

HYDE PARK

Organ of the Hyde Park Movement, London, federated to the United Socialist Movement, Glasgow, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred. All unsigned contributions are from the pen of the Editor. Communications, suggestions and donations should be addressed to Guy Aldred at his private London address: 122 Addison Gardens, London, W.14.

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AND WHY "HYDE PARK?"

And why "HYDE PARK?"

Such is the question that will flash to your mind, on seeing this sheet. The purpose of this editorial is to answer your involuntary query.

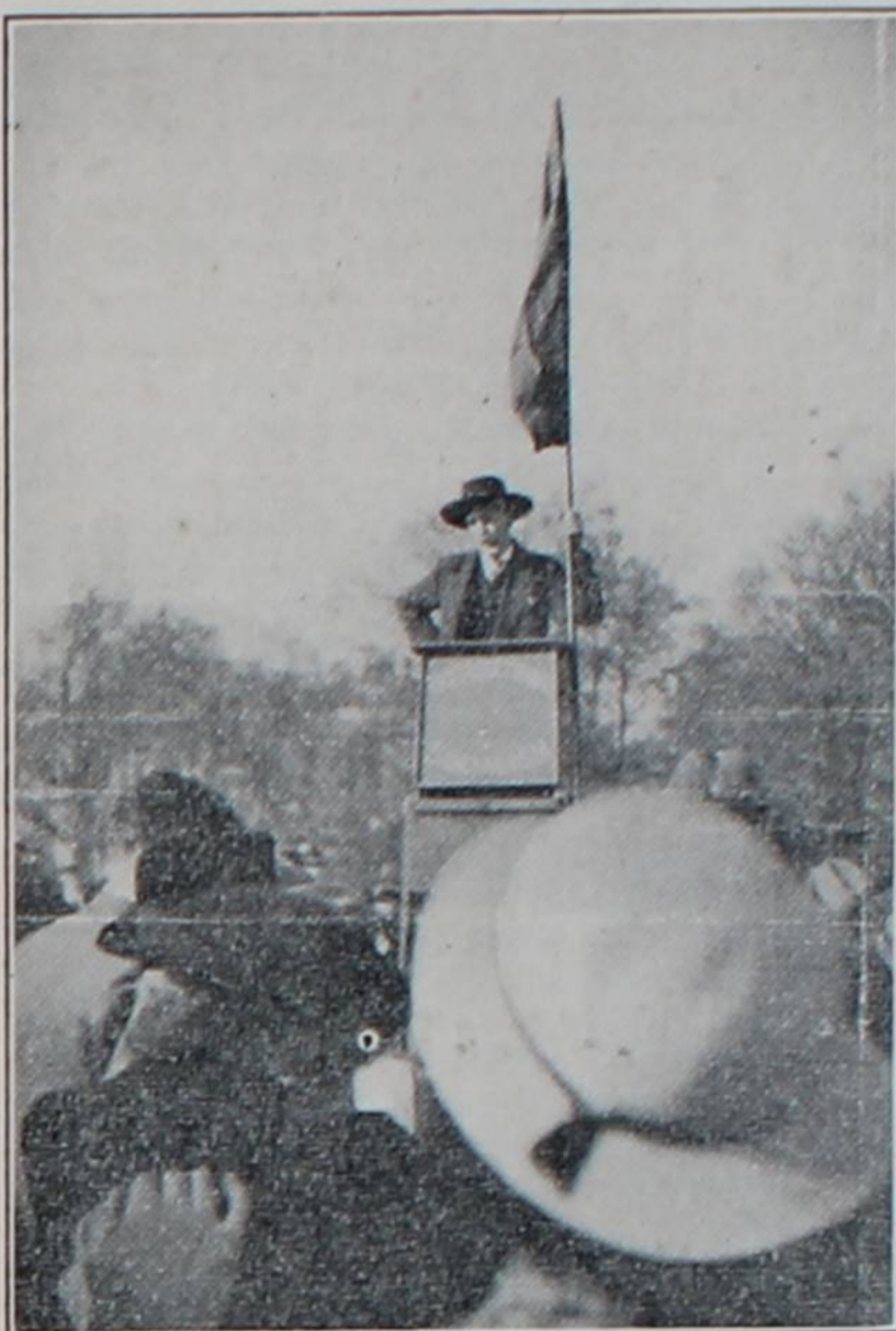
Hyde Park, as a public forum, was established by the will of the people, directly expressed, in opposition to wish of the State. Our forefathers had the courage and the public affection to will free speech. The freedom they established is curbed and restricted. Sufficient remains for us to use, so that the unrestricted right of free assembly in Hyde Park, with the right to circulate the printed word as well as to proclaim the spoken word, may be secured. The regulations of the Office of Works are contrary to the Act of Parliament and to the Common Law of England. These regulations should be swept aside and can be swept aside if the people but will the extinction of such thinly-disguised prohibition of public right. Our aim is to prepare the way for this great battle of democracy. We would oppose the power of the public forum of Hyde Park to the careerist assembly of Parliamentarians at Westminster.

In its current degeneracy, Hyde Park is a centre for alleged religious speaking; actually for the parade of much theological hypocrisy. An insolent consequence of pious cant is human fear to pay tribute to what is not only good and worthy, but is genius and worth, in the Bible. Honest, thoughtful men are afraid to expound the Old Testament prophets or applaud the parables of Jesus, lest they be charged with superstition and accused of belief in impossible miracles and other creations of the witch's cauldron of fear. The original message of Jesus, the unemployed son of man, who had not where to rest his head: his magnificent, direct speech: his simplicity of narrative and aptness of illustration are slimmed over by the unctuous platitudes of the multifarious theological professors who use the Park for their blasphemous tirades. The original teaching of the son of man is denied and destroyed by their mediocre conventions. Their confusion and mystery serve the ends of capitalist society. "HYDE PARK" would oppose the activity of these agents of death with the power of a genuine pulpit. Let Christians forsake mystery and miracle and orthodoxy of convention. Let Christians realise that there can be no Fatherhood of God without the Brotherhood of Man; and no Brotherhood of Man without the repudiation of war. To be a Christian, a man or woman must oppose war and must refuse to serve the moloch of militarism in any capacity.

"HYDE PARK" aims to establish for the Christians, a genuine Christian pulpit: the Word of the first Christians. It would revive the memory of the great Christian heretics and thinkers: the Brethren of the Free Spirit. "HYDE PARK" would make the teaching of Jesus, deprived of all traditions of superstition, a power unto the emancipation of the common people. It would rescue the figure and character of the man, Jesus, from the clutches of the Church and so drive home the greatness of his moral message. It is our belief that the genuine figure of Jesus, the Son of Man, will play an important role in the struggle towards the workers' conquest of bread and freedom and culture; the conquest of bread and roses, too.

We would make war on the awful daily mockery witnessed during spring and summer in Hyde Park, of rostrums devoted to the propagation of shoddy, Christian theology. These rostrums are offset by others, hardly less offensive, expounding a shoddy, capitalist secularism. Real Atheism, the vital Atheism of the common people, is but a natural development of early, proletarian, Christianity. The mystic Theism of Jesus, the Carpenter of other days, and the proletarian Atheism of Richard Carlile, the Tinker, have a common, practical purpose, the well-being of humanity. They have a poetical and practical one-ness. There are only two pulpits in the world: the people's pulpit, mounted by Jesus, Bruno, Carlile, Bakunin, Malatesta, and others; and Cæsar's

HYDE PARK PLATFORMS—1.



International Socialism

This was established by Albert Jarvis, known to all Hyde Parkers as "Bert." Comrade Jarvis is seen on the platform. This picture was taken on Coronation day, when he decided to have a Socialist Meeting of protest against splendour midst poverty. One of the oldest frequenters of the park, Comrade Jarvis was the first to introduce the red flag into Hyde Park. His fearless Anti-Parliamentarian and Anti-Militarist speeches bring him into conflict with all the reformist elements but his humorous rallies are viewed by his audiences as a feature of Hyde Park life.

pulpit, the pulpit of power and mediocrity, of oppression and force, the cynical pulpit of the Pope, the Anglican Church, Capitalist Trinitarian Nonconformity, the pulpit that condones slaughter and blesses exploitation. This pulpit defies Jesus, the better to cloak the outrage of his humanity.

As with theology, so with politics. We have political parties and groups, all falling short of the real message of working-class struggle. Labour Party defenders, a medley of muddle and confusion, preaching a spurious Socialism, developing an actual Jingoism, paving the way to capitalist war. Communist Partyites, indulging the A.R.P. ramp for all it is worth, and forgetting past declarations on the war issue of the Third International—even a declaration signed jointly by Trotsky, Zinoviev and Stalin!! What thought this combination of names inspires, as to the degradation of Communism!

And then we have a kind of Plymouth Brethren parliamentarianism. Excellent, critical propaganda. Most useful propaganda work. But what conclusions? Parliament controls this and that! And, at the end of the day, we must emancipate ourselves through one party and one hundred-per-cent. senior pure Socialist parliamentarianism! How hopelessly impossible!

And so we raise the banner of "HYDE PARK!" We proclaim the Hyde Park Movement. To Hyde Park streams London, streams the world. From Hyde Park can be organised, can be established, the pulpit and movement of London. To this end we ask your help. Make contact. Although we return to Glasgow to do our work in Scotland, make our visits to London regularly possible: enable us to reach out all over London and the neighbouring counties: help us build a living movement of thought and culture. It can be done. Not dead parties nor dead churches, but a living "HYDE PARK" can build a movement of struggle towards life, liberty and reality in London.

Do not be content to hear us. Write, help, discuss what can be done to build. Let us form a living fellowship of comrades, a real grouping of Brethren of the Free Spirit.

And so, "HYDE PARK!"

WILLIE GALLAGHER, M.P.—Before and After

John McGovern's merciless exposures of Willie Gallacher in the columns of the Glasgow "Forward," and Willie's evasive conditional replies, have flurried the Communist Party supporters in Hyde Park. The circulation, also, of "The Word," for May, 1938—reproducing Gallacher's exposure of Neil MacLean and his comments on the Oath of Allegiance—has been resented. Our view is that Gallacher is in the same situation as any other Labour Parliamentarian and should be attacked accordingly. Denouncing Neil MacLean in January, 1921, Willie Gallacher averred that it must ever be the work of revolutionaries, that is, genuine Socialists, to expose, most mercilessly, those who would mislead or betray the workers. Gallacher is now in the position of those who would mislead or betray.

Two months after his attack on Neil MacLean, Gallacher was imprisoned. Thereupon, the Provisional Executive of the C.P.G.B., at its meeting on Sunday, March 13th, 1921, decided, in the event of a bye-election at Leicester, to run Willie Gallacher as the Communist Party candidate. Arthur MacManus explained the situation in "The Communist" for March 19th, beneath full-page headings: "Our Convict Candidate." This was the main heading. It was sensational rather than correct. Gallacher was a convicted, hard-labour prisoner, not a convict. The second heading read: "Willie Gallacher as Prospective Communist Member for Leicester."

In the body of the article, MacManus stated that the Government had issued a challenge and Gallacher's candidature "is our acceptance of that challenge."

MacManus quoted "Hansard." Commander Kenworthy had declared that Malone was prosecuted for his opinions. Shortt, Home Secretary, denied this allegation and declared: "There is not a single hon. member who can produce the shorthand notes of a single trial in any court which can substantiate any such charge."

Mr. Neil MacLean: I am accepting the challenge thrown out by the Home Secretary, and I am going to quote the case of a Paisley mechanic, William Gallacher.

Mr. Shortt: For inciting to murder.

Mr. MacLean: Of course, we all incite to murder when we make any appeal to an audience to displace the present Government! Gallacher was not inciting to murder. It is idle for the Home Secretary to say he was not prosecuted for his opinions.

MacManus proceeded to describe the "Paisley mechanic":

"Our readers know who Willie Gallacher is. They know him as a National Organiser of the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement—and they know him as one of themselves, a clean, hard, true fighter."

This was nonsense. All Parliamentary careerists start as Gallacher started. They are returned to Parliament, in the first instance, because the workers know them. Always, to the workers, the careerists begin, "as one of themselves." And they are always "clean, hard fighters." Briand was "a hard, true fighter." John Burns was "one of themselves"; an unemployed engineer; "a hard, true fighter." He was the original "man with the red flag." The Socialists came to quote: "John Burns' verdict on himself: 'Judas Iscariot!'" MacDonald was a starveling teacher; Thomas was an engine-driver; Henderson, a foundry-labourer; and J. R. Clynes, a mill-hand. Even Willie Adamson, whom Gallacher defeated, was returned to Parliament on the first occasion because he was a miner and because the miners thought and said all the things about him that MacManus said about Gallacher.

How do these men feel when they attain place if not power? In "From Cotton Mill to Downing Street"—the title sums up Parliamentarism—J. R. Clynes describes what happened when King George V. sent for MacDonald to form the first "Labour" Capitalist Government: "As we stood waiting for His Majesty, among the luxurious gold and crimson magnificence, I could not help marvelling at the strange turn of fortune's wheel which had brought "MacDonald, Thomas, Henderson, Clynes, etc.," to this pinnacle beside the man whose forbears had been kings for so long."

It never occurred to Clynes that "the gold and silver magnificence" contrasted with slum conditions might be wrong.

Clynes adds: "The little quiet man whom we addressed as 'Your Majesty,' swiftly put us at our ease."

Gallacher was not to be the same as Clynes. MacManus depicted what would happen, if Gallacher were returned to Parliament:

"And if Gallacher wins, what then? Be sure that Capitalism does not keep up Parliament for sentimental reasons. The hard-faced men meet there for other than historical reasons. They meet because it is absolutely necessary, for Capital's preservation, that the pretence of a real fight going on in Parliament should be kept up. Communist M.P.'s will call this bluff. Communist M.P.'s will insist on raising the important issues. They will insist on awkward questions. So they will force everyone to recognise that Parliament evades every issue that matters to the workers—that it dare not and cannot deal with anything vital. Communist M.P.'s will strip the Parliamentary veil from Capitalism. They will show the naked force that lies underneath."

Has Gallacher done this since 1935? What awkward questions has this "Paisley mechanic" asked?

The year after Gallacher was to stand for Leicester he was supporting the Communist Party Election Manifesto, which concluded that, although there was "treachery on the part of the leaders," the "Labour Party is against the Capitalists!" Radek ridiculed this election address at the Fourth Congress of the Moscow International and declared, in his shrewd way, that the C.P. was like the kind-hearted Biblical Ruth "Whither Naomi goes, thither goes Ruth also."

As Radek sat down, Zinoviev rose, waved a telegram and declared that Walter Newbold had won Motherwell for Moscow!

This "victory" enthused Gallacher. He haunted the lobbies of the House of Commons, dined on the terrace with Newbold, dreamed of a mass C.P. being organised "under the guidance of the Comintern"; and wrote Parliamentary notes for the "Worker." He retained this Parliamentary mood until the nine months' subsidy postponed the mining crisis in the autumn of 1925. He transferred his attention to the industrial field, and wrote in the terms of struggle and "direct action," meaning industrial reformism to parallel his other advocacy of political reformism.

In the "Worker" for August 15th, 1925, Gallacher urged working-class preparation for the coming crisis. He wanted every available man brought into the unions, and every union brought under the direction of the General Council. The 1926 debacle proved Gallacher's advice to be unsound. Actually, the General Council was parliamentarian and never believed in direct action.

During this semi-direct action period, Gallacher placed great faith in Wheatley, Maxton and Kirkwood and wanted them to break from the "politically palsied leaders" of the I.L.P. He asked "Comrade Wheatley," especially, to break his "political associations with the middle-class leaders of the I.L.P.," who were "not interested in the workers' struggle" and "only see in the workers what the Liberals see in them—a mass of voters, who are useful for the furtherance of their own pet schemes for saving the middle-class from the hungry clutch of the financiers."

Gallacher further denounced the Parliamentarians in the "Worker," for May, 29th, 1926, in bold type, as "The Gas-Bags, Unlimited," and explained:

"The Parliamentarians are and have been utterly lost these times. Nobody has been paying any attention to them at all, and they feel some of them very annoyed that a rude, rough industrial dispute should have overshadowed their gassy utterances."

The General Strike ended in disaster, and Gallacher stampeded back to Parliamentary reformism. Before the end of 1926, he was defending a programme of "constitutional demands"; pooling of motor cars at election times; increased facilities for voting in rural areas; full political rights for soldiers, sailors and airmen; universal adult franchise; proportional representation; a single franchise for all purposes; abolition of the House of Lords; abolition of the monarchy; and a Democratic Republic! What a programme! What Socialism! What "infantile-sickness of the Left!"

Now came the Smethwick election, and the return

of Oswald Mosley as M.P., on Tuesday, December 21st, 1926. Mosley was described in the Press as "the rich young Socialist aristocrat," and "the noisy quick-firing machine gun" of the Labour Party.

On the Saturday before the election, MacManus and Gallacher came down from London to hold a special meeting in the constituency in support of Mosley. Despite Mosley's repudiation of them, Gallacher welcomed "Comrade Mosley" into the ranks of the Communists, and described the rich aristocrat as a "sincere proletarian." He added that Mosley was "a very good type, strong and honest."

Declaring that there was "too much snobbery in the Labour Party," Gallacher stated that "it was because of that snobbery that I advised Comrade Mosley to act for a year as a labourer on the Clyde-side."

Gallacher concluded that, unlike "Comrade Mosley," the leaders of the Labour Party were sitting down "playing ludo with the Capitalists."

In November, 1935, William Gallacher stood for West Fife and captured the seat from Willie Adamson, the miner's leader, who died not long afterwards. The figures were: Gallacher, 13,462; Adamson, 12,869; Milne (Conservative), 9,667.

Gallacher's programme, as published in the "Daily Worker," November 14th, 1935, was pure reformism. Summarised it was: Defeat the National Government and return a Labour Government. Against Re-armament. Collective peace. Work and wages for all. End tax on Co-ops. Gallacher to lead the United Front.

The "Daily Worker" for November 16th, 1935, gave huge headings to Gallacher's victory, and declared, in heavy type:

"This splendid victory was received with scenes of tremendous enthusiasm in Fife, which, a couple of hours later, was spreading among workers throughout the country and especially in Rhondda, where the valleys last night were ringing with cheers for this magnificent event."

What magnificent event? Perhaps the people of Rhondda Valley and those of Fife will tell us what they have gained up-to-date from the return of Gallacher. We know what Gallacher has gained. He has gained what every other Labour fakir gains when he is returned to Parliament. But what have the miners of Wales and Scotland gained?

In the same issue of the "Daily Worker," W. Wainwright, the "Daily Worker" special correspondent, wrote from Dunfermline, under Friday's date:

"Gallacher has won! There is tremendous excitement here at Dunfermline. . . . Celebration socials are being held all over the constituency for this evening. School-children have been going about saying that Gallacher is going to abolish the strap in the schools."

From whom did the children obtain this strap story? Has the strap been abolished in the Fife schools?

Gallacher describes his return as a "Blow at Reaction," a sentiment which the "Daily Worker" displayed in big type. He stated, in the proper Parliamentary style:

"I regard my splendid vote and victory in West Fife as a condemnation of the policy of the National Government and a striking blow to the forces of reaction which are preparing for war and new attacks upon the workers."

More general balderdash. Then Gallacher concluded his statement on a specific note:

"The big factor responsible for my election is the hatred of the Fife miners for the policy of the National Government, and their determination to go forward for united National action for an increase of 2/- per day."

Gallacher is in Parliament and has voted himself an increase in salary of from £400 to £600 per year. He could not have voted himself this £200 per year increase, and would not have received even £400 per year, but for the miners' grievance. What has happened to the miners' 2/- per day, which played such a part in securing his return?

Gallacher described his return as a striking blow against war. Was it?

When "Defence" was debated in the House of Commons in July, 1936, the I.L.P. moved an amendment against supplementary estimates for the armed forces. Campbell Stephen and George Buchanan acted as tellers. Sixty-four Labour men trooped into the Lobby along with them. W. Gallacher, the Communist Member for West Fife, refused to join the rebels! The "Daily Worker" defended his conduct by saying that, with the mass of the Labour members, he "just ignored the childish—and ignorant—antics of the I.L.P." This is the style John Burns employed when he joined the Liberal Cabinet in opposition to the Labour and Social Democratic Parties. Referring to "the strong, sane statesman, Mr. William Gallacher, M.P.," Campbell Stephen declared rightly, that "the policy of the C.P. has put Gallacher in the position of being afraid to vote differently from Attlee, the Parliamentary leader."

ANARCHIST PRETENDERS

The apathy of the people is a favourite theme of the sectarian leaders. Ecclesiastics, Secularists, Socialists alleged, and Communists self-styled, not to mention parlour Anarchists, meet on a common platform: the utter unworthiness of the people. It seems that the common man and woman have reached a stage when he and she believe in no one and in no cause. Which is very sad indeed. And so the professional cause-server retaliates by completing the circle and refusing to believe in the people. We confess to a sympathy with human apathy. Certainly, the people are to blame for their apathy. They are apathetic because they refuse to think and preferred to be hoodwinked. Now patriotism and parliamentarism have taken their toll of human suffering and misery and the people, betrayed so often, have lost heart even in themselves and the direct pursuit of their own cause. Events will remedy this cynical doubting and the people will once again become aflame with faith and purpose: for the last time, and to the final goal. In the interval, we would take stock of the sincerities the people miss: that is, the insincerities imposed upon them.

When we are told that so-and-so is a Christian, some one else a Socialist, some other body a Communist, and so on, what do we do? We enquire into their conduct, into their actual behaviour and practice, and invariably facts drive us to censure. We ask: "Are they —?" The gap can be filled in as you wish: Christians, Socialists, Communists, etc!

There is an extreme section of Socialists who ought to be superior to all littleness, all careerism. These are known as Anarchists. When Fascism reared its head in Catalonia, a magnificent stand was made for Freedom by the Anarchist workers and peasants in and around Barcelona, in the July days of 1936. The Anarchists should be genuine. On enquiry, we discover that, as with Christians, so with Freethinkers, Socialists, Communists, Anarchists, propaganda has degenerated into a ramp. We are entitled to ask: "Are they genuine? Are they, the professed Anarchists, the reputed Anarchists, genuine?" The answer is in the negative.

On March 26th, 1938, Comrade I. Rudash died at the Old Age Home, Washington City, U.S.A., at the age of 76. He had resided there for many years and was a link with John Most. He worked with Most in the German Anarchist Movement in America and was one of Most's closest friends.

Rudash was born at Vilna, on December 15th, 1862. He went to the U.S.A. in 1885. He was one of the pioneers of the Jewish Anarchist Movement in America. Chiefly, he wrote in the London "Arbeiter Freund" ("Worker's Friend") and in the New York "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" ("Free Workers' Voice"). When Marcus Graham established "Man" Rudash contributed reminiscences of his former activities and of the personalities of the movement.

Writing the notice of Comrade Rudash's death, Marcus Graham says, in "Man":

"Several years ago, Comrade Rudash sent to "Man" a detailed account of an unpleasant occurrence at a meeting where he was chairman and John Most the speaker. Due to some personal reasons, Emma Goldman jumped on the platform and attempted to hit Most. His version was totally different from the one given by E. G. in her autobiography. Nevertheless, I refrained from publishing this reminiscence because the very attempt of using force as an argument between Anarchists is, in itself, unanarchistic; and whether she attempted to hit Most with a real horse-whip as contended by her, or with a play-toy whip, as claimed by Comrade Rudash, makes no difference in the final analysis of the discreditable act."

Rudash claims that the sole motive that inspired Emma Goldman was personal importance, the desire for distinction, and careerism. The passage of the years has not improved the manner of the lady or inspired nobler activity.

Since we were invited to join the Anarchist movement in 1906, when we quarrelled with the parliamentarism of the S.D.F., our propaganda activity has been blocked consistently by those who styled themselves Anarchists. So long as she was in America, Emma Goldman played no part in this absurd boycott. But since her bogus marriage and assumption of British citizenship, she has joined the boycott with enthusiasm. The hatred she once felt for John Most has been transferred to ourselves. Doubtless, did we predecease our worthy comrade, she would attend our funeral and want to speak beside the open grave or at the cremation, as she attended Most's funeral. She has that way with her.

We had been absent from London several years and had played our part in building up the Anti-Parliamentary movement in Glasgow and Scotland generally. Finally, following most unsuccessful

efforts on the part of Emma Goldman to crash into Glasgow without any real propaganda purpose, we were invited to London by a group of Anarchists. It must be confessed that, after most elaborate plans and arrangements, on our arrival, the London Group melted away like snow on a dyke beneath the rays of a summer sun. But the propaganda flourished and the propaganda value of our London visit has increased. A two-week's visit will result in a nine-week's campaign, reluctantly concluded because we must return to Glasgow. Contacts have been made and an early future campaign worked out. Intense winter propaganda in London will result.

This visit had to be ignored by the professional Anarchists, anxious for recognition by the CNT-FAI, and financially established in consequence of the Spanish struggle. Came the second anniversary of the Spanish Revolution. In "Spain and the World," Emma Goldman announced a CNT-FAI Spanish anniversary demonstration in Hyde Park, and the existence of a bogus Anarchist Communist Federation in Glasgow. The last-mentioned organisation does not exist and is merely an attempt to destroy the remnants of the old Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation, which flourished actively and successfully for so many years. It was Emma Goldman's duty not only to avoid splitting the A.P.C.F., but to unite that organisation and the United Socialist movement, in one great Anti-Parliamentary movement. The unity of the movement is of no consequence as contrasted against the vanity and careerism of Emma Goldman. Her anniversary demonstration was advertised in "Reynold's" newspaper, with C.P. gusto and imitation, as a "mass meeting." Alas! the mass meeting was so poorly attended as to be an almost confidential gathering. The speakers outnumbered the audience all the time and Hyde Park was unconscious of the occasion, or of the purpose of this "positively unique appearance." Observing them, my memory became maliciously busy, and opened doors these pseudo-Anarchists believed they had locked successfully against all intrusive curiosity of amused reminiscence.

Prior to addressing the great meeting that rallied round the International Socialist platform, from which we spoke, we stood two or three feet away from this ridiculous CNT-FAI platform: this banner without an audience. It was funny to be outlawed by these pretenders who, by unity, could have organised a magnificent demonstration. And, after all, who raised the Spanish Question in Glasgow, if not the United Socialist Movement?

The man, on the platform, now well-dressed, Saville Row cut, had been very down-and-out on the last occasion we spoke to him. He had known us in Hammersmith away back in 1910, had lived two or three doors away, and had been active in the Hammersmith Socialist Society, the West London Socialist Council, and the old Raper Hall with us. Comrades looking up the "Herald of Revolt" and the "Spur" would see a record of his activity. That was before he knew Emma Goldman. More recently, on a previous visit to London, it was necessary to combat his pessimism at our joint meetings. Then he had visited Glasgow on our invitation, and comrades there will recall how we chaired for him at every meeting. During this visit his entire phraseology was Marxian. Now he is the perfect Anarchist, notwithstanding his service with the British Army during the War: well-groomed, disdainful of Guy Aldred and all his works; and the author of a letter to Emma Goldman agreeing with Rudolf Rocker, the time-server to American capitalist democracy, that Anarchism will collapse unless "Aldred is driven out of the movement."

Speaking also was the Southend Anarchist, whose letters we published in the May "Word." He recalled then the 1906 visit to Liverpool and was afraid to speak in London, when only a few feet away. Supporting the platform were two Glasgow members of the A.P.C.F., now resident in London, who were most anxious to recall their association on our previous London visits. Another there was the fair Emma, who had written from New York in previous years, saying that we were the one person in Britain she wanted to meet. Most anxiously has she avoided the meeting. What a ramp! Still, the movement must go on! Still the movement is right!

Only, it must be cleansed of humbug and hypocrisy. Falsehood and intrigue must end.

In May, 1923, the London "Freedom" published an article from the pen of Emma Goldman, paying a tribute to Rudolf Rocker. This article was dated from Berlin, March, 1923. The limelight created by the Spanish Anarchists gave Rocker and Goldman their opportunity. The CNT now boost the I.L.P.,

and the I.L.P. boost Rocker and Emma Goldman. An astonished proletarian world has been informed that Feuner Brockway and Ethel Mannin are the leaders of the revolutionary vanguard and that Aldous Huxley hopes to give his life for the proletariat. All are saved or about to be saved except the APCF, the USM, and the associates of Guy Aldred. The imprisonments of Aldred for sedition and anti-militarist resistance to war are ignored discreetly by these cowardly humbugs.

Some time after Emma Goldman's eulogy, Rocker identified himself with the C.P. slanderers of Van der Lubbe. Marcus Graham rebuked his attitude. Rocker's denunciation of Van der Lubbe was the price of immunity from the U.S. Department of Justice attention, and of permission to engage in quite futile parlour radicalism in the States. Van der Lubbe's memory was of no consequence.

Rudolf Rocker was born in Mayence, on the Rhine, on March 25th, 1873. He came of working-class parents who died when he was young and he was placed in a Catholic Orphan Asylum. Emma Goldman pathetically described how he ran away from the orphanage twice and how he was dragged back by his Catholic foster fathers. She explains, describing him as a "precocious juvenile idealist": "his love of freedom and his rebellious genius grew with it. They deepened with the development and maturity of his life." I suppose that this explains his later attitude towards Van der Lubbe. It should be added that he has been more successful in running away from unpleasant circumstances in his maturity than he seems to have been in his childhood.

At the age of thirteen he was apprenticed to book-binding. He began to read Social-Democratic literature and is said to have been a Socialist writer and speaker within a year. He remained at the bookbinders until 1888 and then began a tramp through Western Europe. In 1891 he became an Anarchist and shortly after that met Domela Nieuwenhuis. The following year he left Germany, because he was threatened with arrest. He proceeded to Paris, which was then looked upon as a great centre of Anarchist activity.

Emma Goldman states that, in Paris, Rocker made a discovery that had a "lasting effect upon his life, namely, the Russian revolutionary type of woman." She insists that he realised its importance and adds:

"As he so often relates: 'To find, after the German type of woman I had left behind, women who can think, who can take part in the discussion of great problems of life, and who can so completely dedicate themselves to the cause of humanity—that was a never-to-be-forgotten event. These women became my inspiration, the burning ideal in life.'

Prior to this account of Rocker's alleged discovery of the Russian woman as opposed to the German woman, Emma Goldman has no reference to Rocker's association with women. It must be remembered that Rocker claims to have been an Anarchist at the age of eighteen and that means that at that age he subscribed to the Anarchist ideas of Free Love. It is obvious that as an Anarchist he ought not to have married legally. But he did, and the reference to the Russian woman as opposed to the German merely means, what is the fact, that Rocker **deserted his legal German wife and her child in order to go away with a Russian woman named Milly Witcop.** It is absurd, because a man develops a liking for a Russian woman whereas formerly his affection had been for a German one, to indict all German women as reactionary and to applaud all Russian women as revolutionary. The affair may have been one of romance for Rocker, but it was also one of sordid struggle for his wife, and for some time, for their child. At a later date, Rocker again made romance out of this affair and urged, in connection with it, that he was persecuted on a point of principle. If every man who ceased to love his wife and left her could claim to be an Anarchist the States of the world would be menaced with the prospect of an immediate Anarchist revolution.

Rocker was in Paris at the time that the Anarchists, Ravachol, Valliant, Henry and Caserio engaged in "propaganda by deed." He met here Elisee Reclus, Kropotkin, Malatesta, Grave, Faure and Louise Michel. After Caserio had struck down President Carnot, Rocker was expelled from France. He proceeded to London, and in 1895 opened up German Anarchist and Yiddish Anarchist propaganda in the East End. In London his wife and their son began to molest him and in order to escape from her attentions he decided to go to the United States of America. Emma Goldman tells the story differently. This is her account:

"Being of a sunny disposition, he found it hard to acclimatise himself to the London fogs; and in 1898 he and his companion, Milly Witcop, embarked for the freest

of lands—the United States. The two young romantic people reckoned without their host. The bigotry of the Puritanic watch-dogs of morality, which then, as now, makes America the most provincial country in the world, would not permit Rudolf and Milly to contaminate the 'pure' soil of Uncle Sam. They had to float back whence they came."

It is not necessary to agree with Uncle Sam on this question of morals, to realise the suppression of truth in this statement.

On May 29th, 1898, the New York "Sun" published an account of this barring of entry to Rocker and Milly Witcop, under the heading: "**Won't Marry, Barred Out.**" It called the treatment of these persons: "Our Immigrant Inquisition." Its report read as follows:

"Rudolf Rocker, a German bookbinder, 33 years old, of stolid demeanor, and Milly Witcop, a dressmaker, 26 years old, arrived here on Thursday on the steamship, Chester. They were supposed to be man and wife, but the inquisitors at the Barge Office found out that they were not, and told them that they could not land unless they married. The young woman declared that they did not want to marry. They were agnostics and did not believe in marriage of the conventional kind. The young woman said: 'Why should we be detained and sent back? We might have landed if we had decided to get married. We chose not to lie. We do not believe in marriage. As to forms of government, we believe in all of them. We lived together two years in London and nobody interfered with us or asked us disagreeable questions. We attend to our own affairs, and do not interfere with those of anybody else. People should be permitted to live as they like if they do no harm. It suits me and my friend to live as we do. It is a matter between us entirely. We have sympathies, tastes and ideas in common. If we should marry and he should lose his love for me, then I could legally compel him to live with me or support me. If I should cease to love him, then he might force me to live with him whether or not I wanted to do so. I think that is wrong. Many young men go to the altar and swear to love for ever young women that they could not really love. We will not lie. We might have said we were Protestants or Catholics, and, after marrying, been allowed to come in. We prefer to go back to London and live together there, where they have let us alone.'

"The young woman and her lover will be sent back on the 'Chester' to-day."

This statement made by Milly Witcop was a lie from beginning to end. The parties did not "choose" to marry because **they could not marry.** They made no stand whatever for the principle of Free Love. Yet E. C. Walker, the well-known freethinking and Anarchist writer, published a lengthy article in Moses Harman's paper, "Lucifer," for June 18th, 1898, under the title "An Immigration Bureau Outrage," praising Rudolf Rocker and Milly Witcop for their steadfastness to principle.

Rocker returned to England and established a Yiddish Anarchist propaganda, first in Leeds, and later in London. Nothing untoward happened to him until the outbreak of the world war, when he was interned for no other reason than that he was born in Germany. At Alexandra Palace he was treated with every respect and consideration and earned a considerable amount of fame for his literary lectures. Since he shared internment with a large number of high-placed Germans it will be realised that he was not persecuted for his opinions. On June 28th, 1916, Milly Witcop, who now called herself Milly Witcop-Rocker, despite her 1898 Free Love protestations, was suddenly arrested while cooking her dinner and was taken to Vine Street Police Station, without being permitted to say good-bye to her eight-year-old son or to her stepson, Rocker's son by his German wife, who in later years came to live with them. She was transferred to Holloway Gaol and subsequently interned in Aylesbury Prison on the ground that she was German by her "marriage" to Rudolf Rocker and must be interned in the interests of public safety!

When Rocker was released from internment in March, 1918, he was deported to Germany, but actually went to Holland. He resided there in perfect safety and comfort till the German revolution. Milly Witcop was allowed to join him. They took up their residents in the working-class suburb of Neukolln.

In February, 1919, the Anarchists of the world made a great deal of fuss about the fact that Rocker had become the target of the new Social-Democratic dictatorship. Noske's henchmen, who had struck down the bravest and finest spirits of the German revolution, especially the immortal Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, arrested Rocker without a charge and kept him in prison for the terrible period of **three weeks!** This measures the extent of Rocker's menace to the German counter-revolution and sums up his life's sufferings in the cause of the proletarian revolution. From that time on until the Nazis destroyed the right of public meeting and suppressed all Socialist activity, Rocker distinguished himself by lecturing in Berlin and all over Germany on abstract Anarchist principles, on Syndicalism, on the Drama, and on Great Works of Fiction.

When the triumph of the Nazis became certain Rocker did not concern himself with his rank-and-file Anarchist supporters but immediately passed over to London and from there proceeded to America. This is typical of the man. He enjoys his revolutionary reputation in comfort and without danger. The triumph of Hitler and the collapse of the revolutionary movement in Germany was as much a censure of Rocker's armchair cushion Anarchism and his entire activity since 1918, as it was of the bogus revolutionary activity of the Communist Party.

We met Rocker first of all in 1906. We were invited by some Anarchist comrades to attend the Workers' Friend Club in Jubilee Street in the East End of London. Rocker was the leader of the movement. He made a great play of his belief in direct action, but in practice, simply supported the Jewish Trade Union reformist activity. As a self-taught Yiddish writer and editor, he created a Yiddish literature but founded no revolutionary movement. The authorities sensed he was no menace. During the whole time he was in London, down to the outbreak of the war, a period of nineteen years, Rocker, the alien Anarchist, was never molested by the British Government.

When the Sidney Street business took place and two men were besieged in a house in that East End thoroughfare and defended themselves for several hours against the combined attacks of the Police, the Fire Brigade, and a Brigade of Guards, with Winston Churchill, then Home Secretary, directing the charge against them, Rocker and the Freedom Anarchists denied all knowledge of these men. It is obvious that their method of getting a living had no relation to their Anarchism. It is no less true that these two men had supported the Workers' Friend propaganda, and that, whatever their deeds under Capitalism, they were by conviction Anarchists, and did most liberally support the Anarchist movement, of which Rocker was the leader. They had dined with him in his own house at No. 3, Dunstan Houses, Stepney Green. But Rocker's idea was then, as always, to play safe.

The truth of this statement is emphasised by his own activity in the United States, and by the conditions imposed on Emma Goldman, when she returned to New York in February, 1934, after fifteen years' exile. The "One Big Union" bulletin for February 15th, 1934, published a short paragraph, declaring on the authority of Roger N. Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, that: "**Emma Goldman must avoid politics in U.S.**" He stated that the authorities had informed her that she must not engage in political controversy. She was granted a visa, on the ground that she wanted to come to visit friends and relatives, and to lecture on literature and the drama. Marcus Graham, in "Man," published a criticism of her lectures and a censure of her attitude towards Roosevelt's "New Deal."

The "Daily Express" (Glasgow edition), for February 10th, 1934, published a picture of Emma Goldman, with letterpress, describing her arrival in New York. It added: "**But she could not voice her opinion.**"

Contrast against this account of Emma Goldman's difficulties the following report from "Freedom," London, for March, 1934, depicting Rocker's immunity from restriction of any kind:—

"RUDOLPH ROCKER IN THE STATES.

"Our Comrades, Rocker and his wife, are now in the U.S.A., where Rocker has been delivering lectures. We are delighted to learn that he is having good meetings. One in Denver, Colorado, on December 21st, being a splendid success from every point of view."

Rocker's "wife" is, of course, the Milly Witcop of 1898, who would not marry "on principle"—precisely because Rocker's actual wife was alive, and he had deserted her.

"L'Adunata," of New York, for January 20th, 1934, carried announcements of Rocker's lectures in Yiddish, German and English, to be delivered in Los Angeles, California. The Los Angeles groups held a Van der Lubbe memorial meeting at the Libertarian Centre there on January 15th. In announcing their memorial meeting, the Los Angeles comrades stated:

"In Germany, while twelve million Socialists obediently stood to have fetters rivetted on their ankles, and seven million Communists submissively held out their hands to be handcuffed,

MARINUS VAN DER LUBBE

an individual acting alone, set fire to and burned the Reichstag building, become the headquarters of Hitler gangsterism. If Germany had had a hundred thousand like him in courage and initiative, she could not have been enslaved."

And if Rocker had been one of that hundred thousand, or his boasted German audiences had been members of that one hundred thousand, then Rocker would not have been enjoying exile in America re-

peating the farce of his English and German performances, lecturing in Yiddish, German and English! If those lectures were of any moment does one believe that he would have the free run of America under an administration that dreads even the re-appearance of Emma Goldman; and the visit of Willie Gallacher?

Let those who love liberty face the facts and answer these questions for themselves.

OUTSIDE THE GATES

Because no one has maintained the right to circulate literature at meetings inside the Park, which is a legitimate attendant right of public meeting, we were compelled the other Sunday to purchase the "New Leader" outside the Park gates. The issue was dated, Friday, July 29th, 1938. It reproduced the front page of "l'Humanité," the French Communist Party organ, for "Mercredi, 20 Juillet, 1936." The front page carried the hammer, sickle, pictures of the King and Queen, the King in Admiral's uniform, as decorative effects; and a picture of the welcoming of the King and Queen, with eulogistic explanatory letterpress. We congratulate the "New Leader" on reproducing the page, for otherwise no one would have believed that an alleged Communist journal could adopt itself to such royal toadyism, in the interests of capitalist diplomacy and imperialism. Beneath the reproduction, the "New Leader" recalled the following excellent story:—

"There is a four-year-old story that a French Communist, arriving at Victoria Station, London, went to the bookstall and asked for a copy of the Labour daily newspaper. He was handed a copy of the 'Daily Herald.'

"He looked at the front page and saw large photographs of the British Royal Family. He handed the paper back.

"I wanted the Labour paper,' he said to the bookstall assistant.

"That is the Labour Party paper,' said the assistant. The French Communist could believe neither his ears nor his eyes.

"And now!"

Outside the Park gates also "The Socialist Standard" for August was on sale. The August issue reproduced the full text of an article published in "l'Humanité" for July 19th, commented on the visit of the King and Queen. All comrades should purchase the S.P.G.B. organ and read the article for themselves. We reproduce the opening paragraph:—

"King George VI. and Queen Elizabeth, who acceded to the Throne following an attempt to gain personal power by Edward VIII.—an attempt thwarted by British democracy—will to-day be the guests of Paris."

This statement is, of course, a lie. Edward VIII. made no attempt to gain personal power and "the British democracy," whatever that phrase may mean, were or was never consulted. Edward's abdication was brought about by a palace plot, assisted by a doddering Archbishop, a Tory statesman, a snob Labour Leader, and a collection of well-rewarded politicians of all groups. Had democracy been consulted, Edward might have remained King. Had Edward been King and had he visited Paris as did his successor, the purpose would have been the same—the promotion of an Anglo-French capitalist war alliance. What right have Communists to support such rubbish, such anti-working class activity. But then Stalinism is a ramp, like the A.R.P., it wants to control "democratically"!

We saw someone selling "Forward." This journal is to be congratulated on its splendid exposures of the Communist Party and John McGovern's unanswerable attacks on Willie Gallacher should be read by all. Victor Gollancz announces that it is "an unscrupulous lie" to say that "the Left Book Club is under the control of the Communist Party." He refers all and sundry to three writs issued by his firm, and also to the fact that he belongs to "two Labour Parties, and shall shortly be a member of a third." Victor Gollancz threatens and proves too much. Why should a honest Socialist want to belong to three Labour Parties? Ought not one to be enough. Is plural membership Socialism? Why should a honest man want to answer political criticism by resort to action for libel? Can we not draw our own deductions, as to the one-sided political nature of the literature issued; the rallies organised by the Left Book Club; the speakers, etc.? No sane observer doubts the intimate connection between the Communist Party and the Left Book Club and the libel writ business is but the privilege of wealth added to the promptings of fear. He who would silence criticism fears criticism. Let Victor Gollancz note this comment and the fact that it is not anonymous. Fairly deduced conclusions are not libellous and C.P. apologetics are not accidental.

Outside the Park gates we bought "Spain and the World." This Anarchist sheet contains a biography of Tom Keell, written by Nettlau. Why cannot the biographer of Bakunin write truthfully? He attacks Carr, for failing in this respect. Nettlau praises Keell for resisting the war and praises C. W. Owen for assisting Keell against the Communists. Why does not Nettlau say that Owen went pro-war in America when Berkman and Emma Goldman were imprisoned. Why so much lying and concealment in the name of Anarchism? Owen went pro-war and ought to have been expelled from the Anarchist movement. So should Kropotkin. The latter not only went pro-war, but returned to Russia after the revolution, and spoke with Pleckanov, the arch-enemy of Anarchism, in defence of the war, Imperialism, and Russia Provisional Government of Kerensky. Twice, in times of crisis, Kropotkin betrayed every Socialist and proletarian principle, and Emma Goldman and Co. insist on eulogising him as the "Grand Old Man" of proletarian revolution. Such lying would be comedy did it not spell tragedy. Kropotkin should be dismissed for ever.

We were glad to see a comrade selling "Man," the great San Francisco paper issued by Marcus Graham. Every Hyde-Parker should assist in putting a stop to the persecution of this paper and in bringing about an end of the deportation proceedings, under which our comrade, Marcus Graham, has suffered repeated imprisonments since 1919. Marcus Graham needs the material support of all comrades so that his present sentence of imprisonment may be appealed through the Circuit Court. Correspondence and funds may be sent through us, or direct to: **Marcus Graham, P.O. Box 971, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.**

WHY JESUS WEPT

Many comrades have expressed the wish that we should reprint our 40-paged pamphlet, "Socialism and the Pope," and add a chapter on the Spanish struggle. We agree. But we sell all our literature at a heavy loss and reprinting is difficult, without a gesture of special support. Who will help us issue a second, revised, enlarged edition, of 10,000 copies. A 60-paged, well-printed pamphlet for twopence?

Again, the wish has been conveyed to us that our pamphlet on Jesus should be reprinted. The first edition, issued in 1912, was entitled "The Rebel and His Disciples." The second, revised, edition was published as "Communism and Religion: As to Jesus." This means 10,000 copies of this pamphlet have been circulated. Our aim is to issue a third edition, under the title: "As to Jesus." The subtitle will be: "The Rebel or His 'Disciples'?" We would like all who express interest in our lectures to make this publication a great success.

To the same category belong our pamphlet: "Historical and Traditional Christianity." A re-issue of this work, published in 1906, is overdue.

Apart from re-issues, we have two important historical works in hand. The story of these MSS shall be told later. Both MSS were completed three years ago.

The first is "Bakunin"—a complete biography of the great Russian thinker and man of action, which we propose to issue as a 6d. booklet. The matter in this pamphlet would make a 10s. 6d. book.

The second is entitled: "Why Jesus Wept!" This is a series of essays in history and biography, telling the story of the great heretics and pioneers of the Christian Church, introduced by a study as to why Jesus wept over Jerusalem.

These two books are being produced by a great London printing and publishing firm. The printing cost will be £120. We ask support to issue almost immediately these really great studies, summing up our philosophy of approach to life. Order now. If every comrade orders these books, and sends money with order, they will appear within a month.

If the publication, and republication of these works interest you, write to our London address: **Guy Aldred, 122, Addison Gardens, London, W.14.**

Guy Aldred came to London from Glasgow on June 18th. He has addressed good meetings at Hyde Park, Wood Green, Brixton, Bayswater, Hammer-smith, Clapham Common, and Highbury Corner. Groups wishing to arrange visits to places in or near London should do so at once.

Held Over—Paris Notes, describing royal visit to Paris, by Ethel MacDonald and a Glasgow letter by J. Caldwell. These have been printed as a small leaflet for free distribution and can be obtained on request.