

# Freedom

VOL. XXXIV.—No. 373.

JULY, 1920.

MONTHLY: TWO PENCE.

## NOTES.

### Mrs. Snowden's Grief.

We must express our sympathy with Mrs. Philip Snowden, who is almost heart-broken as the result of her visit to Russia with the Labour Delegation. We knew that things must be very bad there, but her revelations sent a shock of horror down our spines. In an interview published in the *Evening Standard* of July 1 and 2 she said:—

"I am a Socialist, a democrat, and a Christian. I oppose Bolshevism because it is not Socialism, it is not democratic, it is not Christianity. The Bolsheviks have suppressed God as a counter-revolutionary and have raised up Karl Marx in his place."

How Mrs. Snowden would have rejoiced if Lenin had been a pious Christian like the late Tsar or his friend Rasputin, if Trotsky had been a democrat like the Grand Duke Nicholas, or if a few of the Bolsheviks had only been good Socialists like, say, Philip Snowden. We can appreciate her horror at finding that God had been "suppressed" and Karl Marx put in his place! But there are still worse things to record. "I never saw a miserable child all the time I was in Russia." How unfavourably in this respect Russia compares with her own dear England. In this prosperous Christian, democratic, and—almost—Socialist country thousands of miserable children may be seen running about the streets of all our great cities, and miserable men and women also. It is one of the great glories of our advanced civilisation, and as soon as the blockade is raised we hope that Mrs. Snowden will go to Russia and enlighten those heathens as to the benefits of Christianity, democracy, and Socialism, now lacking in that distressful country.

### That "Labour" Party.

There is no damned nonsense about the class war in the Labour Party. Its motto is: "Let 'em all come." In a recent issue of the *Star* a writer gives the names of some of the "big catches" of the Labour Party. Countess De La Warr, daughter of a millionaire contractor, was nominated for a seat on the executive of the party; and among her "Labour" friends in the party are the Countess of Warwick, Labour candidate for East Walthamstow (friend of the late King Edward); Lady Mabel Smith, sister of Earl Fitzwilliam, a friend of King George; and Lady Henry Somerset. The Church is represented by Dr. Gore, the Rev. Wm. Temple (son of the late Archbishop of Canterbury), the Rev. the Hon. James Adderley, Dean Moore Ede, and Dean Fry. From the Army come General Waters, General Thompson, and General Sir Owen Thomas (evidently to keep the Anarchists in check). Besides these there are Mr. E. T. John, a great Northern ironmaster; and Mr. A. M. Carlisle, associate with Lord Pirrie in his great shipyard at Belfast. Notable recruits from the Liberal Party include Sir Leo Chiozza Money, who during the war asked in Parliament for the suppression of the *Labour Leader*, and now writes front-page articles in that paper; and Colonel Malone, who won the last election with the cry "Hang the Kaiser!" and who turned up at the recent Labour Party Conference as a representative of the British Socialist Party! This is the crowd that the oppressed workers of this country expect to sweep away the wage system and all the evils of monopoly. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

### J. H. Thomas and the Irish Railwaymen.

Members of the Railwaymen's Union in Ireland having refused to handle arms imported for the suppression of Sinn Fein, an All-Ireland conference was called. Mr. Thomas seized the opportunity to point out that if it was wrong for the railwaymen to handle war material, it was equally wrong for other

workers to manufacture it. From this he drew the characteristic conclusion that "this problem is too big and serious to allow any one Union to deal with it." Note that word "allow." Note it carefully, for it contains in itself the whole philosophy which still paralyses the Labour movement. Like a true Socialist, Mr. Thomas will not hear of individual revolt. Unless a majority authorises it, no one shall be "allowed" to move. What matter if Murphy feels that he would be a traitor to his countrymen? Murphy must swallow his scruples and do as the majority dictates. He must wait until all have-voted; wait until all sorts of committees have investigated and reported; wait until the Supreme Court of Unionism, on which all the leaders sit, have sanctioned action. This means, in practice, that he must wait for ever; that he must be false to himself; that all real revolt, and the entire spirit of revolt, is crushed; that nothing is done. Behind this bulwark, defended so fanatically by Socialism, tyranny rests in safety. Against this we, standing always for the liberty of the individual, have to make our stiffest fight.

## THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN ITALY.

Since Malatesta's return to Italy last winter the Anarchist movement has gained strength by leaps and bounds, and now it is the most active, and therefore the strongest, movement in the country. There is no doubt that the workers have been attracted to it because of its direct action tactics, in opposition to the Parliamentary tactics of the Socialists. Nitti, the previous Prime Minister, formed a special force of 100,000 to fight the Anarchists; and since his fall the present Prime Minister, Giolitti, has found that that force is insufficient for that purpose. The economic situation goes from bad to worse, and the high cost of living is rendered intolerable owing to the tremendous number of unemployed. This makes the working class a fertile field for Anarchist propaganda, and riots and strikes have broken out all over Northern Italy.

With Giolitti's return to power began a series of brutal assaults on revolutionists, with massacres at Milan, Naples, and elsewhere. This was accomplished by a press campaign against the Anarchists and fulsome praise of the Socialists, who were said to be so reasonable compared with those fools the Anarchists. Then in Parliament a series of reforms were proposed, which imposed sacrifices on the bourgeoisie so as to show the spirit of equality which reigned amongst all classes. This was all done to isolate the Anarchists and their revolutionary supporters, by giving the Socialists a good pretext for granting a new lease to the present system, and thus paralyse the Anarchists or provoke them to ruin themselves by premature outbursts. *Umanita Nova*, of which Malatesta is editor, sees all this and says: "Now or never; but we will choose our own time."

Malatesta and his comrades have an immense hold upon the workers everywhere, and for that reason the Socialists, who seek power, hope to get rid of the Anarchist movement—which they dare not oppose openly—through Giolitti. Our comrades have a sure basis in the real popular discontent and readiness to act, and the workers like much more what the Anarchists do than the roundabout reforms of the Socialists, whom they now call *pompieri* (firemen, fire extinguishers).

On June 23rd, when the crowd returned from a large open-air meeting in Milan, where Malatesta spoke and offered to proclaim a general strike if the railwaymen on strike wished it, the procession was stopped by soldiers, who fired on the people. There was a long struggle and six people were killed and about a hundred wounded. Armoured cars were brought into action, some Nationalists also firing on the crowd from the windows. Malatesta returned to the centre of the city and was met in a street by crowds running away, gendarmes firing after them. So he stepped into a doorway. This was made the pretext for an infamous leaflet, headed: "Where were the leaders?" Malatesta replied in *Umanita Nova*, saying that he was not going to be killed simply to please the Government. When the time comes he will fight—and perhaps die—but he has no wish to commit suicide.

So we see that every method, from slander to murder, is being used against our comrades; but they have many gallant fighters amongst them, and will gain the day—if not now, then in the near future.

## MAN IS NOT A COMMODITY.

Man, says Maxim Gorky in one of his stories, has become the slave of the inventions of his own hands, and has lost his individuality. "For faster and faster your iron master, the thing you made, for ever drives," says William Morris. How has it come about? Man has become frightened by his environment. He has become overawed, shocked, paralysed by his external surroundings. Instead of moulding his environment to his will, he has allowed his will to become moulded to his environment. Buckle, Loria, and all the great philosophers will tell you how the thing has gone on, until the point has been reached when man has so lost sight of his individuality, in the greatness of the Cosmos and the magnitude of his inventions, that he has become quite content to consider himself a mere reflex of his environment. And one of the most poisonous factors in drugging and putting to sleep the will of man has been a certain part of the Marxian philosophy.

Man, says the expositor of Marx, is a commodity, or approaches to a commodity. It does not matter much whether or not he goes the whole hog and calls him a commodity, the influence of the baneful teaching is the same. It gives his audience an impression of the overwhelming weight of external circumstances, and the comparative insignificance of man's will.

The capitalist, in carrying on wealth production, requires iron, steel, cotton, wood, leather, etc.; but he must have another factor before he can go forward. That factor is labour-power. You have to supply that labour-power. The capitalist buys it as he buys the iron, steel, wood and leather. You are a commodity like these, a mere factor in wealth production.

After thus treating man as a commodity, ground up with the other factors in the mill of wealth production, our Marxian expositor finishes up by perorating to his human commodities to "rise like lions from their slumber" and throw off this incubus that has weighed them down so long. Thus the gruesome melodrama of Marxian analysis ends in Gilbertian farce. Commodities cannot rise like lions from their slumber; commodities can throw nothing from their shoulders. You may as well exhort a dead man to get up and kick himself.

The Anarchist starts in quite another direction and seeks for the cause of man's misery and servitude, not in the region of material phenomena, but in the depths of the human will. The Anarchist says man is not a commodity, but a being with a will. At a certain point in man's history egoism awakened. The strong few used their will with narrow evil purpose toward their kind. By brute force and cunning they gained control of the land. This was the start. The many struggled, but were driven under. The strong few, with ill will, next set up their State, with its institutions of private property, government, kings, priests, magistracy, and laws: all to affirm and uphold their right to what they had stolen, and to keep the many in slavery.

Next, the progress of invention and discovery in the material world pushes society toward capitalism. The strong now seize the inventions and discoveries of society, as they before seized the land; they build their factories, force the workers into them through their needs, and carry on the production of wealth for their own profit. The many struggle harder and harder, but up to the present remain beaten. Still the struggle grows fiercer and fiercer, and all down the centuries of human history side by side with this evolution of material things went the evolution and unfolding of the mass will. And we Anarchists say that this evolution of the mass will is the main factor. And we say that our chief business is not to analyse man's outward surroundings, but to help on the unfolding of the mass will. And we further say that any analysis of man's outward conditions must be subordinated to this purpose. As Buckle puts it, any aspect of external nature and any artificial system of wealth production which makes man feel little in the realm of will and mind is bad, and too much importance attached to them brings disease and paralysis to the will and mind. We must fight the adverse material conditions, not merely analyse them. And to fight them we must believe ourselves greater than them. We must not lie under the capitalist system like a frightened animal under the spell of a serpent, or be satisfied that we have analysed it by the help of Marx and can tell exactly how we are robbed by the capitalists. That is not revolution, but a new chloroforming process, as the Marxians have proved in the late war by going over bag and baggage to the enemy.

So also with the talk about material progress. We want human progress. If we are asked for a definition of progress to satisfy Dean Inge and the pessimists, we say progress obtains in proportion to the evolution of the will of the mass. And all our inventions and discoveries, all our gigantic accumulations of wealth, and all our material magnificence will not help human progress, until they are used with good will for the good of the whole of mankind and not for the benefit of a few individuals.

Man, says the Anarchist, is the child of Nature, and not the child of society, as his kings, priests, politicians, and leaders labour to make him believe. Man's life has its roots far back in the ages. Man lived countless years on the earth, and worked, hungered, suffered, and struggled before the birth of governments, institutions, and laws. Nature was man's mother, his nurse, his schoolmaster through the ages

right up to the threshold of the strange anomaly we call civilisation. Without the help of kings, priests, or statesmen she taught him all the bedrock inventions upon which this civilisation is based. She taught him how to make a fire, how to make a pot of twigs, cover it with clay, and cook his food in it. She taught him how to plant cereals, how to domesticate animals, how to dig iron, how to smelt it, and how to make a thousand things with it. How to make a knife, a hammer, a chisel, a spear, a shield, an axe. How to make the anvil, the bellows, the forge, the wheel, the waggon. All these things had to wait for the discovery and smelting of iron. This gained, the door was opened for a thousand other inventions.

Man, then, is the child of Nature, from out the infinite past; and when he forgets this and puts his trust in kings, priests, and leaders, and turns his back on his instincts, intuitions, and all his natural inheritance, society soon becomes a herd of automatons run by a few madmen.

JOHN TAMLYN.

## ANARCHISM AND BOLSHEVISM.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—I have read with much interest the discussion on this subject in FREEDOM and your remarks in the May number under the heading "Oh! Oh! Mr. Lansbury"; but however appreciative I am of the spirit of liberty which breathes in every word of your paper, I cannot see any practical alternative to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to which the Anarchists object. What would have happened in Russia had there been no centralised authority to meet the onslaught of the expropriated bourgeoisie, backed as they were by all the capitalist Governments of the so-called civilised world? As it was, the Revolution was at one time in deadly peril, and without the rigid discipline, forced labour, conscription, etc., there can be little doubt that the forces of Capitalism and vested interests would have triumphed, and the White Terror of Hungary been repeated on a far greater scale in Soviet Russia. Even now, when the armed forces of reaction have been checked, there remains a vast amount of reconstructive work, and without a strong central body to organise production and distribution and regulate hours and conditions of labour, a state of chaos would arise in which the germs of counter-revolution would have rapid growth.

No Communist will deny that true liberty cannot exist under any form of the State, for by its nature the State is the organ for the suppression of one class by another; but in the transition stage, until classes entirely disappear, we consider the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, i.e., the suppression of the bourgeois class by the workers, an absolute if regrettable necessity.

But it is a temporary measure only. In the complete stage of Communist society, when classes have disappeared, the function of the State will no longer exist; and the State itself will, in the words of Engels, wither away. Then and then only will humanity know that perfect freedom which no one can desire more ardently than I.—Fraternally,

W. WINTER.

[The whole question turns on whether the Dictatorship is a "temporary measure." Dictators are more easily installed than turned out. The Bolsheviks are Marxians, who believe in government; and there is no hope of their rule "withering away." How many generations will have to pass before it "withers away"? If the Revolution does not bring freedom to the workers, the Revolution is a failure, however nicely it may be hidden in a phrase like "the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."—Ed. FREEDOM.]

## Emma Goldman and Alex. Berkman on Russia.

A letter has been received in New York from Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, from which a comrade sends us the following extract:—

"For the present the most urgent thing to do for our friends at home is to bend all energies and concentrate your efforts on *lifting the blockade*. That is the most vital thing for Russia just now. . . . It is dreadful to be cut off from you so completely, not to know how you are, what is doing at home, or get word from or to you, directly. Once the terrible blockade is lifted, it will not be so hard to reach you. But when will that be? When will America stop her part in the crime of infanticide? It is impossible to describe the terrible suffering of this much-tried people. The situation is hard enough for those who are in the very midst of the work here, but for us, practically strangers here, unfamiliar with the new environment, it has been sheer agony. From all this you will know how important the lifting of the blockade is for Russia. Let all of our people work toward that end."

With a movement like Bolshevism there is no question of peace, but only of the kind of war that must be waged upon it. . . . But war of some sort or other there must be.—*Times*.

## DODGING OUR PROBLEMS.

One hopes that the future will belong to Freedom. One hopes that there will come a general understanding that only through freedom from domination can the individual, or group of individuals, win through to co-operation, social solidarity, and peace. From Freedom all good is to be expected; from Slavery none. That is the basic position, and he who abandons it is not working for the abolition of Slavery, and is not an Anarchist.

We are living in England, and it is here that we ourselves should be a power. At this moment England is grappling with, among many others, one most pressing problem—that of Ireland. The Irish assert, as they have always done, their inalienable right to independence, and we sit silent! They assert it vehemently, regardless of personal danger, with every weapon at their command; and we remain apparently unmoved! We do not care to take a definite stand. And why?

I talk to comrades and they tell me that the Irish are Roman Catholics. Well, I hate and distrust that Church. They tell me that it is only a Nationalist movement, and that they are Internationalists. Well, so am I. They give many other reasons for not being sympathetic with the Irish; just as they often told me that they took little interest in Belgium, because it also is a Roman Catholic country, or in Mexico, which is inhabited mainly by Indians. And they do not see that all such arguments evade the issue. They do not see that to deny Freedom to those with whom we differ is to declare ourselves narrow-minded humbugs and our entire movement a bigoted sham.

On this and similar questions those to whom I have referred follow a Socialist and not an Anarchist line of thought. Those lines are irreconcilable. He who thinks as Socialists think is not an Anarchist, and *vice versa*. The Socialist regards every problem from the standpoint of the good—the supposed good—of the Collectivity, and denies the existence of individual rights. The Anarchist starts with the assertion of the Individual's right to Freedom, and declares that when that has been secured the good of the Collectivity will take care of itself. By no possibility can you reconcile those opposites. If one is true, the other is false; and if you keep a foot in either camp you wobble helplessly.

This is how it works out, and always has worked out, in practice. Always the Socialists have maintained that until a people has reached a certain stage of evolution it is not ripe for revolution. German Socialists preached that dogma untiringly. American Socialists applied it remorselessly to Mexico, and do so still. Is that our position? Most assuredly it should not be.

Take another, and even more important, illustration: that of Russia. The Anarchist movement cannot make up its mind as to the Proletariat Dictatorship of which Lenin is the head. Lenin himself, an avowed Socialist, is loyal to his creed and defends dictatorship on the proper Socialist ground that it is for the people's good. He is strong, at least, in his logic, however faulty his premises may be. We, being undecided, have no strength at all.

Recognising this weakness, Malatesta, who is essentially a fighter and a man of action, plunges into the discussion and says that an enforced Communism would be the worst of all possible forms of tyranny. He takes up the cudgels for the peasant, and insists that the peasant must be allowed the right of self-determination; must be permitted to govern his own life as he himself wishes to govern it, and make for himself the social arrangements that to him seem best. Therein Malatesta shows himself a true Anarchist, and, as I should maintain unflinchingly, in harmony with natural evolution. What happens?

What happens is this. A writer who signs himself "Communist Anarchist" objects most strongly, insisting that the peasant is a dangerously reactionary force. He argues, like an orthodox Socialist, that the peasant should not be allowed to settle his own life, and points out that the system of individual land ownership he has adopted is opposed to Communism. If so, I say, the worse for Communism; first, because the peasant is entitled to hold land as he chooses, and is only not entitled to stand in the way of others equal rights; secondly, because everywhere the peasant holds the whip hand, and you could not prevent him if you would. The practical Malatesta knows that well. Even Lenin was compelled to learn it.

In my opinion we have to tackle the land question, instead of side-stepping it, as do the Socialists. Only by such methods can we attain our proper strength.

Whoever studies the proceedings of the recent Labour Party Conference will see at once that it is the mere child of phrases; that it is lost in irreconcilable contradictions and has no actual policy in sight. Thus Lansbury calls loudly for self-determination in Ireland, India, Egypt, everywhere; yet with the same breath he calls for an International Federation of the World, in which small nationalities shall have no place. That denies self-determination, denies the right of secession, and is necessarily the death of individual independence; for if the small nationality is not permitted to shake off the yoke of a partnership—as in the case of Ireland—that has become intolerable to

it, all similar attempts by the individual will be crushed. That spells slavery beyond redemption.

Social injustice cannot be killed with words, for it is the natural outcome of an erroneous view of life. It springs from the granting of Special Privileges to some at the expense of others. No one could have taught that more clearly than did Bakunin; and the great influence his teaching acquired was due to concentration on that basic thought. Our power must always lie in our attack on Special Privilege—the special privilege of governing others, and thereby forcing their lives into the mould that suits the governors; the special privilege of controlling production by monopolising the source of all production, the land; the special privilege of controlling distribution by monopolising the medium of exchange.

I see no good reason why the attack on Special Privilege should not be developed logically and pursued uncompromisingly. That governmental conduct of affairs is, in Herbert Spencer's noted phrase, "invariably slow, stupid, wasteful, and corrupt," is a truth to which the world at large is becoming painfully awakened; and it is particularly here, in England, that there is a deep-rooted tradition supporting that position. It is our position, and if we hold it boldly and openly we shall gather to ourselves allies from every quarter.

On the land question it seems to me monstrous that the colossal values created by the community should be allowed to flow into the pockets of the few; and that view, which is most easy to be seen, is shared to-day by thousands in every country. To force the transfer of land values from the wrongful to the rightful owners seems to me the most direct and forceful way of attack. Some Anarchists object that this would increase the power of the State, but my own judgment is that this restoration of values to those who have created them would paralyse the State and throw it immediately into the limbo toward which, by its appalling crimes and blunders, it is now hurrying with giant strides. I could name many of the most distinguished names in Anarchist history who have held this view.

On the question of distribution it is obvious that if there is to be freedom of production there must also be freedom to distribute products; and that no Government or other centralised authority should dictate the methods by which free producers shall exchange their product. Proudhon—the "Father of Anarchy"—and many other of our most noted writers have explained how the overthrow of this form of Special Privilege could be effected, but to-day their explanations lie unnoticed.

Amid the confused currents of this world-upheaval all parties have lost their sense of direction, and for the moment are steering without compass. Trade Unionism, with all its Syndicalist variations, leads us only round and round. Socialism, waterlogged by compromises and riddled by cowardly opportunisms, is pounding on the rocks. Their fate should be our warning. It will pay us to map out our course accurately and hold it straight.

SENEX.

## WHO IS McALPINE?

A few weeks ago, Lloyd George attended the wedding of a Miss McAlpine, and when he entered and left the church a man seized the opportunity to ask him questions about Russia. For this he was savagely handled by a local police inspector. He asked the local magistrate for a summons for assault against the inspector, but his application was refused. As the names of McAlpine and Lloyd George have often been linked together, a word or two about Sir Robert McAlpine would not be out of place.

The firm of Sir Robert McAlpine & Sons had a few big Government contracts during the war, and in each case there was a scandal in connection with it. The first job was building huts for miners who were to open new iron ore mines, but the huts were never occupied and the whole of the money was wasted. The next job he got was to build an aerodrome at Loch Doon. Millions were spent on it, and then a Committee of Inquiry decided that the place was not suitable for an aerodrome. But the job in connection with which there was most scandal was the Slough Motor Works, where miles of agricultural land were turned into a repairing depot for Government motor lorries. Here again money was squandered in millions and there was a great outcry in Parliament and the Press, but, strange to say, the name of the contractors, Sir Robert McAlpine & Sons, was never mentioned by the critics of the scandal. Why? Well, perhaps it was because Lloyd George's daughter married one of the sons of Sir Robert McAlpine, and no one would dare to suggest that there was anything shady in the relations between Government contractors and the Prime Minister of England, even if the contractors were related to him by marriage. Had he been Lenin or Trotsky, one could have shouted it from the housetops. But Lloyd George—never! Still, the contracts were "rare and refreshing fruit" for his daughter's father-in-law!

Society is divided into two classes: the shearers and the shorn.  
—Talleyrand.

# FREEDOM.

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, Twopence; post-free, 2½d. Annual Subscription, 2s. 6d. post-free.  
U.S.A. and Canada, \$1.00. France and the Continent, 2s. 6d.  
Wholesale price, 1s. 6d. per dozen (12) post-free in the United Kingdom.

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

**Freedom Press, 127 Ossulston St., London, N.W.1.**

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

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## Churchill's Gamble in Lives.

On July 3 the Press printed a document which is a damning indictment of the system under which we live, which allows a few individuals to gamble with men's lives as though they were merely pawns on a chessboard. This document is a copy of a secret Memorandum written by Colonel Golovin, a representative in London of the White Russians, and sent by him to the leaders of the White Russians in Paris. It was found by the Bolsheviks when they captured the military papers of the White Russians in various places, and copies were handed to the Labour Delegation when it was returning to England.

The Memorandum deals with Colonel Golovin's intrigue with Winston Churchill, the Secretary of State for War, to get his support for Koltchak and Denikin and for the attack on Petrograd by General Judenitch; and it throws a fierce light on the cunning and secret method in which that attack was planned. Colonel Golovin arrived in London in April of last year, and was received by Sir Samuel Hoare, to whom he confided his plans. Sir Samuel Hoare promised his energetic support and immediately opened secret communications with Winston Churchill, and soon Golovin was called to the War Office to explain all his needs for carrying on the war against the Soviet Republic. Assistance was wanted at Archangel, and also for Koltchak and Denikin, besides the attack being planned on Petrograd.

In the first week of May, Golovin was received by Winston Churchill at the War Office, where Churchill talked very freely of the help he was prepared to give on behalf of the reactionaries in this country. But he earnestly asked the Colonel, "in the name of our common cause, to keep our relations and our conversation in full and strict confidence." The British people were to know nothing of the policy for which they were to provide the lives and the money. Churchill said that in all Russian questions he recognised only Admiral Koltchak, that no measures were taken by him without his consent; and said: "I am myself carrying out Koltchak's orders." He then stated what he was prepared to do. The question of giving armed support was most difficult, owing to the "opposition of the British working class to armed intervention." But he had declared in the House of Commons that fresh forces were necessary for the purpose of evacuating Archangel and the North, and under this pretext he would send up to 10,000 volunteers; he would postpone the actual evacuation for an indefinite period, "but will not speak about it"; and he agreed upon the help of the newly arrived British troops being "actively manifested." He would help Denikin by sending him 2,500 volunteers as "instructors and technical troops," and if these would fight side by side against the Bolsheviks, so much the better. He also told Golovin "he intends to ask for £24,000,000 for the supply of all our fronts," and if necessary he was willing to supply armaments and other materials for the Northern Army and for General Judenitch for another 100,000 men. It had previously been arranged that the Fleet should go to Kronstadt to help in the attack on Petrograd, and a special war mission, headed by an influential British general, would be sent to assist General Judenitch. In conclusion, Churchill said: "You find in me the most devoted champion of the great united Russia and your best friend."

We have often denounced the secret and underground manner in which wars are planned and sprung upon the workers by a few men who control the army and navy, but never has there been such a complete exposure of the villains who gamble with the lives of their fellow-countrymen. Here we find the Secretary of State for War pledging the support of men and money in a war to which he admits the people are opposed. But their opposition counts for nothing. His interests and the interests of his friends are in danger, and as he controls the machinery of war, he sets it in motion to protect those interests. It may mean the loss of many thousands of lives, as at Gallipoli; it may mean misery and starvation for millions, as in the war on Russia. What does that matter? There are plenty of poor people in the world, and a few thousands or millions can easily be spared to provide cannon fodder for the Churchills and the capitalists who pull the strings of war.

But sometimes these pinchbeck Napoleons blunder, and immediately the eyes of the people are opened; and we hope and believe this exposure of the villainy and craftiness of Winston Churchill and his

associates will compel the people to see the danger of entrusting the power of life and death to any man. Was the Great War, with its tremendous sacrifices, fought for nothing? Was the militarism of Germany crushed only to install it in power in this country? Surely not. The power of the militarists in Whitehall and Downing Street must be checked at once, unless all desire for freedom has been crushed out of the manhood of Britain. The war against Russia has brought nothing but suffering and disaster. The Russian people have fought their enemies heroically since they proclaimed their Revolution. Koltchak, Denikin, Judenitch, and the Poles have been smashed to atoms. Still our Churchills plot in secret to give further aid to the reactionaries of Russia, who are their bosom friends. They are calling more men into the Army, and ere long perhaps Conscription may be enforced once again.

Workers of Britain, men and women, do you wish to remain slaves to this system where a handful of men in power squander your lives in war? If not, then now is the time to rise in your wrath and sweep away the whole rotten system and regain your freedom. Churchill, now he is exposed, may be thrown overboard to satisfy the public outcry; but another man, with similar power for evil, will be put in his place. Capitalism and the State are the enemies, and until they are crushed our lives and liberties are in danger. Away with these monsters and their foul offspring, Militarism!

## U.S.A. Railwaymen's Revolt against Leaders.

The railroad workers of America for two years have been begging, through their Union officials, for an increase in wages. The rising cost of living forced these conservative workers to go out on a spontaneous strike last April. A general tie up of the entire freight road became at once an actual fact. The officials of the Brotherhood, led by Mr. Lee, the president, at once got on the job—not to help the members of the Union, but the railroad owners! Mr. Lee declared the strike was an "outlaw" strike. Together with the other officials, he called (at the demand of the railroad owners) upon the workers to remain "loyal," that is, to blackleg. Mr. Gompers also came to the rescue, by announcing his great discovery that the strikers "did" have a grievance, but had no right to strike in such an "unlawful" manner.

In defiance and in spite of their Union officials' treachery, the men continued their strike in such an effective manner, that two months after the usual announcement by the American capitalist press that the strike was dead and buried, they were forced to admit that factory after factory was compelled to close down, owing to demoralisation and congestion of every railway freight yard in the country. President Wilson, who last year promised the railroad men that the cost of living would be lowered within three months time, provided they did not strike, which promise never materialised, awoke at once from his slumber sickness, and threw some more sand by appointing a Railroad Wage Board, which is still sitting, thinking, figuring, and planning how to further delay, and not give anything to the railway workers. But the railway men are not sleeping either. Their first "unlawful" strike awakened Mr. Wilson, their officials, Mr. Gompers, and the famous American Department of Injustice, that proved once more what Governments exist for by asking every railroad company to furnish the name of each striker and state what active part he played in order to be able to prosecute him.

On June 26 another "unlawful" outbreak occurred on the railways. This time it was not only the freight men, but the passenger men and clerks also, and the whole country is practically demoralised and tied up. The "heads" of fifteen Labour organisations met in a conference at Chicago and declared that a complete tie up of transportation is "menacing" the country. They forgot to mention that their jobs are also menaced. For the railway men have now a powerful new organisation, called the Yardmen's Association, opposing the railroad owners' official Brotherhood Union. The "outlaw" strike is actually developing not only in a revolt against the railroad owners, but also against Trade Union officials who serve the interests of the exploiters. It is a strong and emphatic warning to all these reactionary and treacherous Union officials of every International Union of the American Federation of Labour, that they will either have to start carrying out the wishes of the members they represent, or every International Union will be crushed and superseded by new ones. It shows that the workers must remember always to be ready to strike when they wish to get anything, in spite of their officials who may turn against them.

It is a very encouraging sign from the American workers. It is a two-fold revolt, one for better conditions and another more important one against treacherous Union officials.

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## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## Italy.

There is increasing discontent, economic and political, the former manifesting itself in strikes, the latter in the return to power of Giolitti and the mutiny of troops ordered to the front for the purpose of suppressing the Albanian revolt. Giolitti opposed participation in the war, and his resurrection testifies to a profound change of public thought. The war fever has run its course, and the stomach, the empty stomach, is asserting itself once more. Our Anarchist comrades are straining every nerve to produce a solid front as against militarism on the one hand and bourgeois exploitation on the other. They are holding out the hand of fellowship to all, Socialists and even mere Republicans, who are willing to unite against the common foe. The economic situation makes such a course imperative.

However, a frank statement of differences is perhaps more necessary than ever. The great issues now pushing to the front compel it. The land question, the relations between the peasantry and the city proletariat, the necessity of taking some decided stand on the much debated matter of proletarian dictatorship—all these and other problems have to be faced and settled. Malatesta, for example, is essentially a man of action and a master in the art of organising discontent. Nevertheless Malatesta finds himself forced to discuss the agrarian question. It confronts him. He finds it necessary to explain that the Communism for which he strives is a voluntary Communism, which must be "freely desired and accepted, for if it were imposed it would produce the most monstrous of tyrannies and would take us back again to bourgeois individualism." The dictatorial tendencies of Socialism force him to take that attitude and make our position clear.

The railwaymen decided recently that they would not man trains carrying arms to Poland, and called on all Labour organisations, Socialist, Anarchist, and Republican groups to support their action. The support was promised, but unfortunately the metallurgists refused to forbid their members to take part in the production of such arms. In all this there is a lack of consistency such as the governing class never displays.

## France.

Owing to rising prices and increasing scarcity of paper, *Le Libertaire* comes to us now a single sheet. The last two numbers are devoted chiefly to a manifestation at Père-Lachaise, in commemoration of the Paris Commune, and to bitter denunciations of the "leaders" held responsible for the failure of the railway strike. There is vehement protest against the arrests made, the sentences passed, the discharges and other ruthless measures adopted by the triumphant governing class. *Germinal*, which also dwells on the paper question and is calling for financial aid, tells a similar story, as does also *Le Réveil Ouvrier*, now a single sheet. The last-named has an article by Henri Barbusse, which gives an appalling account of the thousands of executions ordered, during and since the war, by the military tribunals. *Le Réveil* (Geneva) comments caustically, saying that the situation appears to it most confused, and that no country has given us so many disillusionments as has the "so-called France of the Revolution." It regards the Anarchist movement, which has been praising Lenin to the skies, as lost in a chaos of thought which will have its inevitable effect on action. "Meanwhile," it says, "the French Government is acting with the greatest harshness, and the resistance offered seems to be growing weaker." Of its own country, Switzerland, it remarks that the Typographical Federation at last, after a silence of thirty years, has deigned to recognise the First of May, and that a small contribution toward celebration expenses was refused by certain sections and conceded grudgingly by others. "A poor mentality!" it adds.

## Russia.

The letter addressed by Lenin to British workers, and sent by him to Messrs. Turner and Shaw when they were leaving Moscow, seems worthy of note. It runs, in part:—"I was not surprised to find that the viewpoint of some of the members of your delegation does not coincide with that of the working class, but coincides with the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie, the class of exploiters. This is because in all capitalist countries the imperialist war has again exposed the inveterate abscess—namely, the desertion of the majority of Parliamentary and Trade Union leaders of the workers to the camp of the bourgeoisie. . . . Our Red Terror is a defence of the working class against the exploiters; it is the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, with whom the Social Revolutionists, the Mensheviks and an insignificant number of Menshevik workers, align themselves. Freedom of press and assembly in a bourgeois democracy is tantamount to the freedom of the well-to-do to plot against the working class. It means freedom of bribing and buying up newspapers by the capitalists." Such a letter was sure to provoke the bitterest discussion, and has done so already. Mr. W. H. Hutchinson's presidential address at the recent annual conference of the Labour Party was a strong plea for support of the Soviet Government, on the ground that international Capitalism was straining every nerve to strangle it. The address insisted that in Russia, as in Ireland, the people were entitled to decide their own form of government for themselves.

## United States.

Our American comrades are taking an active part in the present political campaign, in which appeals are being made to the workers to participate. According to a recent cablegram to the Paris edition of the *New York Sun*, the Department of Injustice is investigating (as it has been for the past two years) the whereabouts of the underground presses of the American Anarchist Federated Commune Soviets, who issued a pamphlet calling upon the workers to declare a general strike on election day, instead of voting.

## A MARXIAN SOMERSAULT.

The *Workers' Dreadnought* has recently published some articles on "The Basis of Communism," by Herman Gorter, a Dutch Marxian writer, who shows that the workers are becoming more and more concentrated in gigantic capitalist enterprises, and that the smaller factories and workshops are diminishing in number. This, he declares, is leading to the "Socialisation of Labour." One would hardly imagine that the slavery and discipline of a gigantic factory would be a good training for the freedom which Socialists have put forward as the basis of the new regime, but this Marxian upholds this idea. Here are his own words:—

"We declare, Communism declares, that labour is becoming Socialistic. Is not that correct; the absolute truth? Is not the labour of a thousand men in a factory, the 40,000 workers of Krupp, the hundreds of thousands employed by the railway or postal service, a labour of comradeship, a Socialist labour? . . . The factory is a place for joint labour; the trust is a gigantic whole, where labour is organised socialistically, on a basis of comradeship, where each individual depends on the collectivity and the collectivity on each individual. It is more and more Socialist."

Isn't it strange that we never recognised the blessings of Capitalism? To think that during all these years the capitalists have been training the workers for Socialism and we never knew it until Mr. Gorter told us all about it. We hope the workers who read the *Dreadnought* will appreciate the picture of the future society under Socialism. It fits in very nicely with the "rigid, iron discipline" which George Lansbury promised us under the Labour Party when it comes into power.

But there is another point in Mr. Gorter's articles which we must deal with. He sets out to prove the truth of the Marxian theory of the concentration of capital, and in doing so makes an attack on the Anarchists who have shown up the fallacy of that theory. For that purpose he turns Marx's ideas upside down. Marx said that capital, according to the scientific law of its being, tends to concentrate in the hands of a smaller and smaller number of capitalists, that large fortunes are created at the expense of smaller fortunes—"One capitalist kills many others"—*Ein Kapitalist schlägt viele tot*, says Marx—and that great capitals are increased by the extinction of little ones. This made the solution of the social question delightfully simple. If we only wait long enough, the big capitalists will gobble up the little ones, then the still bigger capitalists will gobble up the others, until presently there will be only a few bloated capitalists left, whom it would be easy to deal with. Our comrade W. Tcherkesoff exposed this fallacy in *FREEDOM* in 1894 (see "Freedom" Pamphlet, "The Concentration of Capital: a Marxian Fallacy"); but our Marxian economists persist in putting it forward as irrefutable. Mr. Gorter charges Anarchists with twisting figures to suit their own purpose. But Mr. Gorter's own figures are misleading. He takes a few large industries and shows that from 1880 to 1900 the firms decreased in number whilst the size of their capital increased. We do not deny the truth of those figures. But Mr. Gorter ignores very conveniently the fact that many industries have sprung into existence since then, which have brought great fortunes to those engaged in them. Electricity, motor cars, aeroplanes, picture palaces, gigantic hotels, cigarettes, sweetstuffs, soap, patent medicines, and other things too numerous to mention—the production of these has brought vast fortunes to many thousands of exploiters. It has been stated that twenty thousand new millionaires sprang up in America during the war, and our own income-tax figures show a great increase in the number of wealthy men. Even Mr. Gorter himself says: "Everywhere we see a decrease in the number of enterprises, except for the gigantic businesses, which increased immensely." Which gives the whole show away, for if the number of gigantic businesses has increased immensely, the number of gigantic fortunes must also have increased. So Mr. Gorter himself gives a knock-out blow to Marx's theory.

But then comes the somersault. Marx said the decreasing number of capitalists would bring about Socialism. Mr. Gorter says the very opposite. He says the number of big businesses is increasing, the workers are being concentrated more and more, this concentration is training them for Socialism, therefore "forces are at work that render capitalism impossible—Socialism inevitable." And such is the Gospel of Marx—according to Mr. Gorter, the Dutch Marxist!

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## CLASS-WAR VICTIMS IN AUSTRALIA.

During the fight against Conscription in Australia in 1916 twelve workers were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from five to fifteen years. A carefully selected judge and jury and faked evidence were the instruments employed in bringing about this atrocious injustice, as a means of paving the way to Conscription. But in spite of these brutal sentences, Conscription was defeated. Now that the war—with Germany—is over, and the safety of "our great Empire" secured, one would think it time that sanity should return to our rulers, and all war prisoners be released. These twelve men, however, are still suffering in prison. A strong agitation is growing up in Australia in favour of their immediate release, and now that a Labour Government is in power in New South Wales it is hoped they will give way to pressure. A Defence Committee has been formed in London, and Tom Barker and Alex. Ross, fellow-workers of the men now in gaol, are open to give addresses on the matter to Socialist, Trade Union, and other organisations. Leaflets and further particulars can be obtained from the Australian Workers' Defence Committee, 28 East Road, City Road, N.1.

## GEORGE BARRETT'S WORKS.

COMRADES,—We, the undersigned, are taking up the task of collecting and selecting the best and most important writings of our loved and esteemed comrade George Barrett. Much that he has written still remains unpublished. We hope to compile a volume that will be a most valuable addition to English revolutionary literature, and a most fitting monument to the memory of a truly great and noble comrade. But to accomplish our task we must enlist the help of the many friends and comrades who have recognised and appreciated the immense value of George Barrett's life-work; to them we feel sure we shall not appeal in vain for funds to help us in this work.

We find that a volume of the size we hope to publish cannot be produced to-day at less than six shillings per copy. We should like every contributor who can, to become a subscriber for one or more copies. Full contributions could be paid in advance or collected in weekly or periodical amounts, and paid to the local group secretary, or forwarded direct to the Bristol Group secretary. We seek your hearty co-operation, comrades, in an early reply to help forge yet another weapon in the fight for social and economic freedom.

George Barrett has left us the weapon rough hewn, it is for us who may to fashion and wield it.

(Signed) BERT PLATTIN, W. C. WILSON, JULIA F. GIBSON, EDITH BALLARD, E. STANLEY OXLEY.

N.B.—All communications to E. Stanley Oxley, Hon. Sec., 56 Kingsdown Parade, Bristol.

## PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- The Life of Robert Owen.* By Himself. 2s. 4d. net. London: G. Bell and Sons. Reprinted from the original edition of 1857-58.
- Communism and the Family.* By Alexandra Kollontay. 4d.—*The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism.* By G. Zinoviev. 2d.—Both published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E. 3.
- The Labour Abstentionist Party.* By Edgar T. Whitehead. 3d. London: L. A. Party, 8 Sinclair Gardens, W. 8.
- Thoughts on the War: The Peace—and Prison.* By E. D. Morel. 2s. London: Published by the Author, Orchard House, Great Smith Street, Westminster.
- British Labour Conditions and Legislation during the War.* By M. B. Hammond. Published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.
- The Logic of the Machine.* By W. F. Hay. 4d. *An Appeal to the Young.* By James Stewart. 2d. London: Workers' Socialist Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, E. 3.

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Our outing at Shirley on June 13 was a great success. Over 130 sat down to a splendid tea, which was followed by rambles and various games in the pine woods, where many revolutionary songs were sung in several languages. Then a walk to the station in the cool of the evening finished a splendid day. Thanks are due to all comrades who helped—by selling tickets and in other ways—to make the outing a success. FREEDOM funds benefit to the extent of £5 10s.

"And they shall build houses and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat: for the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands."—Isaiah.

## CASH RECEIVED (not otherwise acknowledged).

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WHITECHAPEL.—Clothing Workers Industrial Union No. 9 hold Open-Air Meetings every Sunday, 11.45 a.m., at the corner of Fulbourne Street and Whitechapel Road, E. Speakers welcome. Hon. Secretary, A. Gilbert, 35 Cephas Street, Mile End, E.1.

CARDIFF.—Our comrade A. BANKS, 1 Carmarthen Street, Market Road, Canton, Cardiff, stocks FREEDOM and all Anarchist publications, and is willing to supply groups and branches with advanced literature of all kinds. Comrades calling will be welcomed.

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- SONGS OF FREEDOM. Edited by H. Salt. Cloth, 1s. 6d.; postage 3d.
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