

Freedom

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NOTES.

The Murders in Ireland.

The murder of the Lord Mayor of Cork and also of Mr. Bell has brought matters to a head in Ireland, and the appointment of Sir N. Macready, who broke the miners' strike at Tonypandy and the London police strike, is a sign that the Government intend to take more drastic steps to preserve what they call "law and order." We are told that Sir N. Macready is a man with a hand of iron in a glove of velvet, but if Ireland's troubles could be solved with a hand of iron, they would have been solved long ago. The truth is that the English Protestant gang who at present rule Ireland from Dublin Castle do not want a settlement of the Irish question. If Ireland as a whole had self-government, this gang would be cleared out in six months, as an Irish Government, elected by the Roman Catholic majority, would be compelled to fill all—or nearly all—public offices with Irish Roman Catholics. So the English garrison have always opposed Home Rule, because it would turn them out of their jobs, which they have usually obtained for political services. The Home Rule Bill just introduced proves our contention, for, so as to provide as many jobs as possible for Unionists and Nationalists, it is proposed to have two Governments in Ireland, one for Ulster, and one for the rest of Ireland. All the political jobs are to be duplicated—two Cabinets, two Lord Chancellors, and so on. The greedy gang are all to have fat jobs doled out to them, and in this way they hope to pave the way for this bastard form of "self-government." But we are certain they will fail. Ireland might have been satisfied with merely political changes in the past, but her economic education has been rapid during the last twenty or thirty years, and she will not be satisfied now with such a paltry subterfuge as the present Home Rule Bill. If the new "iron hand" causes the guns to go off, and Irish workers are massacred, we cannot believe that the workers in this country will stand idly by. The dangers of a White Terror in Ireland are very real and menacing.

Trades Union Congress and Direct Action.

It was a foregone conclusion that the Trades Union Congress would decide against direct action to enforce nationalisation of the mines. Apart from the fact that Trade Unionists generally felt no enthusiasm for nationalisation, their leaders were opposed to direct action for other reasons. Many of them are Members of Parliament, or hope to be Members, and they are afraid that if they resort to direct action they will scare the middle-class voters at the next election. Therefore they are determined to use all their official influence to keep their restive Trade Union members quiet. So they ladle out soothing syrup to them. "Don't strike, but keep up an intense agitation in favour of Labour candidates, and we will sweep into power at the next General Election. Then the Labour Party will be able to remove all your grievances, and lead you into a land flowing with milk and honey. We will blow our trumpets, the walls of the capitalist Jericho will fall, and Labour will be triumphant." But if the "dilution" of the Labour Party goes on at its present rate, it will soon lose all claim to be a Labour Party. Liberal M.P.s and Liberal lawyers and military officers are going over to it fast, and now that that pompous old platitudinarian Asquith has declined to "fuse" with Lloyd George, he is free to offer his "statesmanlike" abilities to the Labour Party. What a fine team they will make! And the poor, deluded workers are looking to this mob of office seekers for a power with which to break the chains which bind them to Capitalism. Even Lord Northcliffe gives the Labour Party his blessing, which is a sure sign that the workers cannot expect much from it.

A Red Army in Germany.

The five days' monarchist adventure in Berlin, and the wretched figure cut by the Ebert Government during that time, must surely have proved to every sensible man and woman in Germany that the time has come when they must use all the means at their disposal to end the present regime. But it seems that the people have thrown away the opportunity which the

general strike had put into their hands. They had the Government by the throat whilst the strike lasted, and yet on the mere promise of a few reforms by the Majority Socialists in the Government, the strike was called off. And now, says the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent, "it is being dismally brought home to the workers that the bargain upon which they stopped the strike is a scrap of paper." This damnable foolishness of trusting to the word of a politician makes one almost despair of seeing any real changes coming to pass. Year in and year out, in every country, the people are tricked and fooled by politicians in the pay of the wealthy classes, and yet the people continue to put their trust in them. Here in England we see exactly the same thing happen. A big coal or rail strike takes place, the Government steps in, promises are made by the Ministers, and the strike is called off. In a few weeks the workers find they have been misled by a few sentences which can be distorted to mean anything or nothing. Yet they never learn the lesson, for when another strike takes place the old trick is played, with the same success. We hope that the workers in the Ruhr district of Germany will keep their arms after their strike is settled. By that means they will be able to enforce the terms of any agreement they may make with the Government.

Busting the Trusts.

Anarchists have often pointed out the futility of trying to remedy the evils of capitalism by legislation, and nothing supports our contention so strikingly as the history of anti-Trust legislation in the United States. After a tremendous agitation, in which the American Federation of Labour took a hand, the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was put on the Statute Book, and the optimists waited for the Trusts to get the knock-out blow. But they soon found out that the sword had a double edge, for the first "Trust" prosecuted and convicted was a Trade Union, which had called a strike and damaged a firm's business. They had to pay an enormous sum for damages. Later on the Standard Oil Company was "dissolved" by an order of the Supreme Court, but to-day the Standard Oil Company is paying out about three times the annual dividends that it paid before it was "dissolved." Now the Anti-Trust Law has got the knock-out, for on March 4 the Supreme Court ruled that the United States Steel Trust is not a Trust within the meaning of the law, and also declared that in their decision they were guided by "public interest," which is "of paramount regard." Three judges disagreed with the others, and said there had been "open, notorious, and continued violation" of the law; but, being a democratic country, where the majority rules, their remarks have no value. This Anti-Trust Law must be a relative of our Anti-Profitteering Act, which the Labour Party blessed, and which is a constant source of merriment whenever it is mentioned.

Irish Workers Damned.

Whilst members of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Sinn Feiners have been amusing themselves by taking pot-shots at each other, something really terrible has happened. It seems that the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress have joined the International—not Lenin's Third International, but the Second, the one beloved by the I.L.P. and Noske. And now it turns out that in doing this the Irish workers have jeopardised their chance of going to heaven, for according to the Rev. Peter Finlay, the doctrines of the International come into conflict with the teaching of the Catholic Church. In a series of articles in the *Irish Catholic*, Father Finlay explains the situation, and says that Catholics "sin mortally and incur excommunication" who become or remain members of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress. This is awful news. However, there is a chance of salvation even now, for the poor Irish worker, if he will but join Catholic Trade Unions and become a zealous member of such an organisation, the gates of Paradise will be opened wide for him, and all will be well. We shall wait anxiously to see what Irish Trade Unionists will do. But we remember what happened to the Jackdaw of Rheims, who was excommunicated and damned with bell, book, and candle. "In spite of all this terrible curse, nobody seemed a penny the worse."

LIGHT ON SOVIET RUSSIA.*

The veil of lies which has for so long hidden the real conditions in Soviet Russia is being lifted now, and with the publication of Arthur Ransome's book ("Six Weeks in Russia in 1919"), and these two books by Professor Goode and Colonel Malone we are now able to form a mental picture of the work of the Communist Government in Russia. Most of the matter of the two books under review has appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Express*, but has been revised by the authors and fuller details added. We now see that instead of Russia being in a state of chaos, with atrocities as an everyday occurrence, it is in reality a well-governed country, the Government's main aim being the welfare of all those who are prepared to recognise it as the legal representative of the people. Considering the fact that when the Bolsheviks came into power the whole economic system of the country was disorganised, owing to the mismanagement during the war of the corrupt and incompetent Tsarist Government, and considering also that the Allies have not allowed Russia any respite from war, the system now in force in Soviet Russia is a magnificent tribute to the honesty and single-mindedness of the Communist Government. Professor Goode writes: "The idea of a widespread anarchy of authorities is entirely wrong, the reality being an organisation, political and economical, of very close tissue, the whole being so strongly connected that, as I said, the life of the country is in its grip, and little or nothing can escape its influence."

Both authors speak highly of the marvellous adaptability of the various official departments, and also of the wonderful organisation of transport, both civil and military, achieved in spite of lack of rolling stock and fuel.

Atrocities there undoubtedly have been, as might be expected when a people who have been oppressed for centuries suddenly find their enemies at their mercy. But those atrocities are a result of the age-long oppression and not a result of the revolution. The oppressors reaped what they sowed.

As to the everyday life of the people in Russia, the improvement on the old *régime* is enormous, although working under difficulties. We read of the nurseries for the babies, schools and dinners for the children, and schools and theatres for the workers. The hours of labour and rates of wages are fixed at various rates, according to the occupation and efficiency of the workers, wages varying from a minimum of 1,200 roubles per month to a maximum of 4,800 roubles. In exceptional cases specialists are paid at exceptional rates. But every person who is willing to work is sure of getting a living without having to wait until some kind capitalist can make a profit out of his labour. As a result of the Bolshevik Revolution, said Professor Goode, in the *Manchester Guardian*, the industrial working class "have gained in everything that relates to their life—pay, hours, leisure, opportunities," but, he continues, "they may have gained it at the expense of some of their freedom, for Bolshevism is a doctrine of work; that, however, is beside the point" (our italics). To us Anarchists it seems a very important point. As a matter of fact the worker has very little choice as to occupation or place of work, as the Department of the Protection of Labour alone have the power of supplying labour to those factories which require it. Undoubtedly, the workers are in an enormously improved condition compared to their life under the old Tsarist *régime*, but at present there is neither Communism nor equality under the Soviets. As Professor Goode writes in his book: "It is usually said that they (the Soviet Government) are engaged in setting up a system of Communism. They are no such fools. They are fully aware of the impossibility of such an immediate change; and, as Lenin says, 'the Communist who wishes to set up a Commune now is no Communist.'"

Colonel Malone deals with much of the matter touched on by Professor Goode. Speaking of the control of industry, he mentions the workmen's committee at the power station at the town of Bogorotsk, which he visited. This committee consists of five persons, two nominated by the workers, two by the technical staff, and one local representative of the Council of Public Economy. "So it will be seen," he says, "that the actual workers are in a minority, as, in fact, they are in all the factories which are running in Russia." As a firm believer in the Whitley Council he advises employers in Great Britain and the allied countries to adopt workmen's committees of a similar character as the above, as an antidote to industrial unrest and to prevent "the collapse of our social fabric."

**Bolshevism at Work*. By W. T. Goode, M.A. 2s. 6d. net. *The Russian Republic*. By Colonel Malone, M.P. 2s. 6d. net. Both books are published by George Allen and Unwin, 40, Museum Street, London, W.C.1. —*Save Russia*. An Appeal to England, by Vladimir Tchertkoff (Tolstoy's literary executor). 3d. London: C. W. Daniel, 3, Tudor Street, E.C.4. These three publications can be supplied by Freedom Press, on receipt of price and postage.

The gallant Colonel, of course, took special note of the organisation of the Red Army, and was present with Trotsky at a review and march past of some of the troops. He was much impressed by the enthusiasm and discipline of the "Reds," and compares the present situation in Russia with that of the French Revolution, and has a wholesome fear that if the Allies continue the war against the Soviet Republic a Russian Napoleon and military dictatorship may be the result, with effects disastrous to the Allies. He, therefore, advises them to "make every effort to give the Soviet Republic internal and external peace, and to establish commercial bonds with them, to the great blessing of mankind, and to the prospering of all countries." Like Professor Goode, he points out that by attacking the Bolshevik Government the Allies have strengthened its position, as the great majority of the people feared a Monarchist revival if Koltchak and Denikin had been successful. When this external war ceases the Russian people will then be free to change their Government if they wish to do so.

To those who wish to understand the present situation in Russia we heartily recommend these two books.

"Save Russia" is a powerful appeal to the English people to insist on their Government stopping all aid to those who are carrying on the war against the Soviet Government, and thus put an end to the civil war "now ruining the bodily life of the Russian people," and causing "misery and suffering to more than one hundred million working men, women and children." Mr. Tchertkoff says he is well aware that no considerations of humanity can directly influence the political action of any Government, but he looks to the people of this country to raise such an insistent protest that the British Government should be at last compelled to give up all interference in the home affairs of Russia. We are of the opinion, however, that this protest must be of a more determined character than heretofore if it is to have any weight with our rulers.

ANARCHISM AND BOLSHEVISM.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—With the position of Comrade Cooper, as an abstract statement, I must thoroughly agree. The Will to Power must go before the Will to Life. But the Will to Power will not go by your taking a seat in the seventh heaven and dreaming about it. We have to reach Cooper's position through the actualities of life. The Will to Power has to be fought out—beaten. Science is fighting it by submarine, aeroplane, and Lewisite. Universal knowledge will leave no chance for domination and exploitation by groups, nations, or empires. All these must pass before a Unity of the Species is brought about, not by Pacifism but by Force. The only alternative that Science holds is race suicide, or extinction of an anti-social species.

We are all agreed, I think, that if we can reach Freedom the people will do much better than governments have ever done for them, and that their liberty impulses will save them from any fresh enslavement. But we have to reach this Freedom through a false economic system, and the representatives of this system will fight to the last ditch. What, then, have I to do? Have I to lie down and let the capitalists wipe their feet on me, or have I to unite with the forces of Science in fighting them?

I don't care whether Lenin and the Bolsheviks are impelled by the Will to Power or the Will to Life. The question is, are they doing all they can to clear away the system of exploitation? If they are not, let Cooper and his side show where they fail; if they can't, for the present they may as well shut up. It is no use merely sitting on one dictator's chest and allowing the capitalist dictators full play. When Lenin and the Bolsheviks have cleared away the system of exploitation, if they are impelled by the old Will to Power, they will soon show it, and then will come our turn to deal with them.

As to any man with the Anarchist outlook joining the B.S.P., this is funny! Why the Marxians have not yet shed their Nationalism. What have we to do with a British Socialist Party? I think all who have reached the Anarchist outlook upon society know their real work well, but most of us are not content to live in dreamland. We are going to move among the actualities of life, and we are going to take hold of them, too. I don't like dictators, and can smell one a mile off, but I recognise that a certain sort are good scavengers. Vultures or eagles are not nice for household pets, but they are good for clearing off carcasses.—Fraternally,

JOHN TAMLYN.

WHAT IS ANARCHISM?

We receive pleasure or suffer pain through our own individual organs, breathe with our own lungs, think with our own brains, and move about actively or are bed-ridden, according to the condition of our own muscles. From ourselves we never get away. We cannot. The basic law of our existence is that each of us is a kingdom in himself, and that beyond the limits of his individual kingdom none of us can stray.

Each one of us strives, instinctively and unceasingly, to protect and develop his own kingdom, because failure to do so is punished remorselessly. If my body lacks food or adequate protection against the cold, I suffer physically. If my intellectual wants go unsatisfied, it is I who fret. If my life is loveless, mine is the heart that aches. Of necessity, therefore, I struggle, consciously or unconsciously, to give my life the things it calls for; to satisfy its various appetites, to make the most of this, the one piece of real property I acquired with birth, and shall relinquish only with my death.

Men accumulate what they call "property" only because they find or think it necessary to the security and happiness of their own individual lives, encased in their own individual bodies. The saint may flatter himself that he is giving himself to God; the revolutionist that he is sacrificing himself to his cause; the patriot that he is bleeding for his country. In reality, each is only striving to satisfy what happens to be, for him, his strongest appetite, which he must feed or suffer. Each is cultivating what seems to him the portion of his own kingdom it will pay him best to cultivate. Each, by life's mysterious law, is seeking his own happiness in his own way. Do you condemn that law? I say it is the most glorious of laws, because under it every one of us struggles incessantly for happiness. Only out of that universal struggle can general happiness come.

Still under the influence of those cruel religions which teach that man was born in sin, we do not see, as yet, the beauty of that law. Instead of encouraging every individual to pursue happiness with every ounce of energy he can command; instead of urging him to develop his own kingdom to the utmost, and get out of it all the incalculable pleasures now lying dormant in it; instead of spurring him on to get, at any cost, all that his physical and intellectual and spiritual appetites demand, we seek to thwart and prevent him. If people would put into the development of their own kingdoms the energy they now devote to hindering others from developing, the world would be far happier than it is to-day.

The teaching of Anarchism is "Mind your own business, and leave me to look after mine!" "Do not hinder my development, and I will not hinder yours!" It is the best of teachings, because it makes for general development—physical, intellectual and spiritual—and development means happiness. We are all happier, physically, when we are better fed and clothed and housed. We are all happier intellectually when we have permitted our minds to grow and taught them to climb. We are all happier spiritually when we have given our natural affections their proper due. For myself, I have no wish to live in a community where the majority are starving, or among those who despise the things of the mind, or among those who look down on their fellow-creatures as inferiors. When I get into that sort of a bog, I myself am compelled to sink, and I do not like it. Precisely because I am an individualist, I am sociable, for I recognise that I rise with others, and that when they are drowning they pull me also down.

We are living at present, and suffering intensely, under the *régime* of Militarism; and against all I have written above Militarism is incessantly in arms. Militarism lives by invasion. Militarism seeks to crush and render helpless, that it may rule and impose its orders. We are to-day in the full tide of Militarism, and, as I think, it is sweeping the entire revolutionary movement off its feet. If it were not so, we, who have suffered so long and cruelly from despotism should not be chanting the praises of "Dictatorship by the Proletariat." Was that the goal for which we started? Never. For the moment we have lost our way.

Militarism is necessarily stupid, because Militarism never argues. It does not believe in free speech, the unfettered interchange of thought, or any of that nonsense. Its only logic is that of the bayonet and gun. And its stupidity is now paralysing the activity of all the world, and bringing it to ruin.

See how, for the moment, it has hypnotised society! It has driven even our hard-headed merchants into the lunacy of believing that they prosper when their markets are destroyed and their best customers—in this case the Germans—rendered bankrupt. It has filled millions with such delusions as that murder is a noble art; that there are too many people in the world; that "My country, right or wrong," is the highest of all moralities; that it is the God-given duty of the chosen few

to issue orders, and of the many to obey them; that the man born outside our own artificial borders is an enemy, against whom we must protect ourselves. Every one of these ideas is a reversion to barbarism.

All whose ignoble ambition is to govern others, instead of giving them full opportunity to govern themselves; all whose purpose is to live as parasites on the toil of others; all such dishonest natures eagerly champion military ideas.

By the assiduous inculcation of those ideas, they have poisoned all this age's thought and corrupted incalculably those movements which had the overthrow of human slavery as their original aim. Hence it comes that Trade Unionists and Syndicalists are thinking only of how they will boss the show when they shall have climbed to power; that Socialists state openly their determination to make the minority toe the mark; that many who were good Anarchists ten years ago, to-day cheer wildly for Dictators. A pitiful collapse!

As I see it, the masses are robbed because, as individuals, they have been rendered helpless; and the remedy is to restore the individual to his original and natural strength. I have called myself an Anarchist because I supposed this to be Anarchism's aim. If it is not, I am no Anarchist.

W. C. O.

IMPORTANCE OF AGITATION.

Men blame us for the bitterness of our language and the personality of our attacks. It results from our position. The great mass of the people can never be made to stay and argue a long question. They must be made to feel it through the hides of their idols. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

Power is ever stealing from the many to the few.

The manna of popular liberty must be gathered every day or it is rotten.

The hand entrusted with power becomes the necessary enemy of the people.

Only by uninterrupted agitation can a people be kept sufficiently awake to principle not to let liberty be smothered by material prosperity.

Every government is always growing corrupt. Every Secretary of State is, by the very necessity of his position, an apostate. He is an enemy to the people, of necessity, because the moment he joins the government he gravitates against the popular agitation, which is the life of the republic.

The public that sinks to sleep, trusting to constitutions and machinery, politicians and statesmen, for the safety of its liberty, never will have any.—Garrison.

"THE FLAME."

This new monthly magazine, published by the League of Peace and Freedom (3d.), 90, Avenue Chambers, W.C.1, is issued to combat "the false magic of established persons: politicians, priests, journalists, and doctors, to whom orthodoxy has become greater than truth." The war has broadened the outlook of many, but "there are many disquieting signs that the mass of men are returning after the war to their old allegiances. False ideas of authority are guiding their thoughts and actions, and, in an even increased degree, they are placing their trust in government, when the individual should be strong and wise enough to rely upon his own strength and the strength of principle for the salvation of himself and his fellows." That is the Anarchist point of view. Mass action against present-day institutions will be useless unless the individuals composing the mass reject entirely all the ideas of authority, on which those institutions are based. Government cannot cast out government. We welcome *The Flame* as an influence for the abolition of authority of man over man.

You want more individual initiative? You want to see the masses themselves taking a hand in their own emancipation, and putting their own shoulders to the wheel? Then combat all centralisation; oppose everything that makes for dictatorship; throw all your weight against whatever seals up the energies of the many by lodging responsibility with the powerful few. Who can make the Revolution except the people themselves? How are they ever to make it if guardian angels are permitted once more to sing them to sleep?

These times strike monied worldlings with dismay;
Ev'n rich men, brave by nature, taint the air
With words of apprehension and despair.

Wordsworth.

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FIND THE KEY-LOG!

How gaily everywhere the city proletariat, but not the peasantry, greeted the call to arms! One remembers the cheers with which Vienna and Berlin, Petrograd and Paris, resounded; and one remembers that we British also were by no means backward. We also welcomed the fight and hailed joyously the new adventure which broke the monotony of our sombre lives. Ardent revolutionists saw the sky already crimson with the coming dawn, and wrote us ecstatic letters, from which the most resolute might turn to-day with tears. No such letters reach us now. With the grey morning, second thoughts have come. It is the hour for measuring up values and taking stock.

At any rate, we are this much to the good—the showing-up of antediluvian shams and hypocrisies has been immense. The glory of the Romanoffs, the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, has departed. A few mediæval monarchies still survive the storm, but they have received a sharp lesson, and probably will attempt to mend their ways.

Such changes, however, are of small importance, for they affect only the outer framework of society, and leave its heart untouched. Happily, there is good reason for supposing that profound psychological transformations are taking place, and that our whole attitude towards social arrangements, accepted hitherto as final, is shifting rapidly.

First and foremost, the barbaric stupidities of Militarism have been laid bare. Vast populations, such as those of Germany, Austria, and Russia, have discovered the true nature of their former god, and before that broken idol they are now little likely to prostrate themselves. Even here, in Imperial Great Britain, we begin to have our doubts; for we remember Gallipoli and Mesopotamia, shake our heads dolefully over Amritsar, chafe at the domestic tyrannies Militarism has imposed on us, and note with rising indignation how studiously it distinguishes between the titled officer caste and the humble member of the common file. The discharged private is now being tossed heedlessly into the gutter, as one tosses a used-up lemon. His disillusionment is therefore the bitterest of all; and through him revolt against Militarism is spreading, more or less openly, from a thousand scattered centres.

Naturally, also, military statesmanship, which dictated the Peace Treaty, has proved itself absurd. Military men go everywhere, and learn nothing about the peoples they are sent to rule. They do not understand them because they do not care to understand them; and they know nothing of business because they think it beneath their notice. They had no conception of the forces at work in Russia, and assumed that they could smother them with little effort. They had no idea that, from the economic standpoint, Europe was a single structure, the central pillar of which was Germany; and they could not comprehend that in pulling down the pillar they were bringing about a general collapse and plunging the whole continent into chaos. But the world at large begins to understand all this quite clearly, and its contempt for military judgment grows and grows. The gain we shall reap from this in the immediate future is enormous.

Saturated with the militarist philosophy of life; believing firmly in invasiveness and conquest; hungering for monopoly, and hugging fondly the out-of-date delusion that trade follows the flag, the whole capitalist class has blundered just as deeply. It has imagined that it could profit by destruction and become wealthy by driving its best customers into insolvency. It has exposed itself as being stupid beyond expression, and temperamentally incapable of looking beyond the gain of the immediate moment. Such stupidity shakes all con-

fidence, and the result is that, at last, capitalism, as a system, is being universally condemned; has lost practically all its friends; can find no one, outside its own exclusive circle, to say a good word for it. That presages unmistakably its final fall, whenever we have acquired the ring-craft necessary to deliver the knock-out blow.

If you have watched a log-jam in some timber district, you will have seen, as we conceive, a faithful picture of society as it is at present. The snow has melted, and the river is in flood. Down it the logs come hurrying in droves. At some point, at some unexpected obstacle, the leaders stick. Those coming down from behind crowd on them confusedly, and a huge barrier, growing steadily in height and depth, blocks up the stream. Under it and around it the river rushes madly, while men swarm over it, like ants, pushing and pulling with their peevies.

These men's business is to break up the jam, and at first they push and pull in vain. Finally some one discovers what they call the "key-log," and on the removal of that key-log all efforts forthwith centre. It shakes under the attack, stirs slightly, moves a trifle, and suddenly gives way. With it the whole jam goes out, the force of gravitation finishing the work.

The trouble with the whole revolutionary movement is that, as yet, it has not found the key-log; and until it does find it, the present social jam will stand unshaken, however angrily the waters of discontent may surge around it. There is unquestionably a key-log. There is beyond all doubt, one central obstacle that blocks the way, and, for his part, the present writer believes that it is to be found in the monopoly by the few of those natural opportunities which should be for the free and equal use of all.

The late war had as its primary aim the acquisition of territory, to be used by the conquerors for the production of commodities, and dominated by them as their own exclusive markets. At every stage of the struggle, territory was the prize at stake, and it is to be noted that in all the revolutionary movements which have sprung out of the war, the masses have endeavoured first and foremost to get possession of the land. He who wins that has something worth his pains; and although at this moment Moscow and Vienna are starving, the Austrian and Russian peasant is not going hungry.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

France.

With the access to power of M. Millerand, the ex-Socialist, a determined effort to suppress the more advanced wing of the labour movement appears to have begun. Content and Loreal, of *Le Libérateur*, and other prominent agitators, have been arrested. The continuous decline of the franc and rise in prices are spreading discontent and giving it an ever sharper edge. Revolutionary journals call loudly for the demobilisation of the 800,000 young men whom the army has laid its hands on, and their restoration to the productive forces of the country, now at so low an ebb. Strikes multiply. The abolition of the tax on fortunes acquired during the war, and the imposition in its stead of a 50 per cent. tax on salaries, add fuel to the fire. That the general restlessness will be increased greatly by the latest German upheaval would seem to be beyond all doubt. Attention is directed to the arguments advanced by *The Nation* (London) in favour of the cancellation of all debts as between nations—although England would lose heavily thereby—and it is urged that the situation in France calls for a similar annulment of all domestic debts.

Great indignation has been aroused by the publication of the findings of the revision tribunals, which are to the effect that the military courts-martial sent to their death no less than 2,700 soldiers, now declared to have been innocent! What action, it is asked, did the Labour federations and leaders take to save these lives? None.

The revolt against the conservatism and political activities of the General Confederation of Labour, appears to be taking more and more definite shape, and the Syndicalist minority, which opposes the existing centralisation of Trade Union power, is very active. The Italian workers are lauded enthusiastically for having forced the authorities to release Malatesta, and it is noted that the Italian soldiers at many points refused to take the strikers' places.

La Mêlée, of Paris, an Individualist-Anarchist fortnightly, has changed its name to *L'Un*. On the first page of the new series appears an article on "Birth Control," by Emma Goldman, which opens with the statement that "it is 150 years since a great man, Robert Thomas Malthus, the father of 'Birth Control,' conceived a great idea." It credits his theories with containing "irrefutable arguments." This position would be combated vigorously by, among others, the followers of Henry George, who based his "Progress and Poverty" largely

on what he believed to be his triumphant refutation of Malthusianism. This number contains the first of a series by Marc Lefort, in which he is to discuss exhaustively, Individualistic Economics. He himself insists on the necessity of "examining coldly the causes that hitherto have paralysed" our movement. In a further instalment of his "Open Letter to Rural Workers," E. Armand urges that liberty should be able to function as unrestrainedly in the industrial as it does in the intellectual or moral domain.

Even its enemies will admit that the Anarchist movement is profoundly in earnest, that it has a deep distrust of fine words, and looks always for the reality beneath the form. This "hard" quality—to use a word much favoured by Nietzsche—is invaluable. Without it, no movement can have real strength. Unless it hungers impatiently for revolutionary results, it will remain for ever in the land of dreams.

A review of this month's Anarchist journals shows that the movement is running true to type; that there is a general feeling that once again the workers have been fooled by the talkers; that we are not getting real results. For example, *Le Reveil* (Geneva) gives the place of honour to an article entitled "The Bourgeois Spirit," which complains bitterly that this same spirit has infected, and is more and more infecting, the working men; that "the Socialist deputies, the Syndicalist officials, the organisation committees, etc.," actually pride themselves on having made of their followers a composite mass, lulled to sleep by the petty traffic of its own supposedly immediate interests. Just as the bourgeoisie have seen in the war only their opportunity of marking up goods, so the working men have been drilled into the delusion that their one aim must be increase of wages.

In the same number, the author of "Anarchism's Actual Role" expresses utter distrust of Lenin and the doctrine of proletarian dictatorship. He writes: "There is no doubt whatever that in Russia all the efforts of those at the head of the Bolshevik movement are directed toward establishing the dominion of the State (étatisation) in all domains of life"; and he points out that the publications issued by the Russian dictatorship exhibit constantly that distrust of the masses which Proudhon regarded as typical of all State worshippers.

Le Reveil, we may remark, is not naturally a didactic paper, its call being almost invariably to action. That it is thoroughly disgusted with the Trade Union leaders is self-evident. It gives on its front page the following excellent passage from Domela Nieuwenhuis: "The desire for unity manifests itself because man seeks his ease, and to think is much more difficult than to follow and be the echo of other men's ideas." Elsewhere, apropos of a local organisation trouble, it remarks that centralisation and bureaucracy are inseparable. Can anyone cite an instance in which the former did not lead to the latter?

Checko-Slovakia.

A Bohemian comrade sends us the following notes from Prague, under date of March 3:—

"All the pre-war differences between the various tendencies of labour are fairly well obliterated; they are all pulling on one end of the rope to get Capitalism down from its pedestal. I was glad to find it so since I came back from the States a year ago, particularly because it was no work of any leaders, but a natural herding together, caused by the same grievances and by the idea that the future needs all hands united on deck to steer the boat into the Socialist port.

"The Right Wing leaders of the Social Democratic and National Socialist parties are losing the confidence of the workers by leaps and bounds, and will soon be found doing politics without any constituency to back them up, for all Labour is going more to the Left every day.

"The capitalists don't count any more, and are still being tolerated only by force of habit. They are bankrupt here as well as in the rest of Europe, and will soon be draining the last drop from their cup. In their greed for 1,000 per cent. on business, they neglected the rebuilding of their system on a 10 per cent. production basis, and mighty soon will be at the edge of the ditch they have been digging for themselves for over five years now. Of course, they still have a good time to come for a little while. But most of the glass, gloves, shoes, and everything else that was here has been already sold abroad; and when it comes to manufacturing for domestic needs in the near future there will be no raw materials, or money to buy them with. Yet they are happy because their exports exceed their imports by quite a balance; and wonder why there are 100 crowns to a dollar, calling it the conspiracy against their money abroad. But such is the rest of Europe, and U.S.A. will follow suit, when all the world's gold will drown the home of the trusts.

"I wish them all a happy voyage."

FOR THE BENEFIT OF "FREEDOM."

On April 24 we are having a Tea Party and Dance at Empress Hall, 128, Cambridge Road, Mile End, the proceeds of which are to go into the FREEDOM funds. We shall be delighted to see all our comrades and friends, and hope as many as possible will turn up and make it a great success, as we are in need of funds to carry on. If you want tickets, write to us at once; and if you can sell any, so much the better. Of course, we shall be pleased to see you, but if you cannot come you can still buy tickets, and in that way help the fund. Please send cash with order (1s. 3d. each—tea is extra).

We shall have a bookstall with all Anarchist literature in stock. If you have any books you do not want, send them to FREEDOM Office, and we will put them on the bookstall and sell for the benefit of our funds.

Plenty of tea, one or two short speeches, and a good dance. Come to tea at 5 o'clock, if possible, but do come! How many tickets can we send you?

THE SITUATION IN FRANCE.

A short time ago our comrade, Sebastian Faure, spoke at a mass meeting in Paris, and we give a few points from his brilliant speech. For the last five years he has been in prison on account of his fearless anti-militarist propaganda, and has only been released recently.

He began by describing how the Governments of all countries worked in order to prepare for war; how they charged the air with war-like electricity; how they camouflaged their manœuvres in the last moments before the war, and how they falsified news. He exposed the tricks of secret diplomacy, alliances, and secret treaties; and he described the despicable rôle of the official press, the pre-arranged game in the events preceding mobilisation.

Thus, said Faure, the mine being laid, all that had to be done was to fire it. The explosion came. A storm of insanity arose, and the hypnotised masses fell victims to the swindle. Mark well, in every country the Governments declared that they did not want war, that it was forced upon them, and that no one should doubt for a moment that it was a war of self-defence. Faure proved that, in truth, the war was premeditated, brought about, and organised by all the criminal Imperialisms against their deluded peoples. He showed that in sending men to the front, and in the butchery, the ruling classes, the diplomats, politicians, journalists, armament manufacturers, speculators, and contractors were in their element, and formed, in every country, the war party. But the others? Those for whom war is always the greatest misfortune, those who possess nothing, who have nothing to defend, who have no need for hate, but who have been forced to march and fight their brothers in a cause which is not theirs?

Faure recalled the gigantic peace demonstrations held in July, 1914, and also the resolutions passed by Socialists, Syndicalists, and Anarchists in the ten years before the war. They had pledged themselves to do their utmost to prevent war, to hinder mobilisation if war was declared, or, if those efforts were fruitless, to use any means in their power to stop the slaughter. But in the decisive hour the leaders of the Socialist parties, the Labour Unions, and—one must say it because it is the truth—many prominent Anarchist pioneers—declared that this war was not like other wars, with enthusiasm they joined the "sacred cause," and deserted Internationalism for Nationalism. The men took up arms, the women poured into the factories, and those who opposed the war were treated as madmen or traitors. When he, himself, tried to organise resistance against the war, right at the commencement, he found himself opposed by some who had been honoured and beloved comrades.

To-day, from a political point of view, we are in full reaction; from an economic point of view, we are on the point of collapse; from an intellectual point of view, we are decadent, and from a moral point of view, we are going to the dogs. All this helps to form a revolutionary situation, but two things are necessary to bring it to a head. On one side, organised power is faced with urgent and difficult problems which it is unable to solve. This helplessness is giving the death-blow to the governing classes, whose prestige and authority are

falling into disrepute. On the other side, an energetic and numerous opposition, acting resolutely, would find a solution, which it is evident would of necessity be of a revolutionary nature.

Gradually the knowledge is gaining ground in France that nothing can be expected from the Government, but everything can be gained by its overthrow. As soon as the masses are saturated with this idea then the conditions are no longer normal; every event of any importance could be used to galvanise the people; this would be the starting-point of revolutionary strength, which, with some organisation, could smash the old régime.

The Government has no solution for the problems facing it to-day—namely, the organisation of peace, the high cost of living, housing shortage, the financial position, transport crisis, and other economic questions. These questions must, and can only, be solved by strong organisations and great masses who breathe a revolutionary spirit, and are convinced of the necessity of overthrowing the Government. That is the reason, said Faure, why I wish for the co-ordination, the "sacred union," of all who are of the same spirit.

WHY THEY ARE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK.

French capitalists have been the most persistent of anti-Bolsheviks, and the reason is not far to seek. We clip the following from a daily paper:—

"It was stated in the French Senate that French holders possessed 13,997,000,000 francs of Russian State securities, and if, without counting interest due, communal bonds, commercial investments, and commercial shares were included in the total, French investments in Russia would reach the figure of 25,000,000,000 francs."

French bondholders lent most of that money to the Russian Government when it was shooting down Russian workers. No objection to "shaking hands with murder" then. In the eyes of international financiers, the greatest "atrocities" committed by the Bolsheviks was their repudiation of the debts of the old Tsarist Governments. In their offers of peace terms, the Soviet Republic have offered to recognise these debts; but it cannot be intended seriously that the Russian people shall be called on to pay the above sums, from which they never received any benefit. That would be too high a price to pay for peace.

FOR AN OLD COMRADE.

Our old comrade, Frank Kitz, now between 70 and 80 years of age, has a hard struggle to make both ends meet in these times of high prices and casual jobs. To make life a little easier for him, a committee has been formed to raise a fund on his behalf. They have arranged a Socialist Carnival to be held at the Battersea Town Hall on May 5. Tickets, 2s. each. Organ recitals, singing, dancing, and an historical revolutionary dress competition will be good value for all, with the added knowledge that they are doing an old warrior a good turn. Tickets can be obtained from FREEDOM Office or from the Frank Kitz Benefit Committee, 1, Culmstock Road, Battersea, S.W. 11., where contributions to the fund can also be sent.

There is no instance on record of any class possessing power without abusing it.—*Buckle*.

In Aid of the Funds of "FREEDOM."

COMRADES AND FRIENDS ARE HEARTILY INVITED TO

A TEA PARTY AND DANCE

ON

SATURDAY, APRIL 24, 1920,

AT THE

EMPRESS HALL, 128, Cambridge Road, E.

(Three minutes' walk from Mile End Gate).

TEAS SERVED FROM 5 O'CLOCK.

DANCING, 7 TILL 1 A.M.

Tickets from FREEDOM Office and from Comrades.

WE ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO A REUNION OF MANY OLD COMRADES.

PROPAGANDA GROUP'S REPORT.

Owing to our dance, on February 28, clashing with the "Hands Off Russia" meeting, at the Albert Hall, we regret to announce a loss on the venture. We thank all those who helped us on this occasion, and would remind comrades that owing to subscriptions being in arrears we are almost entirely dependent on the dances as a source of income to enable us to carry on our work.

The Conference proposed for Easter is postponed till Whitsun, and will definitely be held then. Arrangements are now being made for the accommodation of delegates, and by the time this notice appears comrades will have received a circular with an agenda attached. We are hoping for a good rally.

THE SECRETARY.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- The Underworld: The Story of Robert Sinclair, Miner.* By James C. Welsh. 2s. 6d. net. London: Herbert Jenkins, 3, York Street, S.W.1.
- Life and Struggles of William Lovett in His Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge, and Freedom.* 2 vols. 2s. 4d. each. *The Pioneers of Land Reform: Thomas Spence, William Ogilvie, Thomas Paine.* 2s. 4d. London: G. Bell and Sons, Portugal Street, W.C.2.
- Workers' Control in the Coal Mining Industry.* By Frank Hodges. 1d. London: The Mines for the Nation Campaign Committee, 32 and 33, Eccleston Square, S.W.1.
- A Sketch of the Russian Trade Union Movement.* 1d. London: The People's Russian Information Bureau, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.
- Anthologie de Poèmes Yougo-Slaves Contemporains.* 2 fr. Paris: "Les Humbles," 4, Rue Descartes (Ve.).
- The Flame.* 3d. monthly. London: League of Peace and Freedom, 90, Avenue Chambers, W.C.1.
- The Brass Check: A Study of American Journalism.* By Upton Sinclair. 50 cents. Published by the Author, at 1513, Sunset Avenue, Pasadena, California, U.S.A.

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(March 1 to March 31.)

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BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

- THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION. By P. KROPOTKIN. 2d.
- EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELISEE RECLUS. 2d.
- ANARCHIST MORALITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3d.
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- FOR LIBERTY. AN ANTHOLOGY. 6d.
- APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By P. KROPOTKIN. 2d.
- LIBERTY THROUGH ANARCHIST COMMUNISM. By H. OAKLEY. 1d.
- ANARCHIST COMMUNISM IN PLAIN ENGLISH. By L. A. MOTLER. 1d.
- THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTION. By GEORGE BARRETT. 2d.
- ANARCHISM AND DEMOCRACY. By JOHN WAKEMAN. 2d.
- REFLECTIONS ON POLITICAL JUSTICE. (Selections from the Writings of WILLIAM GODWIN.) 4d.

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- SYNDICALISM AND THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH (How we shall bring about the Social Revolution). By E. PATAUD and E. POUGET. Paper covers, 2s.; postage, 3d.
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