

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL XXXI—No. 333.

FEBRUARY, 1917.

MONTHLY: ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

Labour Party's Sixteen Years.

The Annual Report of the Labour Party states that when the first Conference of the party was held in Manchester in 1901, 82 delegates attended, representing a membership of 456,000; the Conference held in Manchester last month was attended by over 700 delegates, representing a membership of nearly 2,250,000. The first year's income totalled £243, compared with the sum of £11,733 received during the past twelve months. If numbers counted for anything, one would expect something valuable to the workers as a result of the activities of such a powerful body as this. But as a pure matter of fact the only benefits realised have been gained by the leaders of the party. This has been strikingly shown during the war. Side by side with the degradation and enslavement of the workers they are supposed to represent, the leaders have increased in favour with the master class, and to-day as a reward for their assistance the following Labour members are in Lloyd George's Government (with a living wage for each of them):—

Member of the War Committee—Right Hon. A. Henderson.
Minister for Labour—Right Hon. John Hodge.
Pensions Minister—Right Hon. George N. Barnes.
Under-Secretary for Home Affairs—Right Hon. W. Brace.
Parliamentary Secretary to Board of Trade—G. H. Roberts.
Junior Lord of the Treasury—J. Parker.

This result is the most scathing indictment of the Labour Party that can be imagined, and a vindication of the Anarchists' opposition to Parliamentary action. When one remembers the high hopes and enthusiasm of the early days of the Labour Party, and the enormous amount of work put in by Socialists to build it up, it is enough to make one weep to see this tragic result. Sixteen years wasted. Now the Right Hon. A. Henderson advocates the introduction of coloured labour, and the Right Hon. John Hodge threatens strikers with the penalties of the Munitions Act unless they go back to work. And this party now has 2,250,000 workers as members!

Dockers' Battalions.

The idea of putting dockers into khaki and having them under military control has been such a success from the masters' point of view that another 10,000 are to be enrolled. Labour is still a little bit suspicious of its rulers, and raised a protest against the formation of more of these battalions, saying they might be used to break strikes. An official statement was accordingly issued saying that these battalions were simply formed to remedy any "deficiency of labour" in the port of the United Kingdom. They had no intention of using them to break strikes. Such an idea never entered their heads. Then the statement went on to say that, of course, if dockers went on strike that would mean there was a "deficiency of labour" at the ports concerned, and the dockers' battalions would be drafted there to supply the "deficiency." It's so simple—almost as simple as the workers. And the Labour Party Report, referred to above, has this touching little sentence which we really must quote here:—

"There is no doubt that the presence of members of the party in the Government has kept the views of Labour prominent and possibly prevented things being decided upon which would be prejudicial to the interests of those whom the party specially represents, and which would have disturbed the unity now existing in the country to see this war through."

When one remembers the Munitions Act, the Defence of the Realm Act, and the other liberty-breathing ordinances passed by the Government during the war, the delicate humour of the above sentence seems a work of art.

The Official Mind.

Our contention in previous issues of "FREEDOM" that the members of the Government who have presided over the Board of

Agriculture have possessed neither insight nor yet breadth of vision has been still further emphasised during the past few weeks. The proposal made by the War Office to draft 30,000 men from the already too-depleted farms into the Army provides us with an illustration of the capacity for great ideas possessed by the official mind. Hodge, the skilled farm worker, being physically fit and therefore likely to make good cannon fodder, must be replaced by the C3 men, who because of their lack of stamina, have been passed by the Army doctors for sedentary work only. In such circumstances, is it any wonder that the man in the street, being told one day to plant potatoes in his backyard because we are in this country fast approaching the position of a "beleaguered city," is utterly befogged by the actions of those who in his innocence he had fondly supposed were, as members of the Government, ordained to take special and parental care of him? Even though the matter may have now been more or less satisfactorily adjusted between the Board of Agriculture and the War Office, it is certainly not surprising that doubt in the wisdom and beneficence of our rulers is fast taking hold of even the least intelligent. Only let many other such idiotic instances of our precious bureaucratic system become manifest, and the whole fabric of government must perforce become discredited.

Agriculture and Co-operation.

Agriculture being the question of the hour, it is not surprising to find that a resolution dealing with the production of foodstuffs at the lowest practicable price was brought up for discussion at the Labour Party's Conference. But the matter cannot end with this or any number of resolutions. Agriculture must loom large upon our horizon during the next few years and the whole matter adjusted, not in the light of any mere reform policy, but by a vigorous grappling with the social structure of this country, and that will be found to rest upon our agriculture. It is not enough that the Labour Party piously demands a maximum of foodstuffs at the lowest practicable price, nor yet that the press puts in a plea for a minimum price for agricultural labour. This is a mere tinkering with the subject. More drastic methods are necessary, and the *Daily News* in its issue of January 15 comes dangerously near to discovering the secret. "One of the reasons," it declares, "why agricultural conditions have been so notoriously unsatisfactory in the past was that the man whose hands actually raised the stock and tilled the field was the one man whose interests went wholly unconsidered." When the full significance of this sentence is grasped it will be realised how necessary it is for Labour to insist upon the co-operative principle being applied to the land, with the result that the man who tills the soil, instead of being one of the most despised and neglected of men, shall unite intelligently and freely with his fellows in producing food for all, and of which he shall receive a full share. Co-operation or free association can and will achieve this end, where the Labour Party, with its faith in legislation, is bound to fail. For legislation is dependent on permanent officials and bureaucrats, but in a co-operative effort we all can directly unite and take for ourselves the fruits of our labours. This, of course, means the abolition of landlordism.

Money for Slaughter.

The new War Loan has been responsible for much cant being uttered about "thrift and patriotism." The public having been nursed into a suitable condition of mind, have been treated to a little homily on thrift, and are reminded that shares in the new Loan will constitute a profitable form of patriotism. The daily press in using such a term is perfectly serious, and does not see the grim humour behind the phrase. It was probably merely conscious of booming the virtue of patriotism on the basis of 5½ per cent interest on money invested. The prospect certainly seems an alluring one to those desirous of earning the title of "patriot." But what of the new graves on the battlefield and the maimed limbs and desolate homes that this fresh loan will help to make possible?

Compulsion for Women Coming.

The scheme recently put forward to place women on the land on a national war-serving basis has taken us one step further towards the universal conscription of women. The endeavour to replace men on the land by women trained for the purpose has not up to the present been altogether successful. Despite the appeals to their patriotism, few women enrolled themselves for this work, and when it is understood that they received the merely local agricultural rates for a 12-hour day, usually commencing at 5-30 a.m., the results are not surprising. 'Bus conducting, or even munition works, held out more attractive possibilities to the women. It is now hoped to obtain the services of some 100,000 women and girls who will be trained at county training centres. It is proposed that these should be compulsorily billeted and receive a soldier's pay of 1s. daily, the farmers to pay the local rates of wages (to the military, we presume). Uniforms are to be worn. This ambitious scheme put forward by the Women's National Land Service Corps is certainly comprehensive in scope, and will, if adopted, do much to further the still greater regimentation of women workers. But it remains to be seen whether the powers-that-be can rise to the occasion and provide the necessary county training centres, or, what is still more important, whether the necessary number of women will present themselves for enrolment. We await with interest the further development of this scheme which would, if the women were actually secured by compulsion, place them as conscripts in the same category as the men.

Millionaires and their Cost.

The *Manchester Guardian*, of December 23, printed some remarkable figures showing the great increase in the number of American millionaires, and also the great increase in their wealth individually. For the year ending June 30, 1916, the income tax collected on individual incomes was \$68,000,000, in the preceding 12 months it was \$41,000,000, an increase of 65 per cent., although the number of persons paying the tax was practically unchanged at 337,000. Of course, the war in Europe has a great deal to do with this tremendous increase, but it may be truly said that in the United States the rich are getting richer. But the poor? Well, a nation cannot produce millionaires without paying the cost. And to realise their cost we will quote some of the remarks of Miss Josephine Goldmark, of the National Consumers' League. Remember that the United States uses more "labour-saving" machinery than any other country:—

"Overwork is the greatest single menace to public health in America," she said. "People are dying younger in America than ever before. Workers are wearing out more quickly. The diseases which are carrying them off are plainly the diseases of overwork. The death-rate from apoplexy and nervous diseases has increased 19 per cent. in ten years, according to the census records of 5,000,000 working people; from heart disease the increase has been 29 per cent.; from diseases of the kidneys and urinary system, 43 per cent., and from diseases of the liver and digestive organs, 34 per cent. It does not take a physician to know that these diseases are typically the diseases of fatigue."

Even a child could see the remedy—that the workers should hold the wealth they produce and use it for their own comfort, rather than hand it over to the parasitic millionaires. It may seem revolutionary, but at least it is commonsense.

"We Never Forget."

My advice to working men is this: If you want power in this country; if you want to make yourselves felt; if you do not want your children to wait long years before they have the bread on the table they ought to have, the opportunities in life they ought to have; if you don't want to wait yourselves, write your banner so that every political trimmer can read it, "We never forget." If you launch the arrow of sarcasm at Labour, we never forget; if there is a division in Congress, and you throw your vote in the wrong scale, we never forget. You may go down on your knees and say, "I am sorry I did the act," and we will say, "It will avail you in heaven, but on this side of the grave, never!"

—Wendell Phillips.

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THE SOCIAL WAR.

In Lausanne, we learn from the *Réveil*, there has been a strike of typesetters which has met the usual fate of such strikes. Berton, the editor of the *Réveil*, himself took an active part in encouraging the strikers, at the same time pointing out the futility of striking merely for an increase of pay, which would eventually be balanced by a corresponding rise in prices. The authorities tried the Briand touch and mobilised some of the strikers, ordering them back to their work at soldier's pay. Owing to the usual mis-organisation of strike funds by the Trade Union leaders not a few of the men went back to work voluntarily or else took similar places elsewhere; in other words, they blacklegged themselves. There was apparently little or no support from kindred trades, such as machine-minders. The futility of such guerilla warfare cannot be too strongly insisted upon; if we must strike, let it be a wholesale one, to win all the freedom we need—freedom to land, life, and leisure.

Grave news comes from Australia. Like the Clyde workers the Sydney (N.S.W.) workers are suffering the spleen of a foiled would-be despot. His failure to impose conscription has left Wilhelm Hughes sour and angry. The activity of the I.W.W. has especially got on his nerves, and no doubt by his direction some savage sentences have been imposed on several of the men who were arrested, as announced in our columns some time ago. Flynn, Hamilton, McPherson, Beatty, Fagan, Grant, and Teen have been sentenced to fifteen years each; Peter Larkin, Reeve, Besant, and Moore ten years each; and John B. King five years. The solidarity the upper classes show in their ruthless dealing with "agitators" should be well known to the workers by now, but that they should have openly gone out of their way to assure the incarceration of the I.W.W. men shows what a farce justice becomes when class interests are at stake. The judge appointed to "consider" these cases was a justice named Pring. Who is Pring? He is the man who was appointed to try the Broken Hill strikers, and from the safe security of the bench indulged in scurrilous libels on Tom Mann and the strikers generally. When the Newcastle miners' officials were arrested in 1915 he "tried" them. He also passed impartial judgment on the Lithgow miners' officials a year later. And all of this despite the fact that these cases were on different circuits, not on Pring's. The authorities are not content with these brutal sentences, however, for they announce their intention of taking steps to make the I.W.W. an illegal organisation in Australia. The Australians, it should be noted, enjoy a reputed "Labour" Government. We have no reason to doubt that a "Socialist" or any other Government would be proportionately as merciless, for it is the duty of any Government to "defend the realm" with the thickest bludgeon at its disposal. So much for the craze for capturing the political machine.

With regard to the foregoing comments, it may be answered that the futility of direct action is proved, since it only incites the violent measures the authorities adopt. It may also be suggested that this would not happen if the workers adopted a reverent on-the-knee attitude, and, further, were assured of real representation on the councils of the people. The misconception of the peaceful-penetrators urges them to regard direct action as throwing stones at policemen, "who are after all only doing their duty." The only direct action worth considering is the social general strike, the shortest and the quickest and the surest way to revolution and social industrial freedom. As we have said in a preceding paragraph, guerilla warfare, whatever temporary advantage it may gain, only tends to defeat itself in the end. And as for Parliamentary agitation, it invariably and inevitably results in the further enslavement of the workers under the cloak of giving them the very reforms they ask for.

Two comrades of the *Libertaire*, which now appears only occasionally in leaflet form, have been lodged in prison in Paris. They are Ruff and Lecoin; the latter was arrested in the street, Ruff being apprehended at the *Libertaire* office. Both were charged with vagabondage, despite the fact that Ruff had the office keys in his pocket when taken. The authorities are being petitioned by the League of the Rights of Man for transference of the prisoners to the political section, so that some definite charge may be made against them and fought out. Lecoin threatens a hunger strike if such transference is not made. Meantime the police are making inquiries and raids among the acquaintances of the two prisoners, but so far have only possessed themselves of a few pamphlets and manifestoes. Now that the French Government has granted itself powers to make regulations by decree, instead of going through the usual Parliamentary farce to obtain them, we may see a severer D.O.R.A. at work amongst the anti-war organisations in enlightened France.

L.A.M.

PRINTED PAGES.

Forced Labour. By J. A. HOBSON. National Council for Civil Liberties. 3d.

This pamphlet is an indictment of the new and intensified industrial slavery now imminent, and which its promoters are seeking to disguise under the title of "National Service." Mr. Hobson commences with a timely reminder how the British people have been gradually and treacherously deprived of such liberties as they possessed before the outbreak of the "War of Liberation." Ever more formidable grows the list of restrictions, starting with the taboo upon the utterance of opinions and criticisms obnoxious to our self-appointed oligarchy (whether expressed in speech, writing, or printing), and going on to curtailments of educational and sanitary services, trade and travel, food and drink.

Simultaneously has progressed the actual physical enslavement of the worker; the National Register, introduced under the solemn pledge that it had, and would have, no relation to the question of recruiting; the Derby scheme of "voluntary attestation," with the pledge that attested married men would not be called to the Army until unattested single "shirkers" had been compelled; the first Conscription Act, for single men, with the pledge that it would not be extended to the married, but nevertheless followed in due course by the amending Act for compelling both single and married men of military age. Along this pathway of broken pledges, military Conscription has advanced to its present stage of completeness (completeness, that is, until "military necessity" demands the raising of the age limit).

Thus far has *military* slavery progressed: now is the Government's chosen time for concentrating upon the twin evil, industrial slavery (already, it should be noted, partially brought into being through the operation of the Munitions of War Act). Male workers between the ages of 18 and 60 are now invited to enrol as "volunteer war workers" in officially recognised "indispensable" occupations, though the "voluntary" nature of this scheme is somewhat discounted by the fact of Lloyd George's declaration that if the required numbers are not obtained "we shall not hesitate to come to Parliament to ask Parliament to release us from pledges given in other circumstances, to obtain the necessary powers for rendering our plans fully effective." Mr. Hobson makes some scathing comments on "the theory of pledges" and the broken pledges which have accompanied what he fittingly describes as "the political Rake's Progress towards despotism."

The pamphlet is excellent as regards its purely "destructive" side, but when it comes to the question of an alternative to forced labour, Anarchists must join issue with Mr. Hobson, whose suggestion is "to remove, either by income or property taxation, or by a high continuous compulsory loan, as much as possible of the superfluous income which is expended in demand for the luxuries, comforts, and unnecessary. By such means you will compel the labour to flow voluntarily from these stopped or damaged industries into the industries which are indispensable and which offer employment. Sufficiently high taxation will force the well-to-do to retrench expenditure, and this retrenchment will set free labour and materials for employment in the vital industries of the country." The italics are the present writer's, and are designed to call attention to a palpable "bull" on the part of Mr. Hobson. The difference between the plan proposed by the eminent economist and the design of the despots whom he criticises is apparently only one of method: our self-constituted saviours propose to use the brute force of the State (if necessary for the purpose) to compel men to leave certain occupations and engage in others, while Mr. Hobson suggests that the officially undesirable industries should be ruined, wholly or partially (and that the labour employed in them should be thus displaced) by high taxation levied on the consumers of the products of those industries. In other words, it is the difference between the political economy of the Manchester School and that of the State Socialists. Each of these systems involves compulsion—one direct and the other indirect. The only possible and logical alternative to forced labour is—to end the war.

T.S.

MILITARY RETURN SOME OF OUR GOODS.

As the result of a letter to Major-General Sir Francis Lloyd, enclosing a copy of "FREEDOM" and cuttings from *Forward* and the *Herald*, commenting on the action of the military in retaining literature and type taken from "FREEDOM" Office, we had a letter to say that the General Officer Commanding had ordered a special inquiry into the points raised by us, and on January 13 Inspector Sandercock, who made both raids, brought back what he gave his word of honour was everything taken from us except the type and printing material and a few things ordered to be destroyed. The latter included *Voice of Labour* of April 15 (for which we were sent to prison), all copies of *Mother Earth* (many of them published before the war), and *Blast* (San Francisco), also a few of "The Last War," and all photos of the leaders in the Dublin rebellion of last Easter.

It seems as though these people can never do a decent action. If things are taken away for examination, at least we might expect some care to be taken of them, but in this we are mistaken. A van with a dirty floor was used to bring the goods back, and pamphlets, papers, books, etc., were thrown loose into the van, except some which had been put into a sack. Everything was mixed up, making it impossible to check them at the time. Several of us were engaged for hours sorting the things out, and throwing aside those too dirty to sell. Sandercock brought a list of the titles of books and pamphlets returned, but no quantities were stated. In spite of the inspector's "word of honour," we have since discovered many things missing, principally all the business books taken on the second raid, and about 100 shilling books on the first raid. Application has been made for them and other things.

We were informed that the type would be kept till after the war unless we signed an undertaking not to use it to print anything against the Defence of the Realm Act. Up to the present we have declined, as this undertaking is too vague, and we are trying to find out what it really means. If they wanted to send us to prison again, any magistrate would find an excuse in any issue of "FREEDOM" since the war started. So perhaps the fewer undertakings we sign the better for our personal liberty.

THE PEOPLES WANT PEACE.

We have just started a New Year, a time when new resolutions are made, often broken, but sometimes carried out. The powers-that-be say that we do not want "Peace"; they are engaged in weeding out more men, conscripting older men for labour, and appealing to women to still more largely help with munitions and the displacing of men fit for active service. Therefore, the powers-that-be are bent on continuing the war. The question arises: Do the people want war, those people who make all the sacrifices, the mothers, wives, and sweethearts, whose dear ones are in France being blown to pieces, whilst our politicians and diplomats talk in a big way of fighting to a finish and winning the war? There are those amongst us who desire peace immediately, who, further, have no interest in the war, apart from their interest in the men whose lives are being wasted in a quarrel which is not theirs. This number, though comparatively small at present, is growing and developing; the time will arrive when it will raise a cry that must be heard. No Government, however strong, can ignore the people's will. Once they make up their minds that they will have peace, they can have peace, no matter what country they inhabit. If people declare a bold policy such as this in one country it will always find adherents in other countries.

This war has reached a stage now when the financial burden is enormous, and the loss of life terrible to all nations participating. People in all countries are wishing to see the end. Neutral countries are giving a lead in paving the way for peace. So it behoves all those who feel the uselessness of carrying on this war to come out and say so, thus helping to build up that public opinion that no Cabinet can ignore, and which must ultimately end in our desire being obtained. So for the New Year, it is not sufficient to hope for peace, but we must come out and act, and then our hopes will be realised.

As far as the people's liberties which are being more and more sacrificed are concerned, these must not be forgotten. Our struggle for peace must embody our struggle for liberty; for without liberty peace is impossible. So in the end it behoves each of us to become strong individually, to listen to our reason, in preference to blindly following the dictates of authority, and so make by a greater individuality a more powerful and noble race of men and women.

S. OXLEY.

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Monthly, One Penny; post-free, 1½d.; U.S.A., 3 Cents; France, 15 Cents.

Annual Subscription, post-free, 1s. 6d.; U.S.A., 40c.; France, 2fr.
Foreign Subscriptions should be sent by International Money Order.

Wholesale price, 1s. 6d. per quire of 26 post-free in the United Kingdom.

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

THE MANAGER, 127, Ossulston Street, N.W.

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THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE.

If one wishes to judge the work done by the Labour Party Conference at Manchester last month, it is only necessary to read the praises showered on it by the Capitalist press. The tributes they have paid to the "loyalty" and "natural common-sense" shown by the delegates is sufficient to prove that nothing done at the Conference is likely to endanger the interests of the Capitalists. The speeches made by many of the delegates were simply a repetition of the leading articles which have appeared in the press since the war started. Five members of the Government sat on the platform as Trade Union delegates, and their acceptance of office was supported by the Conference by a large majority. This fact alone is enough to give us an idea as to the great reaction in the Labour movement. The workers have been so frightened by the bogey of Germany that they have thrown aside their antipathy to their natural enemies at home and joined hands with them to safeguard what they consider their common interests.

"The united nation" and "equality of sacrifice" have been put forward as an ideal, but "equality of opportunity" or "equality of reward" are never mentioned. To give an idea of the class basis of this Army in which "equality of sacrifice" is supposed to be the ideal, we will mention the case of the scholars of Bradfield College. Since the war started, 1,200 of them have joined the Army. Of this number no less than 1,100 are officers. How many of the 2,250,000 Trade Unionists represented at the Conference have been made officers?

When the delegates came to the question of the peace settlement, they voted against a resolution in favour of an international conference at the same time as the diplomats' conference, declining to meet German workers (although Allied diplomats will meet enemy diplomats). Instead, they voted for a Conference attended only by Trade Unionists and Socialists of the Allied Powers. They evidently take it for granted that the Allies will be victorious, and will impose their terms on the enemy. In spite of the German peace overtures, there is nothing at present to justify such a supposition. In any case, the German and Austrian workers cannot be ignored as though they do not exist. Are the English and French and Russian Socialists going to advocate Socialism for all workers except those of the enemy countries?

It is very strange that the question of the impending industrial conscription, called "National Service," was not discussed. Perhaps it was because they realised that they were not in a position to oppose it. When the Labour members voted for military conscription, and when the Labour movement agreed to them doing so, they were left without any logical arguments against industrial conscription. If you admit that the Government can take men by force and put them in the trenches, then you cannot object if they take other men (and women) by force and compel them to supply the men in the trenches with the necessary material for carrying on the war. And the artful politicians led the innocent workers step by step along the path that is leading to universal slavery. The workers never looked so far ahead as that, but their enemies, who never sleep, saw the goal from the first. Evidently the leaders of the Labour movement recognise how they have betrayed the workers, and so prevented any discussion of what they see is inevitable—if the war is to continue.

The Conference also rather late in the day discussed the Glasgow deportations, and demanded the unconditional return of all of the men; but, as they will not act even if their "demand" is refused, we may be sure it will be refused, unless the leaders are sufficiently tamed that their return will do no harm.

Mr. Hodge, the new Minister for Labour, in speaking on the question of demobilisation after the war, said he was going to use the Labour Exchanges for the purpose, and mentioned that 800 new exchanges were to be opened. Of course, he did not say that

only good and obedient Trade Unionists would get the jobs, but this delicate hint would evidently not be lost.

Altogether the Conference was what might have been expected from a body of men who have agreed that their interests and those of their masters are identical.

DEATH OF GEORGE BARRETT.

Comrades throughout the country will hear with great regret of the death of our comrade, George Barrett, who died at Torquay, on January 7, at the early age of 32. Thus ends his long and courageous struggle with consumption, which became acute after a chill contracted while addressing an open-air meeting in Edinburgh on Labour Day, 1913.

It may be safely said that George Barrett was the clearest thinker and most brilliant propagandist in our movement of recent years. Both in his writings and his speeches he went straight to the root of things, and showed a wonderful grasp of the problems raised by modern civilisation. He never troubled himself or his audiences with the petty reforms with which so many Socialists love to deal. He knew that nothing but a complete revolution would avail, and he refused to waste his time in considering anything else.

Bristol was the scene of his first appearance, about 1908, as a propagandist, and as a member of the Bristol Socialist Society his outspoken revolutionary views brought down on him the wrath of the State Socialists, and he had to leave the Society. Shortly after he came to London, and obtained work as a draughtsman at Waltham Abbey, and from there worked actively with the Walthamstow Anarchist Group. His energy was tremendous, and on several occasions after his day's work he cycled 20 miles each way to address a meeting.

Having obtained work in Glasgow in 1911, he soon became known there as a speaker, which led to his firm dismissing him. (We may mention here that his name was really George Ballard, but after his dismissal he adopted the name of Barrett, by which he is more generally known to the movement.) The dock strike of that year brought him into trouble with the police, owing to his leading an attack on one of the wharves where blacklegs were working. The police, however, thought a prosecution might do more harm than good. The work of his life by which he will be mostly remembered was the editing of *The Anarchist*, the first number of which was published on May Day, 1912. He threw himself into this heart and soul, and worked night and day to make it a success; but the workers preferred to read capitalist sheets, and after thirty-four issues the paper had to cease, greatly to his disappointment. He continued to speak at meetings, both indoor and outdoor, until May of the following year, when his illness put a stop to his work in that direction.

When the war broke out he kept his head, and was not to be side-tracked from the true Anarchist position. Although confined to his bed, he wrote that magnificent pamphlet, "The Last War," showing that the workers are at present merely fighting to settle their masters' quarrels, but that "the real task before them is the war of the mines, the railways, the factories, and the fields. When this has been fought successfully, so that those who use them enjoy the wealth that they yield, then we shall find that there is no master class to make wars and slay us by thousands." It is no surprise that the pamphlet was condemned by the Government, but not before 10,000 had been sold. About the same time (May, 1915), we published another pamphlet by him, "The Anarchist Revolution" (reprinted from FREEDOM), in which he proves that the workers have the power in their own hands to bring about the revolution, and that Government is not necessary in the production and distribution of the necessities of life. This pamphlet should be put into the hands of the workers, as it deals with the question in simple, but convincing language. Since these pamphlets none of his writings has been published, but we believe that some of them may appear later on.

We cannot close without paying our tribute to the devotion of his wife, Edith, who never spared herself in attending to his wants throughout his long illness, and thereby helped him to continue his work for the movement.

THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTION.

By GEORGE BARRETT.

Price, One Penny; Ninepence per dozen; postage extra.

AN UNHOLY ALLIANCE.

At no time in the long history of the struggle of the industrial classes for emancipation has it been more necessary for them to exercise vigilance than at present, when the talk of the relations between Capital and Labour fills the air. We read of conference after conference of these erstwhile irreconcilable bodies, always being held with the avowed object of smoothing away friction, but in reality to deal with the adjustment of industrial machinery in such a way that Labour will be more effectually leg-ironed after the war than in pre-war days. It is with such words as "equal co-operation" and "partnership" that Capital hopes to delude its victims. The talk of social reconstruction is its watchword, and it invitingly awaits the entrance of the fly into the nicely-prepared web.

The most sinister part of the whole business is that few people in the world of Labour actually appreciate what we are up against. The words of praise bestowed upon the moderation of the Labour Party's claims and policy by the daily press should have been sufficient to indicate the enemy's strategic movement. To quote from the *Daily News* of January 22:

"It is not a day too soon for Labour to be devoting sober and earnest consideration to the formulation of the policy for which it will stand when peace conditions return. The programme prepared by the party executive fails neither in ambition nor in comprehension. It calls for the institution of adequate demobilisation machinery, measures for the prevention of unemployment, the restoration of Trade Union conditions, a minimum wage, and the extension of Trade Boards, the nationalisation of railways and mines, the development of agriculture under Government initiative, the conscription of wealth and the increased taxation of luxuries, and franchise reform introducing adult suffrage for both men and women. That is a formidable claim, but it is difficult to say of any item in the list that its inclusion on the agenda of what is purely a Labour Congress is either unreasonable or superfluous. . . . Never has the nation—a nation of workers and employers and consumers—been more ready to recognise the justice of the reasonable claims of Labour. Never will frankness and moderation and an abandonment of hostilities and suspicions become Labour better or more effectively advance its interests. With the vast work of industrial reconstruction in contemplation the firmest basis for hope is in the joint conventions and alliances between employer and employed, on which practically every scheme of reconstruction, from whatever quarter it has emanated, has rightly laid stress."

With the claims of Labour thus blessed by the Capitalist press, it is easy enough to understand that the workers have been duped and sold by their leaders. Never before in all its chequered history has Labour had such opportunities as during the past three years. In 1914, as in 1848, industrial unrest was manifest in every European country, but instead of uniting internationally to win the industrial war being waged against their masters, the workers of each country were deluded into flying at their comrades' throats. But let the words of Mr. Wardle, M.P., addressed to the delegates at the Labour Party's Conference speak for themselves:

"This war is a war of workers. It is upon their skill, their energy, their unflagging zeal, and their capacity for endurance that almost everything turns. And their co-operation has been given during the war not ungrudgingly nor of necessity, but spontaneously, and as some measure of the realisation of the issues which are being fought out on the battlefields of the world."

This central fact, that the workers have made the war possible, is the most tragic thing about this most tragic age.

That the Trade Union organisation of this country should have made the wholesale betrayal of our interests possible is a thought that would have staggered those who fought for a revolutionary ideal in the early days of the Trade Union movement. The whole history of the rise to power of Labour officials, made possible by defects in the Trade Union machinery, should provide one of the most fruitful lessons for the workers. It must be realised before it is too late that social reconstruction must come, but that new ideas must precede it and that new methods must be tried if we are not to become the abject victims of an unholy pact between the new Triple Alliance—the State, our employers, and the Labour leaders. Never before has it been so necessary to understand the cause of our weakness and of our failure to win industrial emancipation. When we fully see the loss, waste, and misery consequent upon the pursuance of Labour's past policy, then we shall be ready to seek new paths and try other methods, but until then we shall plod on helplessly while the bosses hold their conferences and dictate their terms to us.

M.B.H.

The Anarchist Ideal.

Self-ownership, self-sovereignty,
For each and all—is Anarchy!

A TRUE WORKERS' WAR.

The civil war in Mexico is at the present moment affording a strong contrast to the other war in Europe. In Mexico the peasants have been fighting for some years now to gain their freedom, which they realise depends upon free land. In Europe the workers are fighting for—well, not for free land. Prominent amongst the Mexican Revolutionists are the bunch of rebels calling themselves the Liberal Junta, and the following extracts from a letter to a comrade from one of the best known of the group—Enrique Flores Magon—should prove interesting reading for our own patriotic workers, and make them realise the necessity of re-echoing the Mexican workers' cry of "Land and Liberty" if they wish for a reward for all their sacrifices.

The brothers Enrique and Ricardo were arrested and sentenced by United States officials for their revolutionary activities. An appeal has been lodged. A comrade in England sent them some financial help, and in acknowledging it Enrique Magon deals with the present position of the Mexican Revolution. He says:—

Los Angeles, Cal., Oct. 31, 1916.

Five years ago the true revolutionists from the Southern part of Mexico, the "Agrarians," or "Zapatists," and the "Liberals," or Anarchist Communists, combined, succeeded in getting a foothold in the State of Morelos. Now, Agrarians and Anarchist Communists dominate large regions of other neighbouring States to the number of eleven. The area dominated by them is over a fifth of that of the Republic, and the number of inhabitants therein is about three millions, but their present activities—that of their "guerrillas" or group of armed revolutionists of about from 25 to even 500 men each—reach many other States, wherein they make incursions, harassing the forces of the so-called *de facto* government of Carranza, and, therefore, the circles in the pond of water are extending still further, to such extent and with such steadiness that one can easily foresee that it shall dominate the whole country as time passes by.

The Liberals, members of the Mexican Liberal Party, of which Organising Board (Junta) Librado Rivera, my brother Ricardo and myself are the only living members—the others, as Antonio I. Villarreal, having become traitors and passed over to the enemy, and others, as Anselmo L. Figueroa, having died as a result of the stubborn and relentless persecution that we suffer at the hands of the authorities of this home of the "free"—are, in fact, wide-awake working men of the most aggressive, tenacious, and determined type, whose ideals are Anarchist Communism, as shown in our manifesto of September 23, 1911—ideals that are readily taken by the peons, thanks to our tribal Indian Communistic traditions that still were in practice in many communities not over 25 years ago, until Porfirio Diaz robbed us of our Communal lands, forests, and everything else to deliver it into the hands of domestic and foreign (largely foreign) adventurers of the Lord Cowdray type.

Thanks to our tribal traditions; thanks to our being mostly Indians and, therefore, close-to-Nature agricultural people; thanks to our being illiterate and, hence, unspoiled by the so-called education of the capitalist class, our national or race soul and mind are apt to assimilate the modern ideas.

Therefore, it should not be surprising to find that the other rebels under different banners are more or less inclined toward Anarchism, amongst them the Agrarians.

These Agrarians and the Liberals work together owing to the fact that the former are direct actionists, although they still think a government is needed. They—the Agrarians—reason this way: "No government will help the poor to come into their own; no authority will emancipate the masses; therefore, let us take the social wealth by ourselves, within the Revolution; let us emancipate ourselves, and afterwards we may have a government that would sanction and legalise our deeds."

And they act perfectly revolutionary. They go after the rich, the authorities, and the priestcraft. They, too, as the Liberals, have burned to ashes the private property deeds as well as all official records; have thrown down the fences that marked private properties; the jails have been destroyed, and everything has been turned into the property of all.

So, Liberals and Agrarians work in conjunction and good harmony, while the former propagate our principles and put them into practice amongst the latter to the extent that there are now several communities living practically in accordance with our theories, without masters, without authorities, and without priests of any religion. There all belongs to all, and all work according to their tastes and ability and consume according to their necessities. All are brothers, equal and free.

Zapata, who is the leader of the Agrarians, is absorbing our ideas and forgetting his hobby of a government that would sanction the deed of the people after its having taken back its belongings by means of force. Friends and comrades of ours that have been with

Emiliano Zapata tell us of instances when Zapata has shown his taste for Anarchism. For instance, Comrade George Duval, who now is touring this country on propaganda, tells us of an occasion when Zapata's secretary volunteered to read to Zapata some book on State Socialism. "Don't, please," answered Zapata, "I would rather hear some of those nice books of Kropotkin."

The Agrarians, by their contact with the Liberals who are mixed up with them in their towns and their "guerrillas," forming but one army, must as a consequence become Anarchist Communists, as, in fact, will all the other factions. Then the Revolution will be complete.

The best proof that it is so is the fact that several Presidents have come up and down since six years ago, and still the Revolution continues to climb up toward the Ideal that is condensed in our battle cry of "Land and Liberty!"

Carranza now, in his turn, is about to fall. Somebody else will replace him. That will be quite natural. We may regard Mexico as a soup pot. The stuff therein has to be boiled to have it purified and eatable. When it begins to boil, some foam or spurious matter comes to the surface (Madero for instance); you spoon it out and some more foam (de la Barra) comes up; spoon it out again and more foam shall come up (Huerta and others); again spoon it out and other (Carranza) foam will come up. You keep on spooning away all spurious matter until finally nothing shall come up. The soup would be then ready to serve.

The same is happening in Mexico. Carranza is being spooned out right now; some other tyrant-foam may come up; it shall be spooned away, and so on and so forth, until no more human foam comes to the surface, and the country, rid of tyrants, exploiters, and fooling priests, will be ready for a free and happy people (regardless of race, colour or sex) to live in.

Then will be, if not before, when the example shall contaminate and be followed by the other countries. And the capitalist system weakened in one place of the earth shall be easy to be overthrown in other places.

Therefore, we feel greatly gratified with the solidarity of our comrades from other countries, for it means to us that they, as we do, realise the importance of the Mexican Social and Economic Revolution. They realise with us its influence and significance in the world Labour movement. They foresee with us that the Mexican peasants' triumph is that of the proletariat all the world over.

A Song of Strife.

No matter how foolish the hate
Whose tyrannous cruelty rules us,
From traitorous weakness that fools us
Our hearts shall keep calm and sedate.
The harder the way that we follow,
The firmer each footstep shall tread—
For manhood the life of to-morrow,
For weakness the night of the dead.

No matter how dreary the view
Of suffering widespread that bounds us,
A ray through the darkness that rounds us
Shall kindle Hope's torches anew.
Ye sailors, from Hope new strength borrow,
Row straight, for the port lies ahead—
For manhood the life of to-morrow,
For weakness the night of the dead.

No matter how feeble our cries,
Fight on, for the triumph is nearest,
Fight on for the right to us dearest,
For Freedom, whom man crucifies.
Too long in our folly and sorrow,
To tyrants we bowed down our head—
For manhood the life of to-morrow,
For weakness the night of the dead.

No matter how fruitless our dream,
The eve of our days so long cheerless
Comes bringing the visionings peerless
We dreamt of in morning's first gleam.
To skies with the star-gems inhallowed
We bring the dawn's blush, flaming red—
For manhood the life of to-morrow,
For weakness the night of the dead.

L.A.M.

—(After Eugène Bizeau, in "Ce qu'il faut dire.")

NOTICES.

FREEDOM Office, 127, Ossulston Street, Somers Town, is open every Saturday from 2 p.m. till 6 o'clock. Comrades are heartily invited to call.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.—Rooms, 10, Windsor Street (off New City Road).

Sunday, February 18, at 7 p.m., Comrade D. A. Kennedy will lecture on "Anarchism v. Socialism: A Reply to the I.L.P."

Sunday, March 4, at 7 p.m., "Darwinism, Modern Socialism, and Anarchism." Speaker, D. A. Kennedy.

THE SECULAR FELLOWSHIP, 5, Brunswick Place, East Road, N.—Open Forum for Secularists, Socialists, Anarchists, etc. Open every evening. Discussions every Sunday night. All are welcome, especially those willing to open up discussions or debates. No charge for admission.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(January 1—27.)

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Printed by the BLACKFRIARS PRESS, LTD., 5, Parsonage Buildings, Blackfriars Street, Manchester, and Published by FREEDOM PRESS, 127, Ossulston Street, London, N.W.