

Freedom

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NOTES.

"Our Empire."

How the manly bosoms of our unemployed discharged soldiers and sailors must swell with pride when they realise the steadily increasing size of the British Empire. The cream of the German Colonies in Africa and the Pacific, the fertile plains of Mesopotamia, the ancient kingdom of Egypt—all these have been added during the war to the Empire on which the sun never sets. Now to make the all-red route to India secure, we have undertaken to "protect the independence" of Persia—not forgetting her oil wells. Having signed all the documents in conjunction with the Shah (a mere youth), our diplomats sent word to the League of Nations—or to the Big Four—telling them all about it. Having added Persia to the Empire (because that is what it really means), our statesmen have decided they can afford to be generous, so they have made Belgium a present of a portion of the late German Colonies in East Africa and its three million native inhabitants. As the natives might have heard of Belgian atrocities in the Congo, their consent to the change of rulers was not asked for. General Smuts said that what struck him most at the Peace Conference was the overwhelming political preponderance of the British Empire. Yet, in spite of this, we read of Englishmen searching in vain for a plot of land on which to earn their living, or even a house in which to dwell. As the old book says: "The eyes of the fool are in the ends of the earth."

That Terrible Alliance.

After having frightened all the old ladies and others for some months with their threats of the way in which they were going to show the country what terrible fighters they are, the Triple Alliance have climbed down. The ballot on Direct Action has been shelved, and the questions of conscription and military intervention in Russia, and in industrial disputes are quietly forgotten. But the Alliance is still trying to frighten people. "Nationalisation of the coal mines" is to be the next great issue, and if Lloyd George and Bonar Law don't do it quickly, there will be a hell of a row. "Grave Labour Crisis" will again appear on the posters, and J. H. Thomas—or perhaps Bob Smillie—will fly to France in an aeroplane to ask Lloyd George what he is going to do about it, and return in an aeroplane with the answer, which will be considered behind closed doors at one of the biggest hotels in London. After the secret consideration of L. G.'s answer, the world will be assured that the crisis is postponed until the members of the various organisations have been consulted, and another fizzle will be recorded. As a matter of fact, it is a mistake to imagine that size counts in a revolutionary movement. The mass is nearly always conservative, and whilst the Triple Alliance might strike to improve their own position as Trade Unionists, they would never do so for any other reason. If a big fight ever comes, it will be forced by a minority acting on their own.

The Land Question.

Why is it that this question is entirely neglected nowadays? All the politicians seem to be afraid to touch it for fear of burning their fingers. Yet it is the paramount question, surpassing all others in importance. In all the reconstruction schemes we hear much of buying land for discharged soldiers, for housing, and for other purposes. But in all these cases fabulous prices are being paid to the ground landlords for permission to put the land to a useful purpose. Some of this land has probably never produced a sack of potatoes or other vegetables for generations, yet as soon as a local body asks for a piece the landlord or his agent ask a price which is about fifty times more than the market price

for land in the locality. And even when an arbitration board settles the price, its decision is always favourable to the landlord. The land that has been acquired for small holdings and farms for discharged soldiers will have to be let to them at a charity rent, because it would be impossible for them to pay their way if they had to pay a rent based on the purchase price. The truth is that the landed interest is too strong for the politicians, and nothing but revolution or fear of revolution will break down land ownership, on which the whole system of exploitation is based.

Police Spies.

The prominence given to the case of W. F. Watson, of the London Workers' Committee, whom the Home Secretary said was paid by the police for information he voluntarily gave them, whilst at the same time carrying on a revolutionary propaganda, has been the means of drawing attention to the new department set up at Scotland Yard. Formed a few months ago, its special work is similar to that of the secret police in Russia under the Tsar, namely, to ferret out all those who are engaged in the revolutionary movement, and to counteract their work. It is foolish for papers like the *Manchester Guardian* to protest against this department as being against British traditions. When revolutionists get active, it is quite natural that the Government should use any and every means to defeat them. In reality, it is not a new departure, for there has always been a secret police. In the Walsall Anarchist trial years ago it was proved that a man named Coulon, who had been working in the Anarchist movement, was in the pay of Scotland Yard, and had given the information on which the charge was based. But in view of their fear of Bolshevik activity in this country, the Government have enlarged the secret police force and brought its methods up to date. We do not think anyone need be alarmed at this, as although a few spies may get into the revolutionary movement, and some comrades be arrested as the result, a great deal more harm is done by men high up in the Labour movement, who betray the workers in return for Government jobs and political favours. The war brought most of these traitors into the limelight, yet they still retain the confidence of many foolish workers. With regard to Watson, we are quite prepared to suspend judgment until he can give his version of the matter. In any case, we are sure that had he been of any real assistance to the police, they would never have made the fact public.

Anti-Trust Legislation.

It is amusing to hear that the Government intend to introduce a Bill into Parliament to regulate the Trusts. To begin with, Trusts are a natural outcome of the present system of production for profit, and no Act of Parliament will stop their formation. Another thing that makes us smile is that the Government itself and its principal supporters are financially interested in the Trusts, and may be relied on to do nothing that will cause them much alarm. Since the Sherman Anti-Trust legislation was passed in the United States, Trusts have expanded there by leaps and bounds, the Meat Trust having fleeced all the world during the war. Lloyd George and Co. will only bring in their precious Bill just to keep the people quiet for a little while. But there is one thing about the Bill that may have a sting. The first prosecution in America under the Sherman Act was launched against a Trade Union (!) and on May 10 of this year the United Mine Workers of America were found liable for damages to the amount of £120,000 for a strike which took place in 1914. It is hardly necessary to say that Sam Gompers and the American Federation of Labour heartily supported the Sherman Act when it was introduced. Will the British Labour movement learn the lesson?

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.—*Les Temps Nouveaux* appears once more as a sixteen-page monthly, with a cover, the second page of which is devoted to "Our Programme." As of old it will struggle for the ideal and the social and moral emancipation of all humanity, unbiassed by class or party considerations. It envisages the society of the future as composed of groups united voluntarily in free associations which regulate their own affairs by mutual consent. This being essentially the Anarchist ideal it declares itself, of necessity, opposed to Authority and the State in all their diverse forms; that of State Socialism—"the logical consequence of Parliamentary Socialism"—being specially denounced. "From our view-point," it continues, "Bolshevism is only State Socialism, very authoritarian, strongly centralised and living by violence. It is not in our programme to bring about the people's happiness from above, and despite itself. We do not believe in the good tyrant."

The articles that follow, written excellently, adhere with logical severity to this central thought. The failure of the numerous strikes in June last is attributed to the fact that they were largely engineered from above and by certain special interests, which played for their own hands, regardless of the public welfare. In effect, politics were played, and the most important of the struggles fizzled out in submission to Governmental arbitration. Socialist politicians, as always, worked assiduously towards that end.

From the purely economic standpoint it is noted that whatever has been gained in wages has been fully offset by rise in prices, and that the Government and Big Business are, in the final analysis, those who really profit. The former is able to levy and collect new taxes. The latter sees its smaller competitors driven to the wall.

In Germany under her present Socialist regime *Les Temps Nouveaux* has not the slightest confidence. The savagery of "Comrade" Noske, Minister of War, is on a par with that shown by the Hohenzollern commanders in Belgium; and the assassinations of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the torturing of Gustave Landauer and the judicial murder of the Spartacist Levine, give us the proper measure of her latest rulers.

This number contains penetrating reviews of the revolutionary position in Spain, Italy, Canada and the United States, in which last Plutocracy has been out-Heroding Herod and reviving the worst traditions of Russia under the Tsars. "But the American Constitution," you will ask, "and the Declaration of Independence—what has become of them?" By their acts, better than their words, President Wilson and his associates answer: "Constitution, Declaration, all those things are scraps of paper."

The French Minister of Finance has entered into a compact with the Bank of France, and the Senate and Chamber have ratified it. The Bank will lend the State forty milliards of francs, but the Bank's total capital, nominal and liquid, is only three thousand eight hundred and twenty million francs. A milliard is a thousand million. Whence, then, one naturally asks, is the Bank to get the trifling difference of thirty-six thousand million odd? That is easy. The State grants the Bank the privilege of circulating notes, and these it will borrow from the Bank at 3 per cent. Fine business for the Bank! And fine for the workers, since it will encourage them to "produce" and pay the bill! Great is co-operation! Especially between the State and Modern Finance.

La Vie Ouvrière gives prominence to the revolt of the Italian Socialists against the reactionary tendencies exhibited at the recent Berne Conference. *L'Avanti*, leading Italian Socialist organ, denounces that conference as a "caricature" and attacks *L'Humanité* bitterly. It repudiates all sympathy with the "false democracy" of the United States, and says: "Wilson preaches justice and right, but behind Wilson are the interests of the Capitalist State." In this the Italian Socialist Party, notoriously radical, is at one with the entire Anarchist Press, which strikes this note firmly.

We regret that lack of space forbids our quoting freely from the powerfully destructive articles of *La Mêlée* (Individualist-Anarchist), which plead strongly for "clear" propaganda. "Every article we write ought to tend to a change in public thought; should tend to its disquieting and to the creation of a state of personal conscience leading to the road of liberty."

HOLLAND.—From The Hague comes *The Word*, a large 12-page paper, in French, German, Italian and English, with an international editorial staff. It condemns in unmeasured terms—the article being by one of the two English editors—the peace imposed on Germany, and the cold, calculated cruelty of the food blockade. As suggested by its title, it insists on the clarification

of language as essential to clearness of thought and aim. Yes, indeed.

SWITZERLAND.—The last two numbers of *Le Reveil* received from Geneva are exceptionally strong. Perhaps the place of honour should be given to the article headed, "End and Means," which is a reply to "The Young Socialists," about to hold a Congress at Olten. The programme to be discussed there declares, among other things, that they cannot call themselves Anarchists because "the proletarian State, the proletarian Government, the proletarian dictatorship we wish to attain is in total opposition to Anarchy, which has as its principles the rejection of the State, government and authority." *Le Reveil* has no difficulty in showing, both logically and by those lamentable chapters in past revolutionary history, which every one nowadays seems to have forgotten, how fatal it is to trust the State and confide the task of social reconstruction to centralised authority. How often have French revolutionary movements gone to pieces on that rock, as Proudhon, in a long passage cited, showed for all time! And look at the record now being made by Germany's Authoritarian Socialists! We should be the worst of traitors if we failed to give warning of that deadly reef.

Bakounine, also quoted, took this stand in 1867, when writing to the "League of Peace and Liberty." All the great Anarchist writers, as Eltzbacher shows, have stood unfalteringly by this position, and nothing that has taken place since the war can give us the slightest excuse for abandoning it. Hungary, of course, is the latest example of the inevitable failure of the "Proletarian Dictatorship" delusion, and we fear greatly that Russia is about to write once more the same lesson in larger and more lurid letters. The proletariat—and especially the peasant proletariat—always the dominant factor in Europe—does not want dictatorship. It wants Freedom—Freedom from its economic and political enslavers; not a new brand of masters.

The entire Anarchist Press—one notes particularly articles in *Erkenntnis und Befreiung*, of Vienna—is to day a unit in its denunciation of the tyrannical dictatorship to which the Socialists and semi-Socialists, now arrived at power, are lending themselves. They are out-doing the sham bourgeois republics, such as those of the United States and Switzerland. In both countries those legal guarantees which were supposed to safeguard individual liberties have been thrown to the winds. Let us not forget that those guarantees represented the sum of all the conquests our much-vaunted Democracies had succeeded in placing to their credit. Switzerland is imprisoning at Orbe, and without a pretence of a trial, alleged revolutionists. One would suppose that the elementary instinct of self preservation would move her Socialists to protest.

GERMANY.—Unless the reports lie—and details are so full that this seems most improbable—Berlin, always a corrupt city, is abandoning itself more and more to sexual debauchery. No surer proof of physical and mental prostration could be given, and against this—a people that for the time being has lost its grip—such Spartacists as Noske and Co. have left surviving, or at liberty, will have their hardest fight. What we gather respecting the position there does not make us optimistic.

SPAIN.—What is happening in Spain is barbarous and will necessitate an international protest. There are very few towns where all well-known militants have not been arrested, for no other motives than their ideals. Where this has not been possible the police have found bombs, such as at Bilbao, evidently placed there by them, or made to explode, as at Barcelona. At Valencia the battle has been raging now for several months and the black-legs are getting their deserts. But reaction, militarism and capitalism have passed to extreme measures at Barcelona, where martial law has been in force for the past eight months with the object of destroying the workers' movement and the Anarchists. But these know how to answer. We have already stated that Elias García, when about to be arrested, killed two policemen and wounded a third. Antonio Castellanos, who, according to the bourgeois Press, was editor of *Tierra y Libertad*, also received the police with shots, but, less fortunate, he was killed. The Anarchists have published a manifesto recommending comrades to arm themselves and not let themselves be arrested.

Pablo Sabater, president of the Dyers' Union, was arrested at 1 a.m. at his home. He was bound and taken away in a motor car and was found the next day assassinated in the moat of a roadway. By confidence they got to know that one of the murderers was Luis Fernandez, a *mouchard* of Bravo Portillo, ex-chief of police, prosecuted for being a German spy, but who is now in the service of the Captain-General. It appears that the motor car in which Sabater was taken belongs to the police, and that probably it was the police who planted the bombs and assassi-

nated the bourgeois and workers so as to put back in their posts certain policemen and chiefs. Ramon Garcia, who denounced Juan Rull, who some years ago, in the service of the police, spread the terror and was hanged, has denounced Luis Fernandez as one responsible for the death of Pablo Sabater. Luis Fernandez was arrested, but as Bravo Portillo is very influential he has managed to change the judge for one more favourable.

According to the Socialist Deputy, Menendez (the Spanish Ambassador in London denied the existence of a Socialist Party in Spain), the civil tribunals of Barcelona have imposed a total of 3,000 years' imprisonment on the workers arrested, and the military tribunals over 300 years. Moreover, 9,000 workers have been deported. The prisoners against whom there is no charge are to be counted by thousands. In one prison alone, where there is only accommodation for 600 prisoners, there are 900 detained, and for all they only receive the ration for 600.

Francisco Villamil, secretary of the Typographers' Federation of Cuba, was expelled from Habana with fourteen others. From La Coruña he was taken to Bilbao (his native town), where he was arrested and taken to La Coruña to be sent back to Cuba.

The Government of Sanchez Toca is the 123rd change of Government since the King's majority, that makes an average of over seven changes yearly. Sanchez Toca is one of the worst reactionaries and is the cause of the innocent Castelví being imprisoned for the past twenty-four years. Lack of space prevents us giving details of this case.

A weekly paper, larger than FREEDOM, is published clandestinely. It is entitled *La Protesta*. We have seen No. 4, very well written and printed. From Madrid we hear of the forthcoming publication of a fortnightly Anarchist paper entitled *Espartaco*, whose address is: Monteleon 27, Madrid.

After writing the above notes we read in the Press of Madrid that further arrests have been made amongst the allies of Bravo Portillo, such as the ex-lieutenant of police, who is his private secretary. But Bravo Portillo, right arm of the Captain-General, protégée of the Employers' Federation, has not only succeeded in getting them liberated, but it is thought that they will be brought before the military jurisdiction and be acquitted.

PORTUGAL.—The railwaymen's strike still continues and the Government has openly put itself on the employers' side, who want to crush the workers. The censorship has been reinstated for the purpose of applying it to the Labour Press only. The police also forbid the circulation of *A Batalha* and *Avante!*—the latter has ceased publication.

The Government lost its head and imprisoned 216 workers in one day. Not long after, about 200 were released, the others being kept in prison because they lived on the funds of the Trade Unions. But the Unions declare that the Government is not speaking the truth. Many of the strikers were locked in wagons and placed at the crossings of the lines or at the front of the trains.

The workers' congress at Coimbra could not take place because of the railwaymen's strike.

DEATH OF DAVE WORMALD.

Old-time Socialists and Anarchists will hear with regret of the passing of this constant, faithful Communist. His death happened on Sunday, August 10, at Derby, at the age of 65 years. His family, to carry out his last wish, had the remains cremated at Leicester on August 13; the ceremony, or lack of ceremony, being in full accordance with his last wishes. Wormald's old Leeds comrades were represented by Ike Brassington, who journeyed with the family from Derby to Leicester.

It was on a fine afternoon, with the flowers and trees drenched in the summer sun, and everything in consonance with the long, long thoughts of our departed comrade, whose body lay on the bier ready for the last act in the drama, when the relatives arrived and took their places silently in the room provided for those who are in attendance. After an appropriate silence small doors opened sideways, and all that was now left of the bounteous, intransigent pilgrim of freedom slowly passed through the purifying flames into the great essence of things beyond.

Our paper, FREEDOM, can be said to have always been his *Alma Mater*, and those of its readers who knew him best will realise this to the full. He died joking with death, and no better elegy can be sung to his memory than those words of Tom Paine which he had framed and embossed: "The world is my country; mankind are my brethren; to do good is my religion." His truly was an end pictured by old Omar:

"While the rose blows along the river bank,
With old Khayyam the ruby vintage drink:
And when the angel with his darker draught
Draws up to thee—take that, and do not shrink."

THE PATH TO FREEDOM.

Anarchism is to me no abstraction, but the method by which we may secure the greatest freedom and develop the maximum of individuality in society. There can be no such thing as abstract freedom in society. All freedom here is relative and must receive its limitations from the freedom demanded by others in society. The expression of each must be limited by the expression which can be accorded to all. No man in society has the right to demand more than he can give to others. With the power and knowledge now given us by science, by organisation of this power and knowledge, we need no longer rob each other, and can therefore abolish exploitation. Exploitation abolished, the class war is ended, the motive for government is gone, and any further government is unnecessary.

All Governments have hitherto existed to protect property, within and without, and with the passing of property and its accompaniment, exploitation, their functions are abrogated. But to abolish private property, with its attendant exploitation, and end the class war, we have to fight the robber class, who, I take it, we are agreed, are going to fight to the last ditch. We have not only the big robber class to fight, but the peasant class with small properties, who are prepared to go with us to the extent of expropriating big capitalists and landlords, but who want to stick to their own bits of land and cultivate them by worn-out methods. To allow this is to enslave the majority by a life of toil and go back to the wooden plough and wood mattock and shovel. In a word, it is to continue to toil twelve hours to supply the material things that by large scientific organisation might be supplied in three.

These classes, then, have to be brought into line with scientific development; exploitation has to be abolished, and small holdings and all ownership to give way to scientific organisation of industry. This means a state of dictatorship, as in Russia. The ends accomplished, economic equality and scientific organisation of industry secured, all dictatorship and government dies a natural death, having no further functions.

For these reasons I am at present prepared to yield wholehearted support to any Governments which, like the present Bolshevik Government, are pledged by straight class war action to abolish exploitation, sweep up the stage and prepare to ring up the curtain on the maximum of freedom possible in society.

JOHN TAMLYN.

[We print our comrade's views, as we wish to ventilate all sides of the question; our own views will be found in another column.—ED. FREEDOM.]

TWO HEARTS THAT BEAT AS ONE.

Decree of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Land and the Sea. The City of Omsk, November 18, 1918.

1.—On this day, by order of the Council of Ministers of the All-Russian Government, I was appointed Supreme Ruler.

2.—This day I have taken Chief Command of All the Power of the Land and Sea of Russia.

ADMIRAL KOLTCHAK.

The salvation of our country lies in there being one supreme authority and an undivided supreme command united with it. Starting from this deep-felt conviction, and while offering my life for the service of my well-beloved country and considering its happiness above anything else, I express my submission to Admiral Koltchak, as to the Supreme Governor of the Russian State and the Supreme Commander of all the All-Russian armies, and pray to our Lord to bless his crusade and to grant him the salvation of Russia.

Signed: LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DENIKIN.

May 30, 1919.

MARRIAGE.

I am of opinion that the institution of marriage, which might have been very useful as a muzzle for the passions of monsters, has caused more distress and misery among ordinary mankind than the Church itself. Church, monarchy, property, marriage, are the four old, time-honoured institutions which humanity must reform root and branch in order to be able to breathe freely. And alone of these, marriage kills individuality, paralyses freedom, and is a paradox incarnate. Authors of the so-called emancipated and advanced type still continue to speak of marriage with a mien of hearty devotion that enrages me.

GEORGE BRANDES.

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PROFITEERING AND THE LAND.

"Produce!" roar the landed proprietors, scowling over their rent-rolls. "Produce!" yell the traders, slamming to their ledgers. "Produce!" shriek the bureaucrats. "Get a move on you!" shout all the drones in chorus. And with increasing weariness the workers answer: "Why?"

"That you may live, you idiots! That the world we have conquered for you may not be wasted. That you may become again the richest and most powerful of nations."

"What are we to produce?" murmured the workers gloomily. "Anything that brings in rent," roar the landlords. "Whatever we can exchange at the biggest profit," yell the traders. "What will multiply our offices and give us the fattest jobs," shriek the bureaucrats. "Do as you are told, and thank God you have the chance of doing it," thunders the chorus.

"Are we to produce for you or for ourselves?" ask the workers, hesitatingly. And the silence can be cut with a knife, not even that exalted representative of Labour, the Food Controller, daring to unlock his lips.

Throughout this tumultuous debate on profiteering the real issue is being evaded with a cunning worthy of the shiftiest fighter that ever stepped into a ring. Apart from the audacious few who have started economic revolutions—as in Russia, Hungary and Mexico—how many have toed the mark? Of all the millions organised under Trade Union banners how many have had the pluck to say: "Our lives are the important thing. We will not throw them away merely because others wish to reap a profit. We will not squander them on the maintenance of an army of Do-Nothings!"

Yet, sooner or later, that is the stand that must be taken. Sooner or later we shall have to insist on doing, and for ourselves, only just such work as seems to us useful and desirable for ourselves. Sooner or later we shall have to break away from conditions in which the few blockade the many into obedience, and dictate, from their own selfish standpoint, how the masses shall occupy their lives. Labour to-day is the handmaid of the follies and vices of the great. The stream of human endeavour, distorted at its very source, is running riot.

In this great debate, by which the future is to be moulded, Labour's voice as yet is hardly audible. The talk heard is that of the West End clubs, the barracks, and the counting-house; of new conquests that will bring in tribute; of increasing exports and getting the exchange in our favour; of opening up new markets, as we opened China to our opium trade; of setting Labour to work on a thousand and one frivolities it would never dream of indulging in, even if it had the means to do so; of producing whatever promises the greatest profit to the employer, even though the production may spell the physical and moral assassination of our race. A shop-keeping civilisation that values everything by its selling capacity, and drags all human thought and activity down to that perverted plane.

Of course, therefore, we have profiteering. It has become our second nature. Of course we camouflage it with high-sounding moralisms, and cant and lie about it. That is part of the game. Of course there are bitter recriminations, and the blacker the pots the more vehemently they call attention to the filthy condition of the kettles. That was inevitable. Our landed aristocracy, which considers productive labour entirely beneath its dignity, revels in a luxury it is too disdainful to conceal. Naturally, therefore, it denounces the profiteering trader. The great commercial syndicates, whose huge gains the Stock Exchange quotations reveal remorselessly, indict the petty dealers, and these last lay all the blame on the working class. A house divided hopelessly against itself. A national life so fundamentally unhealthy that one is perpetually astonished at the hour of dissolution being so long delayed. But an old civilisation, however corrupt, will

stand a lot of battering. It is about to get it. The curtain has risen and a tremendous drama of destruction has begun.

Being parts of this decaying system—in which practically no one has any longer a particle of faith—we are all necessarily tarred with the same brush, and the so-called "honest" working man as deeply as any of us. He grabs at any job that offers satisfactory wages, and asks no questions. At thousands of looms and lathes he breaks his back working up raw materials imported from he knows not where and produced under slavish conditions, toward which he is utterly indifferent. The wholesale exploitation of the backward races, which British swords have won for British landowners and capitalists, builds the factories in which he sweats, and furnishes him with the weekly pay-envelope for which he is still content to sweat. It is not out of any sympathy with those others, our dark-skinned subjects, exploited even more cruelly than himself, that he is apparently now half-minded to revolt. He talks about the strength of union, but he plays his own lone hand; unintelligently and, therefore, weakly. He does not understand, as yet, that the chain worn by the Hindu peasant reaches to the English factory and there holds him fast. He does not understand, as yet, that in assisting his masters to conquer others he himself has been forging his own fetters and seating on his own back the riders he must now unseat.

It is the old drama of Esau brought down to date; the story of the magnificent heritage of our own island-estate sold for the wretched mess of factory-pottage on which hitherto the British workman has been content to starve. And Esau still is blind; still cannot see the treasure at his very feet; still thinks the master's pottage keeps him from starvation, and still regards the factory-cell into which he was born as the only shelter obtainable. But events are opening his eyes and he is growing restless. That restlessness is the first kindling of a rapidly-approaching day.

This profit-ridden society is not going to get rid of profiteering by any Lloyd George hocus-pocus, but profiteering seems extremely likely to get rid of society. Friction is passing into collapse; the machine is breaking down, and hysterics will not help or hinder the inevitable process. What is wanted, therefore, at this moment is a clear comprehension of our people's needs and how they can be satisfied. It is submitted here that what they need, first and above all else, is the land of their own country; for that, and that alone, can satisfy their elemental wants. Without it reconstruction is impossible. With it their future, now trembling in the balance, will be secure.

THE TRAGEDY OF GERMAN-AUSTRIA. An Appeal from Vienna.

The break up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire has brought political independence to those races who were oppressed under the old monarchy, but, on the other hand, it has brought disaster and death to the inhabitants of German-Austria, of which Vienna is the centre. The newly liberated peoples are venting their hatred of the old regime on the German-Austrians by refusing to supply food to them or to trade with them, and their awful condition during the war has been intensified tenfold since the armistice. To most of those who read of the decisions of the Peace Conference, it seems to be merely a matter of new boundaries; but if England was broken up as the Austro-Hungarian Empire has been and the provinces separated themselves from London and refused to trade with or sell food to Londoners, we would be in the same tragical position as the people of Vienna and German-Austria are to-day.

The following appeal for a revision of the Peace Treaty is from an Austrian comrade, well known in the Anarchist movement both here and on the Continent, but who does not desire his name to be published. He writes from Vienna, August 15, and we hope that his appeal will be reprinted by the Socialist and Labour Press and thus help to influence those who are responsible. The wave of hatred that spread over the world must be replaced by a nobler spirit if we are ever to realise a Socialist or Anarchist state of society.

The hope of a good meal is gone for ever for all who are not peasant producers or rich people, the rich of old and the war profiteers. Unless you visit a hospital, where the poorest victims of society pass their last weeks, you get no idea of what the streets of Vienna are—a wandering hospital of an equalised type of sufferers, children looking old, women never more looking young, old people in whom you discover young men. Nature is dead for us—no shoes to go anywhere, no food found on the way, the forests plundered to sell wood to the rich before they all go to the speculator or foreign Powers to pay for the barest minimum of flour and bacon. No fruit for me for years, no milk, not an egg, no cheese, no meat, a minimum of bacon once a week, no

cocoa, inaccessible prices for beer, wine, and absolutely everything. There are some articles imported for the rich, but a paltry sausage is just as inaccessible to a small purse as a diamond necklace, and jewellers and food providers' shops are all the same to me now—things that no longer exist for me. Never a grape, never an apple; no milk, no butter—an eternal sentence of bread and water (with the greater part of the bread bought by contraband and prices increasing). This is the prospect for most people who are not *exploiting* this misery, as the other set of people do. Will this last or will it become still worse? is the only question. Of an improvement there is not the smallest indication.

For this is *not* the aftermath of war, but is meant to be the *beginning* of expiation or punishment. For this purpose, since November, 1918, Tcheks, Jugo-Slavs, Italians and others were let loose on the German-speaking population of Austria, tearing away millions of Germans (the Tcheks alone annexing 3½ millions of Germans in Bohemia—as to six millions of Tcheks)—starving this mutilated trunk, selling coal, sugar, etc., at usurers' prices—and this *within* the old boundaries of Old Austria, where free communication, free trade, free interior financial relations had existed for four centuries. Of all this the Slavs and other favourites of Versailles collared and kept the best and excluded the Germans from their own property. Too long to explain this, which has all been fully laid before the Versailles rulers by the South German delegation—whether they have read it, I ignore. The impending "Peace" Treaty will make all these spoliation and exactions *permanent*.

Now this is no longer a measure between States which might leave us indifferent as Anarchists, but it is a *war against a people*—to degrade that helpless, starved people to a slavery which means physical decay, ruin, the dispersion of a people, in one word—to lay their country barren, when it will be the new colonising ground for the Tcheks in the north, the Jugo-Slavs in the south. Since the extermination of the Indian population in Mexico, Peru (Aztecs, Incas), in the United States, such things have hardly happened except where Russia or England in Asia or elsewhere considered the disappearance of a noxious tribe expedient and *had* it brought about and not much talk raised over it.

Can these six millions of German-Austrians (the other nearly four millions, are annexed by Tcheks, Italians, Jugo-Slavs—all, no doubt, by virtue of one of the fourteen commandments) help themselves? Most of them would sell their souls for a tin of milk, a lump of butter, a dish of meat—you *cannot* know to what extent privations and hopelessness drag people down. They *can* make "a revolution," but we know better now here what this means and would mean: the scramble of the strongest for the last accumulations of wealth and food that are left, and increased misery for the rest, a pandemonium kept up by the hangman's rope (literally) and a breakdown, as in Hungary.

As long as the workers of the West and South and of the United States remain *unmoved*, as long as it is still popular to decry all revolutionary efforts here as German dodges and most people only feel and say: "Serve them right," there is no hope for us here; and pandemonium or slower chronic decay, affecting every organism day by day like an incurable, gnawing disease, will follow. Is it possible that no real effort should be made against this by the few fairminded people that exist everywhere? Milk is unknown for years but for infants, the rich (contraband), and, in minimal quantities, the hospitals—and yet great numbers of *milch cows* are to be handed over to Italians, Jugo-Slavs, etc., by decree of Versailles ("Peace" Treaty), etc.

All combine to build up the North of France and Belgium. Quite right—but there are *stones* and here are *men*. Stones may be nearer to the stony-hearted—not to all of you. I do *not* plead for *relief* actions—Americans are here and feed *some* children *here and there*—others come—all this means next to NOTHING.

The only real solution would be: *free trade within a reasonable territory and equal conditions of trade, as existed before, abroad—free trade within the old boundaries of Austria-Hungary* (as up till October, 1918)—the prohibition of ALL measures against this by the different States, and equal foreign trade opportunities for all. This leaves their *political* independence untouched (the people are delighted to have got rid of them politically). This alone gives *breathing space and the possibility to save the race*. This is a problem, not of State or trade, but of PEOPLE, HUMANITY and FREEDOM. What happened since November, 1918, meant for Austria ABOUT this: sharing out of Austria between cowardly bullies (who did not conquer their freedom, but simply got it by treason and as convenient tools of the Entente)—one takes the mines, the other the agricultural land, the sugar industry, and so on—and Vienna, the helpless victim, gets the rocks of the Alps and some forests. *This must be undone*—the practical sense of America and England *will see this*, if their rulers are not agreed upon eliminating this population by ruin and degradation, as Indians were sometimes eliminated by small-pox and fire-water.

ANARCHISM AND BOLSHEVISM.

In the *Communist* for August, "Henry Bernard" is very cross with us for publishing in our July issue a statement by the Bolshevik Government representative in New York to the effect that the Bolshevik Party is anti-Anarchist, and he asks why does FREEDOM "continually publish proof that Bolshevism is not Anarchism, when it is perfectly well known that Bolshevism is not Kropotkinist Anarchism"? Our friend Bernard says we have oscillated not a little on this vexed question, but now FREEDOM "is slowly making up its mind."

Perhaps we had better explain to our critic that Anarchists are opposed to all forms of government, and repudiate authority, whether wielded by proletarian dictators or any other kind of dictators. So if we are opposed to the Bolshevik Government, we are perfectly consistent and acting as Anarchists might be expected to act. However, when Mr. Bernard says we have "oscillated" on the question, he makes a statement that is not true. From the very first we have done our utmost to present the Bolsheviks' position fairly, as a counterblast to the infamous lies of the capitalist Press. We have printed their Constitution, details of their constructive work, and some of their manifestoes. But whilst we welcome the Revolution which swept away so much rottenness in Russia, and which has given rise to hopes of a similar Revolution in many other countries, we cannot be expected to agree to the formation of a new form of government, where, as Anarchists, we hold that *all* government is tyranny.

At the same time, we carefully refrained from saying anything that would help the Allies in their attacks on Bolshevik Russia. We know that they are doing everything possible to smash up the new social experiment being worked out in that country, an experiment from which the world will learn many valuable lessons. Therefore in the fight between the Bolsheviks and International Capital, we are pro-Bolshevik, the crimes of Capitalism during the past five years having signed its death-warrant.

As regards the methods of Bolshevism, for a long time the censorship prevented us getting the facts on which to base an opinion. Recently, however, two pamphlets were published here which throw light on the subject—"The Soviets at Work," by Lenin (Socialist Information Bureau, Glasgow), and "The Chief Task of our Times," also by Lenin (Workers' Socialist Federation, London). In the latter we read that in a speech in May, 1918, he said: "State Capitalism would be a step forward for us; if we were able to bring about in Russia in a short time State Capitalism it would be a victory for us." And, again: "Socialism can only be reached by the development of State Capitalism, the careful organisation of finance, control, and discipline amongst the workers." This "discipline" is the keynote of Lenin's argument in "The Soviets at Work," and occurs frequently:

Everyone who violates the labour discipline in any enterprise and in any business . . . should be discovered, tried and punished without mercy.

The revolution—and indeed in the interest of Socialism—demands the *absolute submission* of the masses to the *single will* of those who direct the labour process.

Our gains, our decrees, our laws, our plans must be secured by the solid forms of *every-day labour discipline*. . . . We must learn to combine the stormy, energetic breaking of all restraint on the part of the toiling masses, with *iron discipline during work*, with *absolute submission* to the will of one person, the Soviet director, *during work*. (Italics as in pamphlet.)

This is the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" at work. For our part, we are absolutely opposed to a system which demands such slavish submission on the part of the workers, and believe that the Russian workers only tolerate it under the plea of "military necessity." Mr. Bernard suggests that he may be "slow-witted," but we hope that even he can see the difference between the freedom for which we Anarchists fight and the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

We still support the Russian workers in their struggle with the hired ruffians of Allied Capitalism, and wish the workers of the western democracies would follow their example.

Owing to lack of space, a letter by W. F. Hopkins on "The Communist League" is held over to next month. Also an article by John Wakeman.

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Save in man only, where lies slavery.

O souls of men, imbued of old with fire,
Look on rebellious Nature, and the stars,
Loftiest fires that glow in heaven's bars—
All these have freedom: only Man remains,
Man with his world-dominion and desire,
His hopes, his joys, his triumphs—and his chains.
Harlech. L. A. M.

MORE WARS COMING.

It looks as though the Allies cannot agree over the sharing of the spoils of war. In the United States it is evident that Britain's backing of Japan's claim to the Shantung Peninsula is not going to pass without opposition. American capitalists have enormous financial interests in China, and unless Japan modifies her attitude there is likely to be trouble. The *Manchester Guardian's* New York correspondent says (July 18): "The charge is being made privately at present, but it will become public, that within the last few months Britain, France and Japan have come to a 'regional understanding' about the whole of Asia," and as American interests were not consulted in this gigantic deal—or steal—the fat is in the fire. "There is an increasing sense that Japanese Imperialism had better be baulked now before it is too late. It is asserted everywhere that another world war in the Far East is inevitable unless this is done." If America attacks Japan, Great Britain will take Japan's side under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, so before long "Your King and Country Need You!" may be blazoned forth again on every hoarding.

But if these troubles blow over for the time being, American capitalists will be free to turn their attention to Mexico, President Carranza having given great offence by his laws relating to the oilfields. Just recently we read that the U.S.A. Government "was compelled to make formal and strong representations to the Carranza Government for its failure to protect the lives of American citizens pursuing their lawful and peaceful business in Mexico," and now that the soldiers are back from Europe, President Wilson (the "pacifist") may think it a good chance to hide his failure in Paris by a successful venture in Mexico.

Another quarter in which the devil's broth of war is brewing is the Adriatic, the presence of French troops in Fiume causing much bitter feeling amongst the Italians. M. Franklin Bouillon, President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the French Chamber, who has just returned from Italy, says: "Never was there a more serious situation between the two countries." With revolts everywhere, Italian "statesmen" may think another war would help them out of their trouble, for the time being at least. And as her dear ally, France, has got her army tied up in the Rhine provinces, it may be a soft job for Italy to tackle her. Of course, many thousands of workers may be slaughtered, but as they have to die some day what more glorious end than to die for their beloved country!

Hertzen said: "If you will not have Socialism you will have war," and really that is the alternative—Revolution or War. Which is it to be?

ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP'S REPORT.

Attention is called to our dance on October 18, and it is hoped our London comrades will rally to the support of the group and its work by turning up *en masse*. The group is issuing another pamphlet by our comrade L. A. Motler, which should be just the sort of thing to place in "Henry Dubb's" hands, its title being "What Anarchist Communism Is."

Our publishing office in future is 47, Crowndale Road, London, N.W. 1, and all correspondence for the group should be addressed there.

There are still plenty of pamphlets, "Liberty," for sale; terms 1s. 6d. per quire.

Our treasurer is still open to receive subscriptions towards our work. We have a leaflet in hand that awaits printing—this is for free distribution.

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(July 27—August 30).

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