

F R E E D O M B U L L E T I N

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WAIT! WAIT! WAIT!

The rulers of this country are a very astute and cunning crowd, probably the cleverest ruling class in the world. They have always shown an amazing capacity for hoodwinking and fooling the people, and their hand has not yet lost its cunning. With millions of unemployed workers who, with their families, have been living in a state of semi-starvation for some time, and who see no reasonable prospect of a job in the near future, there is danger of a rising tide of indignation and anger sweeping away the wealthy class and all their age-long power and privileges. They have always claimed credit for any prosperity which has blessed this country, but now they attribute all our misfortunes to the wicked foreigner or to "forces over which we have no control," as we have been told so many times of recent years. They allowed the Labour Government to fritter away two years in office, when its futile and spineless policy of "letting I dare not wait upon I would" shattered the workers' hopes of any radical change, so that when the so-called "crisis" came last autumn they returned the Tories to office with an overwhelming majority and a free hand to take all the measures, and all the money necessary to save the country from disaster. And the people gave them money galore to balance the Budget and protect the "national credit," and submitted to the imposition of duties on almost everything imported from abroad.

Somehow or other the Government's plans have not worked out as promised. The number of unemployed has increased, and instead of our new tariffs scaring the foreigners into lowering their tariffs, as we were told they would, the impudent fellows actually raised their barriers against our exports still higher. Then we were told that reparations and debts stood in the way, also the burden of increasing armaments. Wait until the Disarmament Conference at Geneva gets to work, wait until the Lausanne Conference has been held, wait until we see the result of the elections in Germany and France. Now that none of these interminable and hair-splitting Conferences promises any relief, we are told we must wait for the Ottawa Conference and the election in the United States next autumn. The politicians ever say, "Wait, wait, wait!" and the people wait, wait, wait. They seem to have an infinite capacity for waiting and being fooled.

The people are always looking to the Government—whether Tory, Liberal, or Labour—to get them out of their misery, and to provide them with work and bread. Their leaders cry aloud about the miseries of the workers, who are always poor, but, as William

Morris said, "The complaint of the poor the rich man shall heed even as much and no more as he who lieth in pleasure under the lime-trees in the summer heedeth the murmur of his toiling bees." The poor have always been content to work for the rich, and only grumble when the rich pay them low wages, or refuse to give them work. The present system has lasted so long that both rich and poor think it will continue for ever. The workers know to their cost that to-day the capitalist system has broken down and is unable to provide them with the work and bread which they beg for, but do not realise that as long as capitalism and landlordism last they will always have to suffer. They left their bones on countless battlefields in the War of 1914-1918, when they fought "to save their country," as they were told. But it is not their country; it is the country of their masters, who own everything worth owning—the land, and everything on it or under it, the rivers and the seas, the mountains and the valleys, the broad and fertile meadows and the woods and the forests. No man may dig or delve or build himself a habitation without the permission of the lords of the earth, who take from the workers all the wealth they produce, giving them in return just sufficient to keep them strong enough to produce more wealth, and turn them adrift when they no longer require their services.

To-day the air is full of cries about the gold standard, the bank rate, currency, credits, debts, tariffs, and all the other jargon of the economists. These cries are simply a smoke-screen to hide the struggle between the rival groups of financiers and exploiters of all countries, who are fighting to save themselves at the expense of the others. The misery of the workers does not trouble them in the slightest and never enters into their calculations. They regard the workers as willing tools in carrying out any plans they make, even to the extent of going to war again, if that were necessary, to protect their wealth.

The utter helplessness of the workers to-day is due to the fact that their access to the natural resources of the land is barred by a comparatively small minority of their own countrymen. Unfortunately, up to the present, the workers have not recognised the connection between unemployment and land monopoly. The unemployed factory hand thinks only of a job in a factory, an office worker of a job in an office, a mine worker of a job in a mine, though most of the unemployed miners probably will never see the inside of a mine again, and the other unemployed men and women never again see the inside of a factory or an office. It is not possible that these

unemployed, especially the younger ones, will be content to live for years as social outcasts on the pitiful allowance given them, just sufficient to keep them from starvation, whilst the politicians go on endless pleasure jaunts to discuss, not how to relieve the misery of the workers, but how they can protect the privileges and profits of the rich and, incidentally, hold on to their own jobs. The rich will do anything for the poor but get off their backs, and if the unemployed have any backbone and any spirit left, if they have any of the courage which their masters praised them for during the War, they will "go over the top" against land monopoly and break down the fences which bar them from access to the means of life which should be for the free and equal use of all.

This is not only a question for the unemployed manual worker, but also for all those who are employed in the "higher ranks" of industry and commerce, and who are just as much exploited as their poorer brethren, though they may not recognise it. The scientist, the inventor, the architect, the commercial traveller, the factory manager, all the comparatively well paid professional men and women, to-day find their jobs in jeopardy and life more insecure than they have ever known it to be. Economies and rationalisation have cut the ground away from under their feet, and many thousands find themselves in almost as hopeless a position as the men and women who haunt the Labour Exchanges.

If these people would but recognise that their

interests are linked up with all those who work in the fields, in the factories, in the mines, or on the railways, and would join with them in considering ways and means of ending the present hateful system, they would be irresistible. They are the real productive forces of the world. They control the system which exploits them, and it rests with them whether that system shall be smashed and a new and better one built in its place.

None of the Governments of the world has any plans for the future which are likely to ease the open sore of unemployment. None of them is likely to put forward any proposals, either at Geneva or Lausanne or Ottawa, or anywhere else, which will use the natural resources and the productive capacity of the world for the benefit of all. Surely it is now recognised that Governments exist but for the protection of the interests of the rich and to maintain the present system by which they exploit the workers. Anarchists have tried for years to drive home this lesson. To-day it should be obvious to all. But unless this lesson is learned and acted on, the future can bring nothing but further misery, further wars, and further intensification of the struggle for bread in a world which can provide food and leisure and well-being for all. The rulers of the world know that their system has broken down, and are fighting for time in which they can readjust the machine and maintain their powers and privileges. Will the workers save their exploiters or will they save themselves? Let them decide quickly!

WHO SO BLIND?

Last autumn the Labour Party in Great Britain met with a smashing Parliamentary defeat. Two years of office had proved the futility of Parliamentarianism as a medium for bringing Socialism nearer: the General Election proved the futility of the idea of democratic representation.

An ounce of reality is worth a ton of sentimental romanticism. It was a bitter lesson for the Labour Party to have to learn, but it might have been a very useful one. It would have been, if the responsible members of the Labour Party had troubled to profit by it. It might have revealed to them the mistake they were making in putting their faith in Parliament. It might have prompted them to adopt other, better methods.

We have had time to see the results—and it has done nothing of the sort. The responsible members of the Labour Party have accepted the defeat and are waiting for the electorate to get as tired of the National Government as it got tired of the Labour Government; then Labour will be voted into office again and have its third experience on the Government benches and in the offices of Whitehall—and will do no more with its new opportunity than it did before.

There is little use in blaming the Labour Government for what it did and for what it did not do. The party, as a Socialist-revolutionary force, was practically powerless. Socialism will never be won on the Westminster or the Whitehall fronts. But there are strong grounds for blaming the party

for its failure to recognise this proved powerlessness and for not profiting by the recognition and turning its energy to more practical account.

Suppose revolution had broken out last winter. It did not—but how many of those in a position to know the possibilities who did not fear it would. It might very conceivably have broken out. Suppose it had done. What organisation for the production and distribution of necessities had the Labour Party created in readiness for such an event? What even temporary organisation? Revolution without a system of production and distribution in a country such as Great Britain, that cannot feed itself in an emergency—and a revolutionary emergency might be an uncomfortably long one—would have meant starvation for millions; epidemics of disease working on an un-nourished, unwarmed population; devastation. And if the starvation continued a sufficient number of days, revolution and capitalism and revolutionaries and capitalists and those who were neither one nor the other would have found themselves in a worse plight than has ever been experienced in this country.

The crisis in the early autumn might have led to a collapse of the entire capitalist system. Suppose it had done. It did not; but a good many of the larger capitalists, anyway, were frightened that it might. Suppose it had. Where was the emergency organisation to feed and warm the population? Socialists have argued long and loud about capitalism being unnecessary to the community; but if the capitalists had taken them at their word and packed

up in a hurry during the last nine months, the Socialists, and their audiences, would have had disagreeably empty stomachs to argue and to listen on.

Capitalism is not necessary to the community. One day it will go; this year, next year, sometime, but most decidedly *not* never; through revolution, evolution, or mere collapse. What system will replace it nobody can say. The alternative system may develop peacefully and smoothly. Or it may be required at a moment's notice—and not be there. Probably it will not develop peacefully and smoothly. The breakdown is likely to be a sudden one. A war may very possibly bring it about. Yet not one of the political parties or sub-parties that advance their own alternative systems in theory are doing anything here and now to create an actual functioning system or a system that could be made to function immediately conditions required it to or allowed it to.

Briefly, the conditions that we require are such as will permit of the maximum of production and consumption with the minimum of effort and the maximum of individual freedom and individual development.

THE NEW SPANISH DICTATORSHIP.

A Letter from Barcelona.

Since Dakar, we have had no news of the men [Syndicalists and Anarchists] who were deported: the silence of the Press is alarming. Ten days ago they were said to have been landed at Fernando-Po for two or three days, while the ship recoiled: the "Buenos Aires" was then to go back to Rio d'Oro (a Spanish possession on the edge of the Sahara). Beyond this, no news whatever of the fate of the deported men. Are they at Fernando-Po still? Or have they been moved to Rio d'Oro? Only the Government knows, but of course doesn't tell the Press, doubtless because it wants to increase the suffering of the victims' relatives.

At the request of friends of the deported men, the Mayor of Barcelona has been questioning the Home Secretary. The only reply was that the health of the prisoners was satisfactory! What does the Home Secretary intend to do with them? Does he think we are going to let them wander on the sea, as they have done hitherto, in the noisome hatches of that deadly ship? We must be told where they are, and, as long as this unparalleled deportation lasts, we must be kept informed! The Spanish proletariat protests unceasingly, and telegram after telegram from workers' organisations and cultural groups is pouring into the Government offices.

A recent number of the monarchist paper, *La Vanguardia*, states that Cesares Quiroga told a reporter that the two Dakar fugitives were wrong in fleeing to foreign territory, because the deportation was not likely to last more than a month. Empty lies, only told to silence public indignation and gain time! But we are not deceived.

In passing, let us note the handsome gesture of solidarity of our negro brothers of Dakar, who covered the escape of the two fugitives from the "Buenos Aires." And the enthusiastic welcome the deported men were given by the people of Las

Individual freedom and development necessitate the abolition of social and economic coercion and poverty. They must wait for anything like maximum attainment until evolution or revolution abolish those forms of coercion and until an intelligent education has had time and opportunity to do the rest.

But the organisation for production and distribution can be brought into existence here and now. Even if in its initial stage this (co-operative) organisation were small, time and energy would develop it until it would be strong enough to function sufficiently in the event of revolution or a collapse of capitalism. Or, if neither of these probabilities took place, until it would be large enough to evolve on its own momentum into a practical alternative to the capitalist, commercial, militarist State. It would be the egg within the egg that by growth would smash the parent shell.

If no such nucleus of a co-operative organisation is created, we or those who will come after us are faced with very possible disaster. It will probably be ourselves. I hope we like it.

B. B. W.

(*Libertaire*, March 25th.)

Palmas (in the Canary Islands) on the arrival of the prison-ship in that port. On the quays hundreds of workers awaited the arrival of the "Buenos Aires" and greeted the prisoners with shouts of "Long live the Confederation!" and "Long live Ascaso!" "Long live Durruti!" Passengers on board foreign steamers in the harbour waved handkerchiefs, and cheered and shouted encouragingly. The emotion our poor comrades must have felt at such a welcome is inexpressible. Since their imprisonment on board they have had no news of the outside world: now this magnificent outburst showed them that their sacrifice had not been in vain and that their horrible sentence was repudiated by all men of unfettered heart and mind.

To justify this inhuman act, this Government of kingless monarchists has actually re-issued the police-bills of the darkest days of the dictatorship, the heyday of Martinez Anido, the pistolero king! The accomplices of the Government, the Socialist traitors, have made themselves more despicable than ever in the people's eyes and in the eyes of their electors. At Madrid this week, the Socialist deputy Jeronimo Bujeda was shouted down at a lecture given by him on the question of responsibility: the brother of Captain Galan, the martyr of Jaca, publicly contemned him, going on to the platform himself to correct him! The lecture had to be suspended. In every part of Spain the Socialists are openly despised for their contemptible conduct.

La Tierra, of the 17th, reporting Eduardo Barriobero's question in Parliament concerning the "Buenos Aires," publishes the bill for the ship, viz., from January 29th to February 9th, one floating prison—316,618 pesetas! The supplies appropriated to deportations are 850,000 pesetas, which, it is believed, will be much exceeded.

The fact is, the prisons are full of *gubernativos*, as they are called. Comrades stay some four to

six months and more in prison at the pleasure of the civil governor, with no likelihood of trial. Yesterday, the "social" prisoners in the Model Prison of Barcelona, by way of protest against the intolerable bullying from which they have suffered for some time, refused to come out at visiting time. The revolt was provoked by the attempt of the new governor of this notorious prison to suppress the special privileges allotted to their type of prisoner. The visitors demonstrated in the prison yard, but at once a waggon-load of police (*guardias de asalto*) appeared to "restore order," and forcibly broke up the groups of indignant wives. But the women meant their complaint to be heard, and made for the Government offices. At Ramblas the police intervened once more and tried to prevent them proceeding further. This angered the women and some of these members of the weaker sex defended themselves bravely. A friend of Felipe Alaiz, the former editor of *Solidaridad Obrera*, was taken to the police station with the usual official loving kindness, together with two other comrades: they are still detained. And that is what the "Workers' Republic" is doing when its first anniversary (April 14th) is soon to be celebrated!

Solidaridad Obrera, the organ of the Confederation, after being suspended for a month, reappeared on March 2nd, and has had a daily tussle with the police, who interfere on the slenderest pretext, which makes the paper's existence very precarious. But if they think they can silence the trumpet-voice of the Confederation they are much mistaken: the solidarity of the workers is no idle phrase, and subscriptions pour in regularly to keep the paper going.

MARGARET SANGER'S VICTORY.

Margaret Sanger, one of the best-known pioneers of birth control, has escaped the fate of many pioneers who, persecuted during their lifetime for expressing advanced or unpopular opinions, are honoured after death when those opinions have been generally adopted. We read in the *Nation* (New York), of May 4th, that at a dinner given in her honour in New York on April 20th she was presented with a gold medal on behalf of the American Woman's Association, representing forty different women's organisations engaged in philanthropic enterprise in the city of New York.

When Margaret Sanger started her agitation in the U.S.A. in favour of birth control, about twenty years ago, the subject was considered unfit for discussion by any decent man or woman. The laws against the publication of methods of preventing conception were, and are, very severe, but Margaret Sanger, whose work as a nurse on the lower East Side of New York City had shown her the terrible amount of suffering caused to women by frequent confinements, decided to spread information on methods of birth control as far and wide as possible. Of course, the Puritanical busybodies soon put the police on her track, and she was imprisoned. Her husband was also imprisoned for helping her. This, however, had no effect on her. She found persecution advertised the idea of birth control, and others joined in the work. The absolute craving for information by

The syndicates of Barcelona were suppressed after the last general strike and have not yet been reopened: the destruction of the organisation is aimed at.

The Republic has a lovely record for its first year! Hundreds of workers foully murdered (Barcelona, Seville, Arnedo, etc.), thousands arrested, many deported and a policy as ridiculous as it is ruinous (the peseta is down 50 per cent.). Eleven months of stupid tyranny and savage reaction. At the next elections let us hope the people will have learnt their painful lesson and be less willing to establish new tyrants.

We live in dark times, but a light of hope still shines: it now and then dwindles but it never goes out. The influence of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. is felt in the tiniest village. For instance, the recent risings in Catalonia (Fegols, Sallent, Manresa, Tarrasa) were purely Anarcho-Syndicalist, whatever the Communists may say: it was not the red flag that was hoisted above the town halls, but the red and black flag of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. In one of the papers of Barcelona (*El Deluvio*) there was recently a tiny paragraph mentioning that an Anarcho-Syndicalist movement had been suppressed in the village of Tabernas in Aragon.

Catalonia, Aragon, Andalusia, all are aflame with our ideal, our libertarian ideas, which soon or late they will be putting into practice. That is the hope that buoys us up amid the tragic events of to-day. Soon may we see the prison-gates opened, as on April 14th, 1931: soon may we see the prison-ship return to Barcelona!

EMILIANA MORIN.

[The prisoners on the "Buenos Aires," were landed at Rio d'Oro.—Ed. *Freedom Bulletin*]

married women soon overcame all obstacles, and in spite of the law the information was spread.

We were personally pleased to see this courageous woman's work recognised. When she came to Europe in 1915 to study birth control methods, she called at *Freedom* Office and asked us to print her pamphlets. We agreed to do so. Three were printed by us. The type was set in the office and sent to another printer to be machined and folded. When the first one had been machined the men in the machine room objected to the girls in the folding room handling the sheets. The forewoman, a most respectable person, folded them all herself. The other two pamphlets were printed elsewhere. To-day we suppose the girls in the folding room know everything that pamphlet could have told them.

When presented with the medal, Margaret Sanger said it was a new experience for her to receive a medal in place of the usual police warrant. The *Nation* says her "medical" Bill, to legalise the dispensation of contraceptive information has been introduced in the House of Representatives and the Senate, both of which wise bodies will probably agree to legalise a practice which cannot now be prevented. This is the first fruits of a long and bitter struggle by a woman who realised the unnecessary suffering caused by the ignorance of her sex and was determined to end it.

A RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR?

The air is full of rumours of a war between Japan and Russia. Free from her campaign against China at Shanghai, where Japanese troops wantonly and barbarously destroyed Chapei, killing thousands and rendering many more thousands homeless, whilst the other "Great" Powers looked on without anything more than a feeble protest, Japan transferred her troops to Manchuria, and is now busy killing more Chinese and strengthening her grip on the country. The Chinese who oppose the puppet Government which Japan has imposed on the country are called "brigands," and as Japan is, naturally, opposed to rivals to her brigandage, her troops are killing them wherever possible. In the pursuit of the Chinese the Japanese troops are approaching the Russian frontier. This is the danger point. An article in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (May 20th), evidently from Russian sources, says the Russian Government will only fight if Russian territory is invaded, and will not defend by arms her rights in the Chinese Eastern Railway, the joint property of herself and China. The Soviet Union, however, has moved troops and masses of food and war material to Vladivostok, the seaport terminus of the Transiberian Railway, which it is believed the Japanese hope to capture and make their own.

There has just been published in this country the secret memorandum handed to the Japanese Emperor on July 25th, 1927, by the Japanese Prime Minister, M. Tanaka, in which the latter sets forth grandiloquent plans for the conquest of Manchuria and Mongolia, and in which he foresees a conflict with Russia and the seizure of the Chinese Eastern railway and Vladivostok. But the author of this memorandum must not be taken too seriously, because he lets his imagination run riot. For instance, he says: "If we wish, in future, to gain control over China, we must crush the United States." Well, that is one day's work, at least, even for Japan. Then he goes on: "With all the resources of China at our disposal, we shall pass forward to the conquest of India, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia, and even Europe"! Surely he forgot the League of Nations when he wrote that.

However, putting on one side this bombastic stuff, it is certain that Japan has gone into Manchuria to stay, and if in the near future there should be a war between her and the Russian Government, other Powers, great and small, will try to take advantage of the opportunity to attack Russia in the West. In that event the world may see the beginning of another war of which no one can foretell the end, for the aims of some of these Powers clash with those of the others. Just as after the Balkan States had fought Turkey they fought between themselves for

the spoils, so it might happen after a general attack on Russia.

There is no doubt that the capitalists of the world would welcome and assist the overthrow of the present Government in Russia, but even if the Bolshevik Government were defeated, any Government which took its place would be just as determined as the present one to defend Russian territory from invasion. Japan in the East and the other Powers in the West would find they had bitten off more than they could chew. The trouble is that almost every country is faced with unemployment on a huge scale, and seeing no immediate prospect of relieving this widespread discontent, their rulers may seek war as a means of avoiding a revolt of the starving masses, who, in their turn, might not be averse to another war which might bring them work and the high wages they enjoyed during the last one. We are under no illusions as to the strength of the anti-war and disarmament movement, and ideals are easily forgotten by a man when his children are crying for bread.

"Might is right" is still the motto of modern Governments. The Disarmament Conference has become the farce we prophesied it would. Even the Editor of the *Observer* says: "The tortuous and dilatory proceedings at Geneva cannot arrive at any conclusion making the least difference to the one supreme question of enduring peace or ultimate war." And the Powers took seven long years to prepare material for this useless and abortive Conference, from which the people of the world were led to hope so much. War is an inevitable result of Capitalism, therefore, to abolish war we must abolish Capitalism. Those who think they can abolish war without abolishing the causes which produce war are living in a fool's paradise. Every year that the League of Nations has been in existence has seen a steady increase in the number of men under arms in the world and an enormous increase in the destructive power of war material, and a large number of chemical industries in every country to-day are engaged in manufacturing the raw material for poison gases and explosives which will poison or shatter in pieces untold millions in the next war.

Baron Tanaka's memorandum may seem to some of us the ravings of a madman, but if they serve to awaken the people to the danger of entrusting our lives and the lives of our youth to our unscrupulous rulers, his ravings may help us to avert the danger. If not, the next war may be a good spectacle to observe from the moon because it promises to leave few places where man will be safe from sudden death.

F.B.I. WANTS A "MANAGED CURRENCY."

Capitalism persists!

It is now nearly two decades since the "inherent contradictions" of capitalist society turned the world into an abattoir, and still the same economic system, bearing in its train all the portents of further horrors, persists. One might have thought that the lessons of the War and the "peace" which now prevails

would have taught the workers, or at least the labour organisations that speak in their name, the utter futility of retaining any faith in the political and economic superstructure that created, and still creates, such confusion. Apparently, however, the lessons have still to be learned. Neither criticism nor explanation appears as yet to have appreciably

modified the faith of the masses in the stupidities and knaveries of the legislative apparatus which forms the bulwark of the State machine.

The indifference of the masses, engaged for the most part in the sordid game of finding jobs or keeping jobs, is somewhat to be understood. But for the organisations that bear a working-class cloak, deeper motives and explanations must be sought.

First and foremost is still to be found that ancient belief that order in society can only be the outcome of coercive or governmental authority; this in spite of the fact that even in the penal institutions, where "law and order" is the catechism for society's most helpless victims, the attempt to mould men to an orthodox pattern has proved a miserable failure.

Secondly, and of a nature that makes it inseparable from the first, is the tendency of working-class organisations to accept the economic theories of the ruling class. At no point is this more obvious than on that aspect which deals with currency reform. Recent history is particularly enlightening. When the Government spokesmen of the bankers of England declared the suspension of the Gold Standard nowhere was there displayed more jubilation than amongst the cohorts of labour. If at that moment it was difficult to understand the motive for such jubilation, a still more recent event supplies the reason. This, curiously enough, is revealed by the rapturous manner in which a resolution of the "Federation of British Industries" has been hailed. The resolution expressed the need for a "managed currency."

Behind this simple statement of a "managed currency" lie implications that must not be overlooked. The very motives which inspire a belief in the necessity for authority amongst the leaders of political labour may here be found. For them, a "managed currency" is to be the economic cornerstone of the new, highly-centralised political State.

Let there be no illusions as to the consequences which would ensue. The *wages system*, that most corrupting of all systems, against which the working-class have ever had to contend, is not even threatened. Rather is it to be given an extended lease of life. The wages system will be scientifically adjusted through the medium of a "managed

currency." From the crèche to the crematorium life will be planned—by politicians. The free initiative of those that labour will be permitted to none but those who conform to the State machine. The "Servile State" would be realised.

This tendency must be opposed, and the experiences of life provide the justification. From the striking of the first flint to the splitting of the atom lies the history of all man's technical achievements. That history is the record of man's accumulative knowledge to which all in their respective capacities have contributed. One cannot differentiate as to the particular worth of any in that long apprenticeship. Nor should we differentiate in the distribution of the social wealth that forms our heritage. Every commodity which man can unstintingly supply must be unstintingly available. "Goods exchange for goods" is the first elementary lesson that a study of economics teaches. That services cancel services, like bills of exchange, is the only logical conclusion to which the division of labour can point.

The days of the toll-gate have gone. It is becoming increasingly evident that the modern tariff systems are fetters on the exchange of commodities that people need. Let it be realised at once that the "managed currency" that is advocated by the leaders of political labour is the impediment most likely to arise in the not far distant future. If it is impossible "to discover the state of the whole body," to quote Swift, "by consulting only what comes from behind," then must it be infinitely more absurd to wait for another chapter of horrors before diagnosing the ailments of the body politic.

Capitalism persists! It persists because of the tacit assumption that production must ever be subordinate to the rule of money. The reverse is the only salvation for those that labour. So long as the mechanism of exchange is left to the management of the specialists, the specialists will dictate the conditions of life under which we live. So soon as the workers realise that all the requirements of life can be supplied through the productive and distributive organisations in which they engage without the aid of the money monopolists, economic freedom will become a reality.

Let us hasten the day!

H. MACE

THE BANKERS' RAMP EXPOSED.

Mr. Fred Henderson, whose book, "The Economic Consequences of Power Production," dealt with the results of rationalisation, has now written another book dealing with the intricacies of the Money Power.* The banking community has hidden the inner working of finance in such an involved maze that very few people have the slightest idea of how to find their way in it. Of course, we all know that people deposit their money in banks, and that the banks make loans to business men and traders. We also know that banks make very big profits, but how the profits are made few can explain. The balance sheet of a bank is like Greek to the ordinary man who has a deposit account.

* "Money Power and Human Life." By Fred. Henderson. 6s. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.

Mr. Henderson has set himself to make it plain to the man in the street, and uses as simple language as we suppose the subject will permit. But when walking through the financial maze with him you must keep hold of his coat-tails or you will get lost. There is one thing, however, which he makes very clear, namely, that banks do not produce wealth—that is the work of the productive community, those who work with hand and brain. The banks have managed to gain control of the natural resources of the country, and when they make a loan they in reality give you permission to use some of these resources to produce wealth, the distribution of which they control through their control of finance.

The author's revelation of the manner in which the banks issued War Loans out of nothing, on which

to-day we pay one million pounds a day interest, is an eye-opener. "All that the War Loan represented as we received it at the first instance from the Money Power was a book-entry of credit carried into account as an advance of credit; and so far as any cost to the Money Power in creating it was concerned, the making of the book-entry was all there was to it." And this is the sacred War Loan which Snowden spoke of with bated breath. He worshipped a book-entry, not even a calf of gold.

Mr. Henderson says that "the essential condition for effectiveness in any proposals which aim at the existing barriers between the life of the world and the world's visible abundance of resources is that ownership and control of the real means of life should be restored to the community. What is involved in any effective attack on the Money Power is the destruction of its base in the ownership and control of the world's opportunities to produce."

On the constructive side our author's ideal seems to be a form of State Socialism. "A new social structure, of which the material forms must be social ownership of the natural resources on which all pro-

ductive activity depends, social organisation of the use of these resources in production, and the whole business of production itself as planned communal service up to the level of our producing capacity in response to human needs and human demand for satisfactions."

We do not agree with Mr. Henderson's view of our future social organisation, but we think he has done a great service in tearing aside the veil which has always shrouded that Holy of Holies, the banking system, and exposed it as a fraud and a forger. It reminds us of an incident in the Spanish Revolution. In a celebrated church in Spain there was a box, supposed to contain sacred relics of a noted saint, which had been worshipped for many generations by pious believers. When the sacrilegious revolutionaries broke open the box it was found to contain nothing more sacred than a piece of charcoal.

We doubt whether the Press will provide so much publicity for this book as it did for the author's previous volume. Editors still regard finance as a subject which it is sacrilege to discuss.

AS TOLD BY A MINER.

Few occupations are the subject of so much fiction and poetry as that of mining. It seems to offer a scope for romance or deeds of heroism lacking in factory or field, and the bowels of the earth give the necessary touch of horror and mystery.

This novel,* written by a miner, is the story of a man, Red Shean, who hated the mine in which he worked, and feared to be a victim of one of the innumerable risks faced unconcernedly by his comrades.

Unlike most of them, he had not been born and bred in a mining village, where the tragedies of the mine are accepted as a matter of course. A lover of Nature and the life of the fields, the darkness and the damp and deadly atmosphere of his daily surroundings struck horror into him and he longed to escape. A pub, and the barmaid he married, to manage it, offered a way out. Things did not turn

* *Darkness at Noon*. By Harry Carlisle. 7s. 6d. Jarrolds Publishers (London) Limited.

out as he imagined they would, though he escaped in the end. The author makes us feel the inevitability of the final tragedy, in which he excites both our horror and our sympathy.

Mr. Carlisle gives us a well-drawn picture of the dangers and the drabness of the miners' lives, but he evidently feels keenly the difficulty of arousing them to the possibilities of another and a finer life. Of one of his characters he says: "He knew that the futility of discontent with their lot had dulled them with time . . . They were stupefied into a sort of contentment . . . They would strike and fight when their bellies were pinched, but they had no imagination as a group, no vision of sweeping social change such as he visualised." That is the real tragedy of the mine, as it is also of field, factory and workshop. Fortunately, a few have this vision, and work unceasingly to realise it, and the stern realities of the present economic crisis may cause many to join them in the struggle.

GANDHI ON INDIA.

India has a population of 350,000,000 who are spread through her 700,000 villages. The city population is not more than 6,000,000, therefore it is no exaggeration to say that India is the villages and not the cities. One-third of the country is under the rule of the Princes, owing allegiance to the Crown.

Ninety per cent. of the population is agricultural. As the peasantry has to depend on the rainfall for cultivation and as the rainfall is restricted to particular months in the year, the peasantry is idle for nearly six months in the year.

Before the British advent, say, 150 years ago, these six months were occupied in ginning, carding, spinning and weaving cotton, and this gave the people a supplementary occupation in their own homes, and meant at least 25 per cent. addition to their income.

This industry was destroyed deliberately by the East India Company and in process of time India, which used to export the finest fabric to all parts of the world, became importer of cloth manufactured from cotton sent from her shores. This cloth was, until recently, imported mainly from Lancashire. The result of the destruction of this supplementary industry was chronic unemployment for millions of people for half the year, and, therefore, chronic starvation.

The average income of an Indian is 2d. per day as against the British average of 4s. per day. It should be understood that in arriving at the average the millions of the millionaires are also taken into account. It therefore follows that many have no income at all, and that they are living on charity that is thrown at them. (From "India and the National Congress.")

PRINTED PAGES

The Menace of Chemical Warfare. By Arthur J. Gillian, General Secretary, Chemical Workers' Union. 2d. London: C.W.U., 149, Newington Causeway, S.E.1.—The author gives extracts from various publications showing the deadly effects of poison gas now being made by all governments, and says that owing to the development of aircraft any spot within 1,000 miles of the so-called war front is liable to attack. His remedy—the only preventive—is for the workers to “effectively unite and counter all movements and propaganda of the warmongers with a challenge and declaration of No More War!” But we would remind him that, in itself, that is not enough. To prevent war, the workers must cease making the munitions of war. In “Chemical Warfare—Its Possibilities and Probabilities,” by Elvira K. Franklin, M.A. (International Conciliation, No. 248, Carnegie Endowment, 44, Portland Street, Worcester, Mass.), we read: “The diplomats and intelligentsia in the different countries realised the perilously rocky road which modern nations had embarked upon before the War, with increasing armaments mounting yearly into staggering totals. Crowned heads, warned by their far-seeing statesmen, called Hague conferences. But . . . the cataclysm was inevitable, because the machinery for war was itching to be used. Kings, warning statesmen, Hague conventions, were powerless before this onrush of a malevolent psychological reaction. International honour, international morality, even that very fundamental of all fundamentals—the individual's self-respect upon which rests truth, decency, trust, chivalry, honour, and the complicated human reactions built upon these fundamentals—all, all were swept away.” Thus, unless the cry for “no more war” is backed by the cry of “no more munitions of war” the cataclysm will again be “inevitable.” It is no use looking to Geneva—the workers have it in their own power to prevent war, and if they fail to do so the horrors of 1914-1918 will be repeated and intensified a hundredfold.

Anarchism and American Traditions. By Voltairine de Cleyre. Published by Free Society Group, Chicago. Issued by the International Anarchist Publishing Committee of America, P.O. Box 486, Madison Square Station, New York.—We are pleased to see this reprint of one of the finest essays written by Voltairine de Cleyre. We have copies for sale

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Indian Labour and Self-Government. By B. Shiva Rao, M.A. 1d.—*India and the National Congress.* By M. K. Gandhi. 2d.—Commonwealth of India League, 203, Strand, London, W.C.2.—*India: Know the Facts.* By Bertrand Russell.—*Terrorism by Ordinance.* By Laurence Housman. 2d.—The India League, 146, Strand, London, W.C.2.

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