commissaries, was formed, and Lenin introduced two decrees, on peace and on the land. Note the words “central authority” and “decrees.”

A second land decree was promulgated, and Lenin subsequently explained the meaning of these two long and complicated documents in a speech which the Independent Labour Party has published as a pamphlet—“The Land Revolution in Russia.” Turn to page 15 of that pamphlet and you will find Lenin addressing his audience thus: “You will read that, amongst the persons and institutions who may enjoy the possession of land, the first place is held by the State, the second by public bodies under Soviet control, the third by agricultural communes, and the fourth by agricultural co-operative societies.”

The one object of that speech and those decrees was to secure it that the land should be no longer under the control of the individual cultivator, but under that of State officials. This also is precisely the idea set forth in the Independent Labour Party's pamphlet, and it is this identity of aim which constitutes, as I have said before, Socialist solidarity throughout the world. For this our English Socialists, respectable and constitutional to the backbone, will swallow complacently all Zinoviev's brutal insults and wink at the Cheka's hideous crimes. Their goal is identical. By international unity they hope finally to mount the throne and establish their dictatorship in every country.

Note also the immediate and inevitable consequences of these decrees that the State shall have the first call on the land. The governing oligarchy is in need of money, and raises it by granting concessions of territory to foreign financiers. It needs to strengthen its position by forming alliances with other Powers, and to obtain these it bribes men of influence with more concessions. All this has been going on for several years in Russia, and always the Dictatorship's brother Socialists have backed it up. As we Anarchists see it, and as any straight-thinking man will see it, Lenin or Zinoviev or Kameneff had no more right to give away Russia's natural resources than I should have. In Mexico, Porfirio Diaz, who also seized Dictatorship under the guise of Revolution, similarly gave away to foreign capitalists about everything worth having in the country; but the Mexicans finally plucked up the courage to drive him into exile, where he died.

When the light of fearless investigation is turned on all this business it is seen to be rotten to the core, and the longer it lives the more putrid it becomes. By no possibility can it be reconciled with any plausible theory of human rights, and this is so obvious that the Socialists are driven to the extremity of denying, with Mr. Sidney Webb, the very existence of such rights; a stand we regard as fatal to the disinterested masses now struggling for the establishment of their free and equal right to life. In practice, of course, this preposterous theory leads invariably to total smash, and for proof of this also we turn to Russia.

Study Lenin's speech on “The Soviets at Work,” published by the Socialist Information and Research Bureau, of Glasgow, if you want to learn his conception of the rôle the Soviets—the worker's associations—should play. In A. Lavin's “Foreword” to the pamphlet Lenin is praised because “he speaks of the necessity of absolute submission to the will of the Soviet director during work.” The Revolution demands, says Lenin (p. 35), and in the interest of Socialism, “the absolute submission of the masses to the single will of those

who direct the labour process." There are numbers of similar passages, and the entire pamphlet is a defence of Dictatorship by the so-called Soviet directors, who, in reality, are State officials.

Of course, it broke down. The Soviets became the mere echo of the autocratic bureaucracy, which enforced its decrees through the Cheka and by as cruel a penal code as history has recorded; but, although the town-worker was crushed, the peasant, tired of being requisitioned at the bayonet's point, played his one decisive card and shut off supplies. That forced the Dictatorship's hands, and compelled it to adopt the New Economic Policy, by which individual production and exchange were again permitted. And how did Lenin defend the change of front? By the plea of necessity; by the argument that a temporary retirement would lead to a further advance; by the assurance that, as long as the State had control of the nation's resources, and of its foreign trade, it would hold the whip hand and Karl Marxism would still be safe. Is not that exactly what the Independent Labour Party is urging? Indeed it is, precisely. The Socialist position is always and everywhere the same; the only difference being that in Russia it is in power and dares to speak out, while here it dares not.

Nowadays, as I remarked previously, these things cannot be hid. Thousands of sharp-eyed travellers and correspondents report the facts. Tens of thousands of keenly analytical minds dissect them. Thus they are spread abroad, by individual enterprise, in every country, and sooner or later the whole body of the people grasps the truth. Then another gigantic sham is exploded, and we shall draw nearer to the truth that not in Coercion and State Authority, but in Freedom and the securing of Equal Opportunity for All, does our salvation lie.

Between these two opposites no compromise is possible, and we Anarchists would have no temptation to compromise, even if we could. For years we have been gathering our evidence. In country after country we have seen State Socialism come to sudden bloom and wilt as the snow on the desert when the sun comes out. Nowhere is it any longer a vital force; but the passion behind it—the passion to reduce our fellow creatures to helplessness that we may dominate over and exploit them—still holds the world in chains. Everywhere Monopoly is still able to issue its decrees and enforce submission to them; and until the masses grasp that simple fact, and centre their energies on removing it, no real escape from slavery is even thinkable.

However, we are progressing, and probably at a most rapid pace. Our boys and girls now insist on their personal independence; our workers grow more and more restive beneath the monopolist's whip. We criticise the pulpit, and eye the law-decreeing politician with growing distrust. These are powerful currents, and they are bearing us steadily toward Freedom. No one, not even the Canute of State Socialism, will be able to stop that steadily inflowing tide; and about all that is now wanted is a clearer understanding of what Freedom is, and how it can be won. Its essence is, of course, self-government, as opposed to government by others. It can be won only by the abolition of those monopolies which confer upon the few the fatal privilege of dictating, distorting, and paralysing the lives of the many, whose destinies should be confided, under equality of opportunity, to the care of their own hands.

WM. C. OWEN.

Osugi's Murderer Released.

When we announced in our January issue that Captain Amakasu, the brutal murderer of our Japanese comrade Sakaye Osugi, had been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, we said: "It is very doubtful whether he will serve the sentence." Our surmise was correct. We learn from the *Industrial Worker* (Seattle), February 16, that on the occasion of the recent marriage of the Prince Regent of Japan forty thousand convicts were pardoned and set free, Captain Amakasu being one of the favoured ones. This seems to us proof positive that the Japanese Government instigated the massacre of revolutionists which took place immediately after the earthquake, and that the prosecution of a few of the murderers was a sham to hide their own complicity in the matter.

Malatesta on the Russian Revolution.

Malatesta has written a preface to the Spanish edition of Luigi Fabbri's "Dittatura e Rivoluzione" (Dictatorship and Revolution), in which he reviews succinctly developments in Russia since the first publication of that most excellent work. His preface runs, in part, as follows:—

Written about two years ago, Luigi Fabbri's book on the Russian Revolution is as fresh as ever and remains still, to the best of my knowledge, the leading work upon that subject. Subsequent events in Russia have merely emphasised its value, by giving to the deductions drawn by Fabbri from the facts then known, and from the principles of Anarchism, the confirmation of experience.

The subject with which the book deals is old indeed, for it treats of the eternal conflict between liberty and authority which has filled the history of the past and with which the world to-day is more than ever in travail. On the vicissitudes of that struggle depends the fate of revolutions, now and in the future.

The development of the Russian Revolution has followed the rhythm of all previous revolutions. After its ascendant period, in which it strove for greater justice and more liberty—a period in which the people attacked and overthrew the constituted powers—came the reaction. This reaction began when a new Government succeeded in establishing itself. This new power applied itself, at times slowly and gradually, and at other times by violent and rapid methods, to the greatest possible destruction of the revolution's conquests, and the founding of an order which should assure the permanence in power of the new governing class while defending the interests of the newly-privileged and those of the ancient régime who had managed to weather the storm.

In Russia, thanks to exceptional circumstances, the people overthrew the Tsarist régime and set up, of their own free and spontaneous initiative, Soviets (local committees of working men and peasants, representing the rights of the toilers and under their immediate control). They expropriated the industrialists and great landed proprietors, and, in the name of equality and liberty, and of a justice more or less relative, founded the new social life. Thus the Revolution was developing and carrying out the greatest social experiment hitherto recorded by history. It was giving the world the example of a great people which, setting all its faculties in operation, was attaining its emancipation and organising its life in accord with its own instincts and will, free from any external pressure which should constrain it into serving the interests of a privileged class.

Unhappily among those who did most toward giving the old régime the deciding blow were fanatical doctrinaires; men ferociously convinced that they possessed "the truth"; men who believed they had a mission to "save" the people; men who considered that safety was to be found only by following the path they themselves had pointed out. Profiting by the prestige acquired by the rôle they had played in the Revolution, and by the strength of their own organisation, they succeeded in seizing power and reducing to impotence those others, and especially the Anarchists, who also, and even more than they themselves, had helped to make the Revolution. But these others were not able to offer any effective opposition to this usurpation, for they were scattered, they had no preliminary understanding among themselves, they had hardly any organisation. From that moment the Revolution was lost.

The new power, as is the nature of all Governments, sought to concentrate in its own hands the whole country's life, and to suppress all initiative and every movement springing from the bosom of the people. At the very outset it created for its own defence a pretorian army, and later a regular army and a powerful police force whose ferocity and mania for the assassination of liberty exceeded even that of the Tsarist régime. It established a hugely-numerous bureaucracy; it reduced the Soviets to the position of being simply the instruments of the central power; at the point of the bayonet it forced them to dissolve; it suppressed by violence, and often by bloody violence, all opposition; it sought to impose its social programme on

workers and rebellious peasants, thereby discouraging and paralyzing production.

The new Government defended Russian territory well against the attacks of the European reaction, but it did not succeed in saving the Revolution, for with its own hands it had strangled it, though it tried all the time to preserve appearances and forms. And now it is using every effort to get the bourgeois Governments to recognise it; it is trying to enter into cordial relations with them; to re-establish the capitalistic system; in short, to bury the Revolution, once and for all. Thus all the hopes that the Russian Revolution had raised among the proletariat of the world will have been betrayed.

Certainly Russia will not become again as she was, for there is no revolution which does not leave behind it deep traces, awakening and elevating the people's soul, and creating new possibilities for the future. The results, however, will be far inferior to those that were hoped for and could have been obtained, and they are out of all proportion to the sufferings that have been endured and to the blood that has been shed.

THE MOVEMENT REVIVING IN JAPAN.

The brutal massacre and persecution of Koreans, Anarchists, and Revolutionary Syndicalists by the Government, after the great earthquake, scared pseudo-revolutionists into repudiating their ideas and turning their backs upon the despondent workers. Mr. Hitoshi Yamakawa, a Communist leader, for example, terrorised by those dreadful days, declared recently that to talk of the Social Revolution is dangerous and the movement must go back to Trade Unionism pure and simple. Mr. Kyoji Fukuda, a noted Communist, during the earthquake and massacre begged Authority for pardon for his past conduct and became a "good citizen." Whether dangerous or not, we Anarchists and Syndicalists of Japan will continue to propagate our idea that "the workers' emancipation must be effected by the workers themselves," and we will continue to hold up the banner stamped "Social Revolution—the workers' control of society and industry." We have reissued *Kumiai Undo*, the organ of the Revolutionary Syndicalists of Japan.

The earthquake and fire destroyed many factories and mills. Tokyo is now full of unemployed men and women. Before September 1 the membership of the principal Unions in Tokyo was estimated as follows: Federation of Mechanic Workers' Unions, 3,500; Shibaura Labour Union, 2,500; Industrial Federation of Printing Workers, 1,200; Japanese Federation of Labour, 300. The sphere of activity of the Mechanic Workers' Unions escaped damage, but the Shibaura Labour Union, the membership of which consisted of workers at the Shibaura Iron Works, suffered, for the works was burnt down and all the workers thrown out of employment. As to the Industrial Federation of Printing Workers, 80 per cent. of its members lost their jobs. In almost all industries the wages of the workers were reduced by half and capitalist exploitation greatly intensified.

The Bolsheviks bored into the Japanese Federation of Labour under the plea of revolutionising it from within. They became its leaders and issued many exaggerated resolutions and declarations. Immediately after the bloody massacre of Anarchists and Revolutionary Syndicalists the Government declared that it intended to introduce manhood suffrage. In this critical situation the Federation of Labour refused to stand for the massacred Anarchists and Syndicalists, but compromised with Authority and begged for mercy. The Federation blacklegs promised the "progressive" Yamamoto Cabinet to act as cat's paw against the revolutionists.

Remember, comrades of all countries, we remain faithful to our idea of Direct Action and "no compromise, no political trading."

Our office was burnt and destroyed by the earthquake. Our present address is: E. K. Nobushima, care of Rodo Undo-sha, Komagome Katamachi 15, Hongo-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

Price Twopence; postage ½d.

NEW BAKUNIN DOCUMENTS.

Materials for the Biography of M. Bakunin. From Documents in the Archives of the late Third Department [of State Police] and the Ministry of the Navy. Edited and Annotated by Viatcheslav Polonski. T. I. Moscow, State Edition, 1923. xii, 439, 8vo.

Two or three years ago much noise was made about the memorial written by Bakunin at the request of Tsar Nicholas I (1851). Before it was ever published, some persons—above all, an ex-Anarchist turned Communist, who had not even read its full text—proceeded to discredit and vilify Bakunin on the strength of this document, the full text of which, published in 1921, with an introduction by the editor of the present volume, was sufficient to silence these intrigues. To-day Bakunin's name stands higher than ever and his traducers are no longer heard of.

But one thing was still wanted: that the document in question and others should be presented in their right *milieu* or frame, and this is done by the present volume. This was the way, in fairness to Bakunin, in which these publications from Russian archives ought to have begun years ago. I am glad to see this has been done now; better late than never.

It is *a priori* likely that, when we know a man's life from infancy to deathbed from a thousand sources, source number thousand and one will not modify the impression we have of him, but may add some welcome new touches at the most. So it is with the "Confession" and this whole volume of Bakunin documents.

He and comrades of his were tried for their lives from 1849 to 1851; even twice over in his case, in Saxony and in Austria. These long inquisitorial trials were flagrant revolutionary facts; the testimony and confessions of the accused and documentary evidence seized brought a great number of facts to the knowledge of the judicial authorities (which in Bakunin's case were eagerly picked up by Russian representatives and sent to the Tsar's police). These facts were summarised and used against the prisoners in long accusations, and the prisoners were given the opportunity to present statements in their defence. Of this opportunity Bakunin, always willing to argue matters out with opponents, made use of in a long written defence, some extracts of which I gathered long since from a letter on this subject which he sent to his lawyer (March 23, 1850).

Thus Bakunin knew exactly what facts had been discovered by the authorities, and he also knew the many facts upon which, when questioned, he refused to reply, expressed himself in generalities, or pretended failing memory, just as the others did also, though sometimes an unreflected admission gave the inquiring judge a chance, and then the others also had to give up this indefensible position.

Bakunin's case was aggravated by the fact that, as through his public life since the end of 1847, so also through these trials ran a stream of slander and false accusations circulated against him by the Russian Embassy in Paris since he first had publicly proclaimed the reconciliation of Russians and Poles and their struggle in common against Tsarism (November, 1847).

When face to face with the Tsar in the memorial of 1851, called the "Confession" (in the Catholic religious sense), he knew therefore exactly which facts of his personal and of his revolutionary life were known to his prosecutors and what they did not know and must not learn; he knew also which pretended facts, invented against him, had given a particularly ugly aspect to his case in the eyes of the Tsar; and just as almost every prisoner, however much he despises those who judge him, wishes to put his case in his own words, so Bakunin wrote the memorial of 1851 for the Tsar.

I dissected this document two years ago, examining every statement by itself, and found that it was written with great discretion and care, putting the best face on all that was known, ceding not an inch of new ground; and where it was explicit was where Bakunin, inspired by nationalist ardour, his Slav sentiment, which was so strong in him in 1848-49 and had not yet abated in 1851, spoke to the Tsar as a fellow-Slav, for nationalism makes strange bedfellows like every other common creed.

The present volume contains on pages 3-94 unpublished documents seized among Bakunin's papers or referring to the trials, sent to Russia at the time; also a copy of the letter to the lawyer, which I knew already. This material shows to what extent the "Confession" is a circumscription of the results of the trials, and it would have been the right thing to publish all these papers *together* from

the beginning and not to foist off bits of the "Confession" upon an unprepared public.

The "Confession" is again reproduced in a careful edition, with facsimiles (pages 95-248), an edition which, we are told by the editor (who did not himself provide the text for the 1921 edition, for which he wrote a preface), in about 300 instances presents a more correct text than the first print.

Then a charming though sad portion follows: Bakunin's correspondence with his family from the fortress—or at least a portion of it—and the letters of his mother to the Tsar and high officials in his favour, efforts which she continued until April, 1861. She begged them to let him live with her, and his five brothers offered the Tsar their guarantee as hostages for his quiet behaviour. The first of Bakunin's letters, beginning January 4, 1852, after he had seen his favourite sister Tatiana and one of his brothers, show him cheerful, or pretending cheerfulness, reconstructing in these letters the happy and exceedingly intimate family circle of his early years which we know from the many letters and traditions in Korniloff's book, based on the Russian family papers (1915). Many years had passed, but Bakunin in prison clings again to this Utopia, which, indeed, formed his mind and prepared it to be receptive to generous ideas.

From the correspondence with officials or their letters we learn how every slight improvement in his position in Siberia had to be begged for over and over again; the only refreshing detail, known before but not in the verbatim text, is the letter of Count Muravieff (May 18, 1858), the Governor of Eastern Siberia and Bakunin's near relative, who, when he had secured the Amur territory for the Tsar, demanded as his best reward the pardon of Speshnev, Lvoff, Petrashevsky (of the deported Petrashevsky group of 1848), and of his relative Bakunin. He did not get it.

The book concludes with the documents accumulating after Bakunin's happy escape from Siberia. We learn that two midshipmen, about a month too late, delivered an urgent letter recommending that he be watched; and that a miserable informer who denounced his intention to escape, when the ship which bore him away was still in sight and another ship under steam was to hand to hunt him down, met with the philosophical or humanitarian or very well acted indifference of the official, who listened to his deposition while the ship went out of sight, and the warning was sent by a rather slow route to a place where Bakunin never went. Whether red tape, human feeling, or secret understanding brought about this happy result, remains a mystery.

This is a welcome book of Bakunin details, showing his ordeals and how he came well out of them. M. N.

February 24.

PRINTED PAGES.

The Commonwealth Land Party, of 43, Chancery Lane, W.C.2, has issued, at the price of 2d., a handsome 32-page pamphlet entitled "The Restoration of Hope," by R. L. Outhwaite, Editor of the *Commonweal*. It is an outspoken call to the masses, urging them to secure their right to existence by asserting and enforcing their title to the free and equal use of the land, as being mankind's sole tool and warehouse of supplies. Land Monopoly is attacked from various angles as the basic cause of poverty, the fountain head of caste and special privilege, the cornerstone of militarism and war. This chord is struck persistently, and Mr. Outhwaite has not a particle of patience with the timorous palliatives by which reformers try to relieve us from the consequences of our refusal to acknowledge the fundamental law of Life. The futile efforts of Trade Unionism are set out in the following passage:—

"The slaves seek to keep up their price by the formation of trade unions for collective bargaining, and fix a price below which they will not sell themselves. When the labour market is not overstocked trade unionism can exercise some effect. When, as at present in Britain, the labour market is overstocked and the price of labour has been forced down to the subsistence level, trade unionism operates to the benefit of the buyers of labour, as this ineffective organisation of the slaves keeps them under the authority of their own agents and from revolt. When, as in the case of the recent Dockers' Strike in Britain, men revolted against the acceptance of the terms arranged by their agents for their sale to the buyers, their own

agents proclaimed the strike to be one not against the slave-buyers, but against the union. At the same time the latter called for the State to take the place of the private buyer. In such case revolt against the price fixed would be a revolt against the State, and, as sedition, would be crushed by law, as has frequently occurred elsewhere."

Any writer who deals with fundamentals enjoys the incalculable advantage of having Life as his co-worker. He can appeal to well-established and self-evident principles which, when set out honestly and plainly, cannot be denied. Mr. Frederick Soddy, in "The Inversion of Science and a Scheme of Scientific Reformation," issued for 6d. by Hendersons, 66, Charing Cross Road, W.C.2, has not that advantage. He is merely propounding a "scheme," and a scheme is not science. Like all of us he is keenly alive to the ravages of the Money Power, but there he stops. He does not ask himself how it is that the monopolisers of credit and of the circulating medium are enabled to exercise the power they wield to-day; how it is that the masses stand before them helpless; whether it is even possible for any set of bankers to fleece a people in full and individual command of natural wealth. Yet, what is the real lesson which the Russian Revolution should be teaching? Is it not that eventually, as against the strongest Government and the most subtle of financiers, the simple peasant eventually wins out? He, so far as he has unrestricted access to natural resources, proves himself always the fittest to survive. Strip the strongest combination imaginable—governmental, banking, or otherwise—of the monopoly of natural resources, and it becomes as helpless as a new-born babe.

This central truth Mr. Soddy carefully side-steps. Wall Street and the Bank of England have hypnotised him, and Karl Marx has put his thought in chains. Like every Socialist, he is wedded to "control," and he dreams that a benevolent Government, by an elaborate system of indexing, will be able to insure that stability of currency which to-day we cannot get. Of course, we agree with him respecting the absurdity of making gold the one measure of value and medium of exchange—for that, in the last analysis, is the special privilege conferred on it. All that may be taken for granted, but we Anarchists do not believe for one moment that the remedy for any Monopoly, however grievous, is the creation of an omnipotent Monopoly entrusted to that most dishonest of all Monopolists, the politician-governed State. Do you complain of currency inflation; of the submergence of the rouble, the krone, and the mark; of the kiting of prices and the assassination of salaries and wages which have brought Europe to the edge of ruin and piled up colossal fortunes for a gang of cut-throat speculators? Most properly, most righteously, you do. But who has done all this? Who, indeed, but these same Governments to whom the people entrust so foolishly the manipulation of the medium by which they distribute the products of their toil? The Government needs money, and it inflates the currency. Pressed to protect other interests, it deflates the money supply, and once again prices are dislocated. Being master of the situation it can rig the market as it will, and the politicians look out for Number One.

Mr. Soddy evidently has no conception of natural processes, although he is a noted chemist. Apparently it has not entered his head that men, as individuals, should be free to labour for the satisfaction of their wants, and free to exchange, by mutual arrangement, the product of their toil. Such a conception may be true or false, but it cannot be ignored, for on this one point all discussions of the money question turn. If the State is to be regarded as Labour's emancipator, it may be desirable to endow it with the all-embracing powers Mr. Soddy proposes. If, on the other hand, the future lies with individual self-government, as the Anarchists believe, his scheme is worthless. You may believe in individual freedom, or you may believe in government of the individual for the supposed benefit of the whole. You cannot believe in both.

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

Demand Amnesty for Russian Prisoners.

The International Working Men's Association in Berlin has issued an appeal to all Labour and revolutionary organisations for immediate action for the liberation of Anarchists, Syndicalists, Socialists, and all non-partisan revolutionists in the prisons and concentration camps of Russia and those exiled by the Soviet Government. They insist that the time has come for a united and simultaneous agitation for the release of these victims of the Dictatorship, and they ask all comrades and sympathisers to concentrate on the campaign which will open on April 20 for a complete amnesty by May 1. We have often published details of the horrible conditions in which these prisoners live, but it is very difficult to get Labour organisations in this country to raise their voices in protest. Some of them are hypnotised by the Communists' propaganda, while the remainder are afraid to take any notice of the matter lest it should put difficulties in the way of the negotiations between the Soviet Government and the British Government. We hope, however, that comrades will do all in their power to bring the matter to the notice of as many Labour and Socialist organisations as possible. Publicity is the best lever for the release of these prisoners.

To American Comrades.

Our comrades in Los Angeles and Boston, Mass., have issued an appeal (in Yiddish) for the formation of a Workers' Anarchist Federation and the publication of a paper in Yiddish. They ask all comrades who are dissatisfied with the present state of the movement to help them by joining together with a view to fresh activity. There is plenty of scope for work in the United States, and all those willing to give a hand are requested to communicate with BLUMA GUBIN, care of *Amerikanskyye Izvestia*, 274 E. 10th Street, New York City.

FOR THE RELIEF OF PRISONERS IN RUSSIA.

We have been requested by our comrades in Berlin to acknowledge the receipt of the following sums, on Subscription List No. 31 of the Berlin Joint Defence Committee of the Revolutionists Imprisoned in Russia, collected by our comrade M. Kisiuk, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. :—

Lillian Kisiuk ... \$3.00	K. K. K. ... \$2.00	M. Rosenbaum ... \$1.00
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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- "Freedom and Its Fundamentals." By Charles T. Sprading. 1 dol. 50c. Los Angeles, Calif.: Libertarian Publishing Co., 4209 Eastside Boulevard.
- "Utopian Essays." By John Veiby. 1 dol. South Bend, Indiana (Box 294): Published by the Author.
- "The Choice Before the World To-Day." By Gilbert T. Sadler, M.A. 1s. London: St. Catherine Press, Stamford Street, S.E. 1.
- "The Fellowship of Humanity by Reason, Love, and Freedom." By Gilbert T. Sadler, M.A. 1s. London: W. H. Smith and Son, Portugal Street, W.C.
- "State Socialism after the War." By Thomas J. Hughes. 4s. London: John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson, 83-91 Great Titchfield Street, W. 1.
- "A Constitution for the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth." 3d. Melbourne: Johnston, Fear, and Kingham, 495A Swanston Street.
- "Socialism and Religion." 5d. London: Socialist Party of Great Britain, 17 Mount Pleasant, W.C. 1.—A reprint of a useful and timely pamphlet.
- "Bloody American Capitalism: Its Murder of Labour." By Joe Walker. 6d. Bradford: Reformers' Bookshop, 103 Kirkgate.
- "The Rule of the Land." By John E. Grant. 3d. London: Commonwealth Land Party, 43 Chancery Lane, W.C. 2.
- "Behind the Bars (Capitalist, Communist, Republican, and Monarchist)." (In English and Yiddish.) 25c. New York: Anarchist Red Cross Society. —We have a few copies for sale, 1s. post free.
- "The Libertarian." An Anti-Blue-Law Magazine. 25c. Los Angeles, Calif.: Libertarian League, 4209 Eastside Boulevard.
- "Johann Most: Das Leben eines Rebellen." Von Rudolf Rucker. Mit Vorwort von Alexander Berkman. 5 Mk. Berlin O 34: *Der Syndikalist*, Kopernikusstrasse 25.
- "Gerechtigkeit und Sittlichkeit." Von Peter Kropotkin. Aus dem Russischen Übersetzt. Berlin O 34: *Der Syndikalist*, Kopernikusstrasse 25.
- "L'Initiation Individualiste Anarchiste." Par E. Armand. 8 fr.—"Amour Libre et Liberté Sexuelle." Par E. Armand. 55c. Orleans: *L'en Dehors*, 22 Cité St. Joseph.

"Freedom" Guarantee Fund.

Our readers may be sure that lack of funds alone prevented us issuing a March number. It could not be helped, but we hope the present 8-page issue will be some compensation. It rests mainly with our readers to prevent such lapses in future. The following sums have been received since our February issue:—R. V. Harvey 1s. 4d., Norwich Comrades 6s., T. S. 10s., J. Petrovich 4s. 6d., G. P. 4s., H. S. 5s., N. B. Ells £1, A. D. Moore 2s., M. A. Mainwaring 17s. 6d., G. W. Tindale and J. C. Sewell 5s., J. A. Nielsen 14s., Z. Freedman 4s. 6d., A. Snellenberg 4s. 6d., W. M. S. 2s. 6d., L. G. Wolfe £1.

"The Workers' Friend."

Unfortunately, the *Workers' Friend* has been compelled to cease publication owing to lack of funds, but our comrades are working hard to get money to restart it once more. For that purpose they have arranged a May Day Dance and Reunion at the Shoreditch Town Hall, on Saturday, May 3. We hope comrades will remember the date and help in every way to make the gathering a financial success.

Anarchist Discussion Circle.

The last of these meetings for this season will be held on Saturday, April 12, when Wm. C. Owen will open a discussion on "Labour's True Position."

CASH RECEIVED (not otherwise acknowledged).

(February 14 to March 31.)

"FREEDOM" SUBSCRIPTIONS.—E. Herbert, J. Sellar, J. Blundell, P. Parsons, J. Cosson, M. A. Mainwaring, F. Russo, A. Cortese, A. Ross, W. H. Whiting, J. Grandjean, Z. Freedman, A. Snellenberg, E. J. Hale, J. Montgomery.

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