

WAR COMMENTARY

For Anarchism

Against the offensive of Capital on the one hand and against the politicians of all degrees on the other, the revolutionary workers of the world must erect a true international association of the workers wherein each member will understand that the final emancipation of the workers will not be possible except when the workers themselves, as workers, in their economic organisations, are prepared, not only to take possession of the land and factories, but also to administer them in common and in such a fashion that they will continue production.

Declaration of the International Working Men's Association at their Congress in Berlin, in 1922.

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Big Three—Workers Must Pay



2,000,000
KILLED
IN 1944

More than 2,000,000 men of all nations were killed in battle during 1944, according to the U.S. Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. The British Empire came off lightest with 125,000.

Sunday Dispatch, 4/2/45.

It is as good as certain that the most important topics discussed by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at the Crimea Conference did not figure in the declaration. The Conference took place behind locked doors, and one may fairly guess that what was said by the world's most powerful politicians was not the sort of thing they would like to see broadcast. These conferences are really to discuss programmes of action. And the actions embarked upon by the Allied powers—in Italy, in Greece, in Poland, for examples—actions which were clearly thought out beforehand, do not cut very democratic patterns. Plan the next steps in the great struggle of the ruling groups against the people; and then issue some fairly acceptable sort of declaration to draw wool over their eyes. That is roughly the formula adopted at these gatherings of the powerful.

Yet it is probably possible to draw some valid conclusions from the Crimea Declaration. For example, the laying down of the Curzon line as the Russian border of Poland indicates that Stalin had to accept the propositions of Roosevelt and Churchill, despite the much greater territorial control now exercised over Poland by the Red Army. Furthermore the tentative preparations for a new League of Nations—the "Inter-

national Organization"—shows that the same old methods are again to be tried out. But with this difference; that the new "International Organization" will be a joint body organized by ruling groups for the purpose of destroying jointly any revolutionary attempts by the international working class. It will be the same "Thieves Kitchen" as the old League, but with added counter-revolutionary experience.

GERMAN WORKERS MUST PAY

Much the most interesting part of the declaration relates to the treatment of defeated Germany, however. And we must here point out that the interests of the workers are international. What happens to the German workers will inevitably affect their fellow workers in other Allied lands. The Crimea Declaration makes an attempt to mince the matters. "It is not our purpose," it states, "to destroy the people of Germany..." But it then goes on to outline measures which, in the class rule framework envisaged (and bitterly defended) by all three leaders, will in fact mean the virtual destruction of the German workers' standards of life, low though these have already been under Nazism.

How is this to be done? Let us disregard all the fancy talk about "wiping out the Nazi Party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions." We heard all that sort of thing after Mussolini fell, but the Allies insist on keeping Fascist Party officials in key administrative posts in Italy. The

Allied Military authorities have adopted much the same methods of maintaining order in occupied Germany as the Germans did in France and elsewhere. We may be quite sure that the main political problem for the Allies will be how to keep the German people down, and they will have no scruples at all about using the ready-made machinery of oppression perfected by the Nazis. Did they scruple, in Greece, to use the Security police organized by the Nazis, when it came to quelling unarmed demonstrators on December 3rd? No, we may treat all the talk about destroying the Nazi party as so much... talk. The leaders may be made to walk the plank, but the Nazi governmental machinery will be kept intact.

Let us turn instead to the economic proposals of the Big Three. First "German industry that could be used for military production" is to be eliminated or controlled. If eliminated, the unemployment amongst German wage earners will be astronomical, and they will starve. If controlled, they will be controlled at such low rates as will also starve them. But it will also starve their fellow workers in heavy industry elsewhere in the world by providing low cost competition. Heavy industry is organized in world wide cartels; production will be carried on first in those areas where maximal profits can be extracted, that is to say, those areas where labour is cheapest. Workers the world over must realize that wherever poor wages are paid, they help to lower wages everywhere.

This same lesson is to be learned in regard to the other great economic pronouncement of the Conference, that regarding reparations. "Germany will be obliged to make compensation for the damage in kind to the greatest extent possible." To-day, production is maintained and full employment kept up, only because of the war. Already with the change over to peacetime production in some industries, workers have been paid off. Everywhere workers are thinking uncomfortably about post-war unemployment. But the German workers are to make reparations in kind. They are going to be kept producing—at very low wages, of course—in order to repair the damage of war. That means, in effect, that they will be compelled to do work which will throw out of work their fellows in Allied countries. That is what reparations mean.

After the last war, the confiscation of German shipping by the victorious Allies, completely disorganized the shipbuilding industry in this country. The same principle will be applied again, and with the same results. If the British workers permit their own ruling class masters to trample on the German working class, they will simply be cutting their own throats. In international affairs, no less than inside a single country, "an injury to one is the concern of all," for the class interests of the workers are the same all over the world.

THE APPEAL TO JUSTICE

In the foregoing section, we appeal to workers to use their heads and consider their own interests before letting the German workers be trodden down. But, in our opinion as Anarchists, there is far more strength in the appeal to justice and international comradeship. For twelve weary years the German workers have suffered under Hitler. Protests, demonstrations, revolts have been crushed by Panzer Divisions, by Gestapo tortures, by concentration camps. When their enemies the Nazi ruling clique were weak, they were strengthened by loans from the City of London or from Wall Street; or by the alliance with Stalin. The German workers have looked for help in vain not only from the governments of the democracies, and from

(Continued in p. 2 col. 1)

John Olday and Philip Sansom Jailed

Our comrades John Olday and Philip Sansom have recently been sentenced to twelve months and two-months respectively and are serving their sentences in Brixton Prison.

John Olday is too well known to readers through his two books of drawings *The March to Death* and *The Life We Live The Death We Die*, to need further introduction. He took an uncompromising stand at the Old Bailey where he was charged with stealing by finding in connection with an Identity Card. We shall deal with his case, which dragged on for many weeks, in the next issue of *War Commentary*.

Philip Sansom who has designed many covers for and illustrated *Freedom Press* pamphlets and *War Commentary* articles was convicted on a minor charge and we reproduce below the report that appeared in the *St. Pancras Chronicle*, (Feb. 2nd).

"It is quite true that I am not concerned with his political views, but I am concerned with his record generally as a citizen," said Mr. Frank Powell, the Clerkenwell magistrate, concerning Philip Richard Sansom (28), an artist, of Camden Studios, Camden-street, N.W.1.

Sansom was before the court on charges of obtaining an Army waterproof coat which he

said he had bought from a soldier for 25s. and of failing to report a change of address.

Inspector Whitehead said Sansom was connected with an anarchist publication named *War Commentary*, and had been sharing a studio with a deserter who had been sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment at the Old Bailey. Sansom provisionally registered as a conscientious objector in 1940, but his name was removed from the register by a tribunal. He appealed but in 1941 this decision was upheld. He was later granted an indefinite deferment under an agricultural scheme and took up employment as a tractor driver, but he left this and came to London without notifying the authorities.

Mr. G. F. Rutledge, for the defence, pointed out that Sansom had no previous convictions, and submitted that the court was not concerned with his political views.

Mr. Powell said he was entitled to consider whether any mitigating circumstances were to be found with regard to his behaviour as a citizen. On the contrary he had done his best to avoid sharing the burden which had fallen on everyone else.

Sansom was sentenced to a month's imprisonment on the first charge, and fined £5 or a month (consecutive) on the second.

Readers cannot fail to notice (a) that

Inspector Whitehead of the Special Branch was dealing with a case which one can hardly connect with political activity and (b) that no effort was spared to try and influence the magistrate by introducing the Anarchist Bogey which Inspector Whitehead did with more gusto than the local paper report would indicate. Our readers will draw their own conclusions.

We also learn that our comrade T. W. Brown who as reported in earlier issues of *War Commentary* is serving a fifteen months sentence in Wormwood Scrubs, has recently lost two months remission of sentence as well as his right to receive or write letters for the same period. It would appear that a letter he wrote which was passed by the prison censors was stopped by the Special Branch, who also read his correspondence. He was put on a charge, which the visiting magistrates upheld.

To these comrades who are directly or indirectly serving terms of imprisonment because of their Anarchist ideas, we send our fraternal greetings and our assurance that the work for the new Society will go on in spite of threats and organized attempts to impede its forward march.

Citrine, a Worthy Stogee

Sir Walter Citrine's report on Greece has more than fulfilled the prophecies we made for it when we foresaw that he would justify the British Government's intervention in Greece and provide it with a left veneer. The Greek government of Plastiras gave him absolute freedom to wax indignant at E.L.A.S. atrocities, and he was duly shocked. Somehow he doesn't seem to have made any attempt to see if there was any of that sort of thing being perpetrated by Churchill's puppets. Yet Gerald Barry, the Editor of the *New Chronicle* saw some of these things. In his report he describes prisoners in police stations sleeping eleven in a small cement cell with only one blanket or cloak apiece—and that supplied not by the authorities but by relatives. He does not say what happens to those prisoners whose relatives can't provide these winter needs, or to those who have no relatives. In one Government goal, Barry saw 350 prisoners sleeping 35 to 40 in stone floored cells, again with no state-provided warmth, and with very inadequate rations. Sir Walter didn't get around to seeing these things.

He did however find a "prevalent atmosphere of tension, suspicion, recrimination, and the fear of reprisals." But he mentions this not to draw conclusions about the puppet government's regime but merely as an excuse for not going into the question of the trade unions. Citrine seems to have lent his support unreservedly to the bogus trade unions appointed by the Plastiras government. Yet on his own showing, the Executive Committee which welcomed the British Trade Union Delegation, had been appointed from above by Plastiras and in no way represented Greek trade unionists. So far was this from being the case, that most of them had been officials in the Labour Front Organization set up by the Fascist Metaxas administration after it had suppressed the Greek trade union movement affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions. They had acted also for the Germans. By contract, the only Greek Trade Union leaders whom the T.U.C. delegates had known before the 1936 dictatorship were with E.A.M. Citrine did not find it worth while to probe the charges made by these fellow Trade Unionists against the phoney union leaders of Plastiras—that they were collaborators both with Metaxas and the Germans. Indeed he must have known that this was the truth; but to say he was unsuited to the purposes of the delegation's mission.

Finally, although Citrine was given every facility by the Government of Greece in presenting his case to the British public, he and his fellow delegates could not find time to visit the E.A.M. headquarters. Of course, we are not surprised that Sir Walter would engage in special pleading. But we did not think that he would be quite such a crude and barefaced whitewasher of British Imperialism in Greece. Certainly he has earned his title.

STOP PRESS

FOUR LONDON ANARCHISTS ARRESTED

OUR comrades Marie Louise Berneri, John Hewetson and V. Richards, were arrested at their homes at 7.30 a.m. on Thursday, February 22nd and taken to West Hampstead Police Station where they were charged with a number of offences under Defence Regulation 39a. They were later taken to Marylebone Police Court where they were joined by comrade Philip Sansom (who, as reported in this issue, is at present serving a 2 months sentence at Brixton). He was charged under the same Defence Regulation.

All four comrades appeared before the magistrate Mr. Ivan Snell. The charges were read out and we reprint them from the *Evening News* report of the same day:

Charges against all of them alleged that between November, 1943, and December, 1944, at Belisle-road, Hampstead and elsewhere, they were concerned together with other

persons unknown in endeavouring to seduce from their duties persons in the Forces and to cause among such persons disaffection likely to lead to breaches of their duty.

CIRCULAR LETTER

Vernon and Marie Richards were also charged that on December 12, 1944, at Belisle-road, with intent to contravene the Defence Regulations they had in their possession or under their control a circular letter dated October 25, 1944, which was of such a nature that the dissemination of copies among persons in His Majesty's Services would constitute such a contravention.

Hewetson was similarly charged with having in his possession or under his control documents dated October 2, 1944, at Willow-road, on December 12.

Sansom was charged with reference to a similar circular at his studios, dated December 30.

Richards and Hewetson were also charged with endeavouring to cause disaffection among persons in the Services on about November 11, 1944.

NO REPLY

Detective-Inspector Whitehead, of Scotland Yard, told the magistrate, Mr. Ivan Snell, that

when, at 7.30 a.m. to-day, he told Vernon Richards and Mrs. Richards that he was going to arrest them they made no reply.

At 8 a.m. he saw Dr. Hewetson at Willow-road, Hampstead. He made no reply when told he would be arrested.

Sansom was charged at Marylebone, and replied: "I have nothing to say."

In reply to Mr. Gerald F. Rutledge, defending, Inspector Whitehead said that Hewetson was the casualty officer at Paddington Hospital.

Inspector Whitehead asked that the case should be remanded until March 9th and bail of £100 with sureties of £100 was granted to the three first named comrades. Comrade Sansom was taken back to Brixton to complete his two months' sentence.

It has been decided to form immediately a Defence Committee and comrades will be shortly notified of its composition, and address. Helpers will be required and we are confident of the response from our comrades and sympathisers everywhere.

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BIG THREE—WORKERS MUST PAY!

(continued from p. 1)
 that of the U.S.S.R., they have also received no flicker of practical support at any time from the official trade union movements in those countries. Socialists used at one time to distinguish between workers and their reactionary governments. But even this lip service to socialism has been denied to the German workers by the T.U.C. in this country. Led by the delegation of Soviet trade unionists, they passed the Vansittart resolutions about the German people bearing responsibility for their government's crimes. The plain truth is that the German people have had to fight against one of the most ruthless and efficient tyrannies of all times, and they have had Vansittart insults added by smug allied reformists to the injuries and tortures and murders meted out to their militants in concentration camps.

STARVATION

This is what the Allies are planning for the German workers and their wives and children—many of them born since 1933, even since the outbreak of war. Here is Lieut.-Col. Joseph M. Canby, Civil Affairs Officer of General Patch's Seventh Army:

"In Italy we had a sympathetic interest in the local inhabitants, but we have no such interest in the German nation. If their rations get too low, it will be just too bad. No rations will be brought into Germany until their food reserves are so low that the starving population becomes a menace. We will make no effort to restore industry, and we do not care if the banks are open or shut—we are not going to help them."

"The 3,000,000 displaced personnel of the Allied nations who are now in Germany will be requested to be supervised and controlled by Allied personnel, but will be fed and clothed from Germany. The police will be... said Colonel Canby, "to force Germans to demand themselves of what they need to feed themselves for the sake of displaced people."
 (Evening News, 17/2/45).

It is difficult to imagine anything more savage. Our "sympathetic interest" in the people of Italy has allowed us to let starvation, disease and prostitution be the order of the day in that tortured (though liberated) country. What then is to be in store for the Germans? They could hardly be degraded further than our leaders have degraded the Italian people.

In this policy of starvation, moreover, the children will suffer most. In the hospitals in Vienna at the end of the last war, out of every hundred children born, ninety died of starvation. So those who do not even remember peacetime will be the first victims of the Big Three...

If the British workers permit this monstrous ruling class vindictiveness to be visited on their fellow workers of Germany and their families, they will not only be cutting their own throats: they will be passively assisting at the most colossal injustice of a war already heavy with brutality and cruelty and treachery.

HOPEFUL SIGNS

But there are signs of hope. Signs which indicate that mutual solidarity is not lost among workers, signs that the ruling class are yet afraid of the spectre of fraternization. From Germany come reports that the Nazi Government has issued strict prohibitions against German workers making contact with foreign workers in Germany. Nazi officials have been perturbed about the sympathy between German and foreign workers. At the very same moment Eisenhower's edict against British and American soldiers fraternizing with German civilians is requiring increasingly severe punishment for its effective enforcement. Soldiers are prohibited from asking the way, or even from playing with German children! Where there is contact there is human sympathy and kindness.

The Big Three have said their vindictive piece. We Anarchists declare once again; we are uncompromisingly for the international solidarity of the working class across all frontiers. We denounce the attempt to crush the German workers. We supported them against Hitler; we support them equally against our own ruling class!

ON the Clydeside there is considerable discontent amongst the engineering and shipyard workers, and an agitation in support of a recent wages demand has been growing in strength over a long period of time. The myth, fostered by the press, that war-workers were receiving fabulous wages for their labours has been wearing rather thin of late, and has now been shattered by the demonstration held on Monday, 5th February. Accompanied by a pipe band and carrying banners 20,000 workers marched through the streets of the Clydeside districts of Glasgow to hold an open-air protest meeting.

These workers, tired of the collusion of Trade Union leader and employer, marched in defiance of Union edicts, and an antagonistic press campaign, in order to display their determination that some alleviation of their economic distress, should be brought about. They marched after a long period of frustrated attempts to get to grips with the exploiting class. They marched even although they know that the Clydeside Engineering and Shipbuilding shop stewards committee were leading the demonstration. They marched even although they know that this committee, being Communist Party controlled, had diverted and sabotaged their wage struggles in the past. They marched because of the absolute need to do something. It is to be hoped that the demonstration marks the end of an epoch on the Clydeside, a period of frustration and aimless confusion caused by the refusal of many so-called militants to carry out the class struggle.

The worker to claim liberty and well-being. Only as soon as the worker realises the truth and gets rid of his Trade Union complex, the sooner will he be able to grapple with the problems which confront him.
 The other organisation upon which the workers rely to carry their struggle for existence, is the Shop Stewards committees. Despite the attempts of political power-groups, particularly the Communist Party, to sap its vitality, this organisation is still a movement of the working class. It is close to the workers and is organised at the point of production. It was organised as a revolt against the official Trade Unions, who have been busy trying to smash it from the days of its inception. For this reason the workers will require to watch their shop stewards and works committees, very closely. Where previously the Trade Union leaders tried to smash the Shop Stewards movement directly, they now attempt to do so by using the method of infiltration. In this effort they are ably assisted by that bane of the working class movements—the Communist Party. The C.P. stewards have danced to the tune of the Trade Union leaders, and where they have been unable to drive the workers down the treacherous path of arbitration,

GLASGOW DEMONSTRATION—THE LESSON

For more than four years now the Clyde shipyard workers have been among the lowest paid in the country. The employing class, by the careful manipulation of prices and income tax, have cancelled out any increases which the workers received in wages. The average wage, after deductions, is £4 13s. 6d. This was, of course, augmented by overtime, but now when overtime has been cut off, there are many cases where the worker, particularly if he has a large family, was better off in his Means Test days. There are cases where the worker cannot use his clothing coupons, and even food coupons have to be discounted because of the low wages received.

The Clydeside worker, like the workers elsewhere in the country, has been the victim of the prevailing demagoguery. He has been told to produce more, and that he must sacrifice everything to the war effort. He has been preached at, prayed to, lectured about, until he does not know whether he is a human being, or some obscure species which is the subject of an abstract scientific wrangle. The Trade Union leaders have told him that all his miseries and wrongs will be cured and righted by negotiation. He has found that after years of talk all that has happened is that the distress of the workers has become more intensified. The Trade Union leaders cannot "deliver the goods" because the capitalist class has no more reforms to give. The Trade Union leaders have become an essential part of the machinery of the employing class, they are the instruments by which the employing class aim to sabotage every attempt of

they have used guile to lead them. The latest demonstration of Clydeside workers is a case in point.
 The demonstration was convened by the Clydeside Engineering and Shipbuilding Shop Stewards Committee. Although some of the members of this committee are not party members, the committee is controlled by the Communist Party, and is affiliated to the so-called National Council of Shop Stewards, another 'red herring' organisation. In its hey-day of more production, and second fronts, when they preached the gospel of sacrifice, this committee was tolerated and encouraged by the Trade Union official and employer, but at times, because of the utter misery of the workers, shipyard workers particularly, they have had to stage stunts and organise mock fights to keep up the pretence of protecting the workers interests, and to keep the workers quiet.
 Several of these stunts are well remembered on the Clyde. In 1942, this Shop Stewards committee organised a great agitation in order to canalise the prevailing discontent of the workers. It took the form of a demand for relief from income-tax. The workers were demanding industrial action. The Communist Party said production could not be held up, and their controlled shop stewards diverted and frittered the struggle away in the stereotyped C.P. method of agitation through all the 'official channels'.
 Another classic example of stupidity occurred in 1943. When under pressure of the workers to do something, they organised a deputation to wait on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to show him the low wage packets of the workers, as if the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of all people, did not know of the under-paid conditions of the workers. All this was done

to keep the workers quiet, in conformity with the C.P. policy of peace in industry at any price. As a policy of the Communist Party it has succeeded admirably, as a policy of working class advancement it has failed.
 The truth is that the Clydeside Engineering and Shipbuilding shop stewards committee has done everything but lay off to the wage struggle. They have made a pretence at struggle in order to create the idea in the minds of the workers that something was being done. They have used the workers as pawns in the political game. They have made capital out of the misery of the shipyard workers. Unless the workers wake up to what is happening they will again be exploited by the 'party' through this latest demonstration. The 'party' controlled stewards have been forced to oppose this demonstration owing to the temper of the workers. They will attempt to exploit it for Communist Party ends.
 At the moment the workers are back on the job. The demonstration has performed the function of a safety valve. The C.P. stewards have been provided with a useful platform from which to peddle their line of 1939, Trade Unionism, and the workers still remain in their poverty and degradation. So much for these so-called leaders of the working class, those vampires who suck from the workers the job blood of struggle.
 Let the worker emancipate himself from the further concept that is prevalent in the workers organisations. It is not through leaders, but only by taking control of their own organisations that the workers will ever make progress in the struggle for a better world to live in.
 There was one curious fact about this demonstration. While the Communist Party were apparently sponsoring it in some yards and factories, in others, their members were actively

sabotaging any attempt to organise it. It appears that a demonstration was needed, but had not to be too big. Just big enough to satisfy the most discontented workers. At the moment, the grievances on the Clyde are so plentiful that a proper appeal would have brought out, not 20,000 but 200,000 workers.
 The Communist Party was forced by the workers to do something. They made an empty gesture through this demonstration. They also made an attempt to boost the existing party reputation because of the forthcoming elections.
 The manipulation of stratagems and trickery by the Trade Union leaders, and their hewings of the Communist Party has been the cause of the frustrated efforts of the workers to improve their conditions. It is therefore imperative that the workers should actively control their own factory organisations. The economic needs, and the iron logic of necessity demands that this should be done. It must be realised that the development of trade unionism has forced that organisation to become the servant of the employers. The officials can now only operate in order to further enslave the workers.
 The shop organisations must be cleansed of political power-groups before the wage struggle will become a straight issue between the workers and the employing class. As the wage struggle progresses clarity will emerge and it will be seen that the wage struggle is not enough. It will be seen that the worker must control the means of production for himself. These are some of the lessons the 20,000 demonstrators, and their fellow-workers must learn before they can ever be free.
 EQUITY.

Can We Afford It?

WHENEVER there is talk of a new world, or how much better things could be than they are to-day, there is generally someone who says that we could not possibly afford a good standard of living for everyone. Perhaps someone will point out that it should be possible for everyone to live in a clean, up-to-date house, to have enough to eat, good clothes and good conditions for work; and more than this, to have ample leisure and a fair share of the luxuries of life. Immediately a pessimist will cry out that this would make the country bankrupt, or would bring financial ruin to the whole of society.
 Let us take another example. In time of war no effort is spared to turn out tanks, guns, planes and all the other weapons required, indeed a measure of what is done can be seen from the fact that over £15,000,000 are spent every day on the war effort. At the same time the government sees to it that there is plenty of propaganda to the effect that everyone will be getting a square deal after the war. But when peace comes, and unemployment sets in, then a different tale is told. The excuse starts off by being that it will take time for things to improve, and then gradually it changes to that we can't afford a better world; wages are cut, the screw is put on all round, and conditions generally worsen until another war brings it false prosperity.
 The confusion which arises from these arguments is due to the fact that the amount of money in the country is taken to represent the amount of wealth available. We talk of a man who has plenty of money as being wealthy, and we use the same argument when we talk of the condition of society. But when we come to examine the true state of affairs we discover that money has no value in itself, the only use that it can be put to is to exchange it for goods of some sort. This point can be illustrated by taking an example: imagine a man to be shipwrecked on a desert island, with nothing to his name but a pile of gold. If there is no food or water on the island, then despite his gold, he is poorer than the most unfortunate beggar

and he will die. But imagine that instead he lands on an island which is well stocked with food and with a water supply, and instead of a pile of gold he manages to save a few tools. Then instead of dying he will be able to feed himself and with the aid of his tools to put up some kind of hut. His life will be saved because he is able to use that which is the true wealth of the world—the raw materials it offers, and his own labour power.
 Money has value only in that kind of society that accepts it, therefore its value is not something which it possesses in its own right for all time. But this should not lead us to underestimate the power of money in capitalist society, when its security is backed up by the whole legal system plus the might of the police and armed forces. By this means money is raised to the position of a god, it becomes the measure for everything, including human life. So tight is the grip of money on our civilization that those who control the money system are the ones who in the long run control our conditions of life. The financiers see to it that whatever disasters may fall on the rest of society, at least they will benefit from it, whether it is war, famine, unemployment there is always someone with a dividend to collect.
 But there is one "disaster" which they cannot bear, because they cannot make a profit from it, and that is the workers taking things into their own hands and deciding their own fate. Even though it is only a strike to secure a wage increase, to shorten hours or to reinstate a victimised workmate, the bosses will do all in their power to paint the strikers in the blackest colours as rogues of the lowest order. This is because they realise that this is the first step towards the destruction of capitalism itself, and that the development of the strike weapon can only end up in the workers instituting the social general strike to lock out the bosses and to carry on production on their own account. When such a revolutionary situation does exist, then the bosses realise that the whole of their power is threatened; the control of labour power and of raw materials and the factories is at stake, which alone gives their gold its value. Every possible method is used to prevent or smash up such constructive achievements of the workers, from bribery to the use of foreign intervention.
 Even supposing that in a revolutionary situation the whole of the capitalist class fled from the country, and took with them all their gold, insurance policies, bank deposits and so on, would it leave the country any poorer? Surely the land would still be fertile, coal would still be in the mines, factories and machinery would still be ready to work; the only thing required to turn out food, clothes and all the other necessities of life would be the efforts of the workers themselves. Who would doubt the abilities of the workers to produce and distribute the goods required? Surely even to-day it is the farm workers who feed us, the textile workers who clothe us, the miners who provide our warmth, the transport workers who carry us to and fro. And because of the disappearance of a few thousand bond holders and big business men is it likely that the workers would lose their power to produce the goods they need and the services they use? Our only answer can be that the removal of such a parasitical superstructure from society would release new creative forces and would then make it possible for the first time for the workers to achieve a decent standard of living.
 Although all these things are true, it must not be assumed that the change over from capitalism to a free economy will be achieved without a struggle which will put great physical burdens on the workers, and in which the reactionaries

will use every means at their disposal to frustrate the revolution. Chief amongst the reactionaries' tools will be their control over money, which they will use in an attempt to buy off revolutionaries and to equip counter-revolutionary forces. They will immediately try to isolate a workers' revolt, and at the same time will buy aid from their fellow capitalists in other countries. It is therefore imperative in such a situation for the workers to seize, not only the factories, mines, fields, the transport system and so on, but also to take the banks and seize all the gold and money which could be used by the capitalists for their counter-revolutionary schemes. If the Spanish workers had seized the gold in the Bank of Spain in the early days of the revolution of 1936 it would have been much more difficult for the reformist government and the communists to smash up the revolutionary achievements of the workers.
 This does not mean, however, that a really revolutionary movement can take over the monetary system of capitalism, all that means is that they deprive the capitalists of one of their chief means of strengthening their position. It might be possible also to use the gold seized in order to buy arms from abroad, as the Spanish workers might have been able to have bought arms from Mexico, but beyond such special cases it would be useless. To continue to use money within a free society is to permit one of the things which would lead to its ultimate downfall. The very nature of money demands that there shall be some central body which would authorize its issue and guarantee its value, which in itself would lead to the foundation of a new state, because the central body would be able to use its control of the money it issued to create new privileged bodies of people who would be the embryo of a new ruling class.
 Thus we see that money itself bears no real relationship to the potential wealth of a particular country, but that the test as to whether we can "afford" a particular standard of living is governed by the raw materials at our disposal, and our own ability to turn them into goods by the application of labour power. Our attitude is not to ignore the existence of money, but to realize its reactionary power in the hands of the capitalists and to make sure that we remove its greasy contamination from our lives.
 JACK WADE.

Little Known English Anarchists

THE subject of this sketch was a cockney of the working class. A shoemaker by trade, he tramped the country mending boots and shoes, and varying his occupation from time to time by selling curious saleable articles. He held meetings in the provincial towns which he visited during his travels, never looking for assistance in his propaganda work. All he required was a crowd, and with his strong voice and ready wit he always held their attention. It was no easy task in those days, for it was the period of several attempts by anarchists on heads of states and others who had rendered themselves justly hated by their oppression acts. The names of Ravachol, Emile Henry, and Santo Caserio were on everybody's lips, and every Anarchist was regarded as a bomb-thrower. Hostile audiences were therefore frequently met with, yet Harrigan could gain their sympathy without compromising or watering down his own position, and he invariably explained that, in his view, the violence of some Anarchists was simply a natural reflex of the violence and tyranny of governments.
 As a boy, serving his time as a shoe maker, he worked with one of the Cato Street conspirators who may have inspired the young apprentice with revolutionary ideas. He became an open-air speaker at an early age in the parks and open spaces, and probably deserves the distinction of being the first open-air propagandist of avowed Anarchism in England.
 When Henry Seymour published the first English Anarchist paper, "The Anarchist,"

Harrigan wrote for it and sold it at his meetings. "The Anarchist" ceased to appear after "Freedom" was started by Kropotkin and the "Freedom Group". Harrigan was a member of the English section of the first International—the International Working-men's Association—and was once chairman of the Annual Convention.

James Harrigan

There he fought the armchair revolutionaries of those days, as he was to do later on in the eighties. It was at this early period that he would attend Socialist and Trade Union meetings and advocate the Stay-In Strike. I am not claiming that he originated the idea, for it was also put forward by Benbow in the early Chartist movement. But Harrigan certainly did a great deal in his day to popularize the idea, which, forty years later was to be used so successfully by the French syndicalists and was regarded by many as a new and powerful weapon against the exploiters.
 Harrigan has been described in a novel written by Olive Rossetti under the pen-name of "Isobel Meredith" called "A Girl Among the Anarchists." She gives us a picture which is on the whole a truthful one. "He was a very small man, certainly not more than five foot high, thin and wiry with grey hair and moustache but otherwise clean-shaven. His features were unusually expressive and mobile, from his somewhat scornful mouth to deep-set, observant

eyes, and clearly denoted the absence of the stolid strain in his blood. His accent, too, though not that of an educated man, was free from the cockney twang. His dress was as spare as his figure, but though well-worn there was something spruce and trim about his whole demeanour, which indicated that he was totally indifferent to the impression he created on others."

When the much-needed history of the British Anarchist movement comes to be written, men like Harrigan cannot be left out. They lived and worked unknown to the majority of their class. But who can measure their influence? It is improbable that French workers heard Harrigan in the Park or in discussion, and carried the idea of the Stay In Strike back to Paris!
 In those far-off days, the shoemakers used to leave their own work to work in the docks during the "Tea Session" opening or closing tea chests, and it was there that he first met Ben Tillitt and introduced him to the ideas of socialism. He said that there was nothing he regretted more, for he hated the political charlatans who used the workers' movement to make a career for themselves. Harrigan, with abilities far beyond these smooth-tongued adventurers, remained a worker, a rebel in society. To have known him and done propaganda with him was an adventure in itself.
 MAT KAVANAGH.

From a Friend in the Navy
 I awaited with anxiety the arrival of the latest issue of War Commentary, for the activities of the Gestapo seemed to have become very threatening, and I admit that I was becoming very afraid that the end might have come. I say "end" with great reservation for though the worst may happen to War Commentary and the open expression of ideas, yet I believed that there would be no break up of solidarity and that as individuals we would not find ourselves in isolation, having lost touch with the whole.
 So whilst hoping that at least some communication might arrive making it possible to again contact the members of Freedom Press, War Commentary arrived, and all goes ahead. For how long? For always. Whatever happens to individuals, the ideas are within each of us, the need is within everyman, and will be expressed.
 I send to all of you my best wishes and thanks. Good luck for the future!
 Yours,
 H. E.

Family Allowances are a Saving for the Bosses

The Government has issued proposals for Family Allowances whereby each family will receive 5/- for every child, except the first one. The supposed justification for such a measure is that it will lift the burden of increasing poverty which at present falls on large families. Actually, this economic disadvantage which children bring is probably the principal reason why so many couples refuse to have children. The Family Allowances idea has already been tried in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy as an attempt to raise the falling birthrate. Why? To provide cannon fodder, of course, stupid.

Even so it is difficult to see why the first child should not be worth five bob. And why is it that in wartime children are worth so much more? Earlier in the war the first child got 9/6, the second, 8/6, and the third and any others 7/6 a piece. Later they were all raised to 12/6 each. Now it seems the first kid drops to nowt, and the others to a dollar a time!

Despite all this, family allowances are a hard headed business proposition—for the bosses. In effect, the guaranteeing of a certain income on children permits the lowering of wages generally. That great reformer, Sir William Beveridge, writing to the *Times* (12/1/40) declared: "We cannot in this war afford luxuries of any kind, and it is a luxury to provide people with incomes for non-existent children."

When a Family Endowment Act was passed nearly twenty years ago in New South Wales, it cost £3,000,000 per annum. But to have

raised the New South Wales basic wage in accordance with the increased cost of living would have cost £13,000,000 per annum. So the Bill saved the employers just £10,000,000 a year. The present Bill will similarly go some way towards allaying the demand for higher wages, without costing anything like as much as actually paying out higher wages. Here is what one of those "progressives" who clamour for such reforms—none other than L. S. Amery—wrote: "If a system of Family Allowances were introduced now it could not only relieve the existing hard cases, but would afford a logical basis upon which a stand could be made against all further wage increases..."—(*Times*, 14/1/40).

Eleanor Rathbone, the author of the Penguin *The Case for Family Allowances*, shows a discernment for even deeper political issues. Family Allowances, she says on p. 14, may well be "a bulwark against certain explosive and disrupting forces. A man with a wife and family may talk revolution, but he is much less likely to act it than one who has given Society no such hostages."

Once again therefore we see a small reform bought at the cost of a large concession. Family Allowances will form the chief weapon of the boss class against a general rise in wages. Therefore only those with a large family will reap any advantage; the single man and woman will feel the draught even worse than before. Once more the granting of a "reform" will have divided the workers' ranks.

FREEDOM PRESS LECTURES

SUNDAY MEETINGS

Commencing at 6.45 p.m.
to be held at the
HOLBORN HALL
(Second floor, Room 4)
Grays Inn Road, London
(Buses 38, 19; Trolley 555, 581, 613, 621.
Tube: Holborn, Chancery Lane)

4th MARCH John Hewetson
Mutual Aid

11th MARCH F. A. Ridley
Rise and Decline of the British Empire

MOSCOW'S MOUTHPIECE

Ilya Ehrenburg

Ilya Ehrenburg is probably the most violent anti-German journalist living to-day. He could have chosen as his motto: "The only good German is a dead German". His Vansittart articles appear not only in the Russian Press but in Allied newspapers of all languages. It is therefore interesting to study the career of this man and it is not surprising to find that his wild admiration for Stalin's régime and his violent hatred for the German people are of recent date. His fanatical attacks on Germany help to cover up the fact that he justified the Soviet-German pact in 1939. If the trial of four criminals so strongly advocated by the Russian Press took place, no doubt Hitler would be able to quote Ilya Ehrenburg in his defence.

Ilya Ehrenburg has a long and complicated history. As a schoolboy, Ehrenburg became sympathetic to the Revolution of 1905, but soon after left Russia and went to France, becoming a refined esthete. In 1917 he returned to Rus-

sia. His first reaction to the October Revolution was a hostile one. But gradually while travelling through the whole country during the Civil War, Ehrenburg became somewhat conciliatory toward the Bolsheviks.

In 1922 he returned to Paris and tried to establish himself as a politically independent writer. Here he wrote a series of novels which were more or less condemned by Soviet critics as writings of a 'new-bourgeoisie.'

The deep economic crisis of Europe and America at the beginning of the thirties, which coincided with the first achievement of the Five-Year-Plan in Soviet Russia, left a strong mark on Ehrenburg's spirit. He visited Soviet Russia's new industrial plants in Magnitogorsk and soon after wrote his novel 'Oout of Chaos.' Since then his relations to the Soviet government have become closer and more official. The Soviet-German pact on August 23, 1939, shook Ehrenburg, at least such rumours spread through literary Paris. But as is shown in his novel 'The Fall of Paris' he soon accepted the official Socialist scheme about the 'capitalist character' of the Second World War, which has nothing to do with 'our war.' For this novel, Ehrenburg won the 1942 Stalin Fiction Award. After the collapse of France, Ehrenburg returned to Russia.

The day of June 22, 1941, was the hardest blow in Ehrenburg's life. He is sincere in saying in the foreword to 'The Tempering of Russia' on the first day of the war I forgot that I had previously written novels and poems. I became a journalist, only a journalist, whose place is on the firing line. Only then did Ehrenburg recognise that if Hitler was going to win this war it would mean the victory of naked brutality over all that mankind has cherished for centuries. 'I belong,' says Ehrenburg 'to the generation that lived through the World War and the Civil War and has lasted on to this time! It has made me accustomed to the sight of dead bodies, but fascist cruelties have exceeded all limits.'

'The Tempering of Russia' is a collection of articles which first appeared in English, American and Soviet newspapers, dealing with the events of the first year of the Soviet-German war. Many of these articles, probably addressed to English and American readers, have an undertone of reproach contained in the phrase 'we are fighting alone against the common enemy.' This springs, of course, from the fact that they were meant as propaganda for a 'second front.' But to the Anglo-American reader they inevitably suggest the question: "Where was Ehrenburg (and Russia) when Paris was falling or when England was fighting alone?"

Vera Alexandrova in *New Leader* (U.S.A.)

Leaders get you Nowhere!

AT the present time there is feverish activity among the Labour politicians to whip up the interest of the workers. But the only sign of working class activity is spasmodic strikes—always unofficial. For the workers, despite their acceptance of government know instinctively that it is only by direct action on the job that they can resist the invasion of their rights by the boss class. They do not need lectures to know that the Unions are being used by the officials to bolster up the capitalist system. Yet there are many who think that the fault, and therefore also the remedy, lies in the personality of the officials themselves. Many of our fellow workers on the extreme "left" bend their efforts towards removing the corrupt bureaucracy, and dream of replacing them by men who have proved their revolutionary integrity.

We would like to point out that there is hardly a prominent trade union leader of to-day who did not rise to the top through early militancy in strike leadership, or win his spurs in the revolutionary cause. In their early and very immature way they thought they could capture the organization and turn it to the benefit of the working class. But instead the organization captured them.

This was no incident, but inevitable; and it would happen just the same again if there were a clean sweep of officials. Are Jim Griffiths, Will Lawther, or Jack Tanner any less of a bureaucrat because they were once active Anarchists? They too set out to smash the "Old Gang" of yesterday—and they have become the "Old Gang" of to-day. It is not simply by changing the officials that change will be effected; but by changing the method of organisation. The method of strike action goes back to the earliest days. Perhaps the earliest recorded strike in written history was that of the Jews in Egypt against the Egyptian task masters. But the strike weapon is comparatively undeveloped; save in exceptional circumstances strikes have been of a passive, non-active nature. For only the growth of revolutionary

class consciousness can turn strikes into active methods which can effect change and progress. In recent years there has been a distinct tendency in this direction. In every case action has been initiated by the rank and file, against the opposition of the officials. The latter, true to the nature of careerists oppose all action which they do not themselves initiate; but when they see it is likely to be successful, rush in to claim all the credit.

When the British Government decided to fight their Russian Allies of to-day, the workers set up "Councils of Action", and prepared for a General Strike against intervention in Russia. The Government was scared to death, and with an alacrity hitherto unknown, the London Parks were turned into armed camps. The workers answered by organizing food supplies, and the Government, foreseeing defeat, called off the Russian adventure. The General Strike of 1928 was more than a strike of action, it was one of the finest demonstrations of solidarity that the labour world has ever known. It failed only because the workers left all the initiative and action in the hands of the leaders. Everyone who participated in it remembers the chagrin and disappointment of the strikers at the capitulation of the leaders.

During the war, in countries occupied by the Nazis—in France, Greece, Denmark, Norway,—where trade union leaders have often collaborated with the occupying power, the rank and file workers have organized successful General Strikes, and forced concessions from the Nazis. There have been no corrupt leaders to betray the movement. But in the general strikes which occurred before the war in most countries the workers have experienced the same failures from betrayals by their leaders. Only organizations based on the principles of the Spanish C.N.T. or the American I.W.W. in which the members, and not the officials, have the effective say in making decisions, can be effective in an active way. For their action is directed towards the complete economic emancipation of the working class from the

domination of the wage system. When the I.W.W. wrote glorious pages of working class history in their magnificent fights for free speech and revolutionary propaganda, they were forging a weapon for the revolution on the political as well as the industrial plane. They were showing a plan to the workers which they must adopt if they aspire to be free men.

It is in their own workers' organizations that decisions must be taken, not in parliaments, municipal councils or trade union offices. Not by delegated authority, but by direct workers' action. An example of what can be done in this way occurred some few years ago in South Wales. In one village, the school house was in a deplorable condition. The miners discussed it at their lodge meeting, and gave the authorities notice that if the school was not put into good condition, they would not only withdraw the children, but they would come out on strike as well. The local authorities soon took action—the bosses saw to that for trade was good just then. Actions such as this have an educational value that cannot be gained in a thousand election campaigns, for they bring into action the old saying, "If you want a thing done well, you must do it yourself."

Because of the carefully inculcated teachings of the political socialists, this spirit has tended to die down. But disillusionment and the behaviour of trade union officials during the war, is bringing it to the front again. The coming downfall of capitalism will force the worker into using direct action, and it is important to consider the most effective methods beforehand. The Social General Strike is the practical method, for it aims at complete workers' control. Nationalization is certainly not the remedy, for State ownership only means a change of masters. We Anarchists aim at a society of free men, where there is no master, believing with William Morris that "No man is good enough to be master of another."

MAT KAVANAGH.

LEND TO DEFEND— the right to be free

If you were a native of Bihar Province, India, and did not buy national savings certificates of your own free will, this is what might happen: First, you would hear the roll of drums sending out a "demand note" to everybody who paid a tax of one rupee, that they must buy 20 rupees worth of certificates.

If you still refused, then you would be harassed in all sorts of ways—even beaten by Government of India agents until you "forked" out. And if you failed to pay 10 rupees on savings certificates for each of your children, they would not be allowed to attend school.

This story, told by Mr. Abdul Ghani in the Central Assembly, New Delhi, yesterday, brought about the defeat of the Government of India for the second time in three days.

The vote was on an adjournment motion to discuss the unfair use of force to make the people of Bihar buy certificates.

Daily Herald, 12/2/45.

WAGES WITH PINK GLASSES

Recently published cost of living returns for Britain have produced more public discussion than any of their predecessors. Wage-rates at the end of 1944 are said to be 45 or 46 per cent. higher than when the war began, whereas during the same period the cost of living has risen by only 33 per cent.

Which overlooks several important facts. The productivity of labour is 10 per cent. higher than in 1939. The wage increases include those to agricultural and other workers whose prewar rates were abnormally low. PAYE income tax is not an official item in the "cost of living," and cancels out most increases. In short, the Government-sponsored wage policy, of granting increases after token resistance, amounts to paying Peter a little more so that Paul may rob him more profitably.

Cavalcade, 10/2/45.

PUBLISHERS KICK

Book publishers, not usually men to look gift horses in the mouth, have taken this course over an extra allocation of paper for the printing of educational books and books of national importance.

In the publishers' view, conditions attached to the extra supply savour of censorship and dictation of what sort of books they shall print.

Evening Standard, 9/2/45. Why should the Government decide which books are of "national importance"? It is scandalous that publishers should have been allowed a very small paper ration in war time and now the Government has the impudence of wanting to control a small increase in the ration. We would rather not trust the Ministry of Supply to decide if Freedom Press publications are of "national importance" or not and get out extra allocation straight away!

COMMUNISTS "ASTONISHED"

Writing on the Partisan Movement in Italy the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent says:

It is absurd also to find the Communist party taking all the credit for what is a popular and patriotic movement, whose members are so republican that they state in astonishment when they hear that their leader in Rome, Signor Togliatti, is supporting the Crown Prince as Lieutenant General of the Realm and has succeeded in getting call-up notices for ten Army classes posted on the walls of the cities of Italy calling men to join the Royal Army on pain of police prosecution.

Manchester Guardian, 8/2/45.

NOW WE KNOW

MARSHAL JOSEPH STALIN: THE ST. PETER OF THE GREAT SOVIET UNION. Headline in *The City Observer*, 9/2/45

Star, 14/2/45.

THE DISTINCTION

German prisoners are showing great concern for the fate of their families in Eastern Germany.

I saw a fresh batch arrive yesterday. The officers were in fairly good shape, talking and laughing, and all gave the Hitler salute. In contrast, the men looked utterly fatigued.

Daily Express, 12/2/45.

THE OLD STORY

It is strange why the German Army and Volksturm fight on, encouraged only by radio pep talks and boxes of Iron Crosses dropped from the sky, while the Nazi leaders and Party members flee.

Daily Mail, 12/2/45.

Strange, indeed, but unfortunately nothing new.

SQUARE PEGS . . .

When a "Bevin boy" who had refused to go down the mines and a young soldier who wanted to work in a pit appeared at Clerkenwell, London, on Saturday, the magistrate asked: "Can't you change them over?"

"I am afraid not," replied a Ministry of Labour official. "It is not in my province." Manchester Guardian, 5/2/45.

Through the Press

WHILE FRENCH PEOPLE STARVE

"The Army with steam-heated messes and offices—endless food, free cinemas and theatres, cigarettes and whisky, is living its comfortable, highly social life, whirling from office to mess and from mess to mess in high-powered cars. And in Anglo-American offices, a quiet, easy routine of papers passing and re-passing, of conferences and lunches and cocktail parties (which we only go to for business contacts, of course), of British and Americans, male and female, existing on the war in starving France. Of course the Allies are planning. Planning—and planning. With plenty of mild jokes we are planning the occupation of Germany and destruction of Nazism. We plan all the equipment, from trucks to typewriters; we plan everything except the positive things we have to do to create a non-Nazi Germany. We plan to be tough, to stop everything, to prevent everything, to regulate and control everything—with a staff of thousands of uninterested, uneducated, relatively decent non-German speaking officers. Everyone here knows the plans are phoney, and that the toughness is synthetic. What does toughness mean unless as a means to a purpose?"

The New Statesman and Nation, 10/2/45.

WHY WAR?

A Serviceman's wife who gassed herself left a letter saying: "Why do they have to have wars and upset people's lives? We don't want it. People's lives were hard enough before."

After reading the letter at the inquest on the woman to-day, the Hull coroner, Doctor Norman Jennings answered her query with these words:

"You must blame the politicians. The higher they are, the worse they are.

"Things will have to be altered after this. They will have to get their orders from the electors. The electors are never consulted. They are treated with contempt."

WAR PAYS A DIVIDEND

The £25,000,000 loan for Holland provided by a group of New York commercial banks under an agreement signed here yesterday is likely to be the first of a whole series of private American loans to the United Nations. Others proposed are:

1. Norway. £6,250,000 to £12,500,000.
2. Czechoslovakia. £7,500,000 to £12,500,000.
3. Dutch East Indies. £18,750,000.

4.—A loan at present being spoken of merely as large, but which is likely to exceed £25,000,000 for two companies recently formed in London with Bank of England support, to make reconstruction loans to small and medium sized British companies in order to tide them over reconversion period.

Evening Standard, 9/2/45.

HE MUST FIGHT FOR THIS

An R.A.F. police car drew up outside 214, Claythorn-street, Calton, Glasgow, yesterday morning and took away Aircraftman Terence Docherty and his 15-month-old son John.

Docherty, charged with being an absentee, was taken to the Central Police Station where he spent the night, and baby John to a Corporation welfare home where he will remain until his mother, who has just had a baby, is able to run the house again.

Docherty will be taken this morning to the West of Scotland camp where his unit is stationed.

When arrested 10 days ago for being absent Docherty took his baby son to headquarters, claiming that there was nobody to look after him because his wife was still indisposed.

The R.A.F. duty officer sent him home to find somebody to look after John, telling him to report the following day. Docherty, unable to find the necessary help, remained home.

Scottish Daily Express, 6/2/45.

THE LAW

Dorothy Violet Kelly, aged 20, of Salisbury Road, Weymouth, said to the Weymouth Bench, on which two women were sitting, yesterday: "It's a pity you were not stuck in a home yourselves."

Kelly, who was convicted of neglecting her five-months-old baby, had been offered the choice of a home or prison. The girl chose prison, and was given a six months' sentence. Sunday Dispatch, 18/2/45.

For neglecting and abandoning her year-old baby boy, Pamela Edna Heaton (21), single, Gratwick Road, Worthing, was sentenced to one month's imprisonment at Worthing yesterday.

But for stealing a pound note from a woman friend she received two months' imprisonment. News Chronicle, 17/2/45.

While one woman get six months for neglecting her child another charged with the same offence (or worse, since she has abandoned the child) gets one month. Will either of them be better mothers when they come out? And what is one to think of a law which values one pound note twice as much as a child?

GAOL FOR BEING LATE

Rather than pay a fine of £5 at Luton to-day for being persistently late for work, Harry Graham, of Bolton Road, Luton, chose to go to prison for one month.

He said he did not want time to pay.

Mr. F. Dumbleton, prosecuting, said Graham had been persistently late since June 1942. He had been warned four times, and lived only 10 minutes from his work.

Graham told the magistrate he was Grade 4. Evening Standard, 14/2/44.

A MOVING TRIBUTE



No one associated with the coal trade can look back upon 1944 with any feeling other than one of keen disappointment. Not only was no progress made, but its record was one of steady retrogression. At least as many workers were in the pits in 1944 as in 1943, and a wage bill of unexampled proportions was met, but the output still declined.

Among prime causes of the diminution recorded are strikes, absenteeism, and, in cases, the adoption of a policy of "ca canny."

To suggest, as the latest statement of Mr. Lawther implied, that there are to be no conditions on the payment of the minimum wage is in no way helpful. If the £5 minimum wage is to be maintained it must be earned by production. Honest men would not wish otherwise, and, as the bulk of the miners are honest, they will soon appreciate that having accepted a bargain they must carry it out in the true spirit of its intent. Once that logic is realized the great crux of the trouble is overcome—and better production will follow.

The Chamber of Commerce Journal, Feb. 1945.

We couldn't resist reproducing this tribute to miners from *The Chamber of Commerce Journal*. We are sure that our miner readers will find this appeal to their better feelings irresistible and will see to it that mineworkers will not feel any keen disappointment in the future and will draw bigger and better profits.

RUSSIAN LIBERATION— A MYSTERY

The future of Europe is being decided in the liberated countries as well as in the councils of the Big Three. Events in France, Belgium, and Greece take up almost as much space in the world's newspapers as the battles themselves—and rightly so. But what is happening in the countries liberated by Russia, in Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Hungary, no one knows. Are they less important? Surely not. Is life there so tranquil that there is no news? It is hard to believe. The three former Regents of Bulgaria were executed last week, which is an event of some passing interest even in the Balkans. The truth is that, owing to a misguided policy which can only damage their own interests, the Russian military authorities have so far excluded Allied correspondents (with a few rare exceptions) from the countries under their control. This is a mistake which must be corrected for the sake of Allied understanding. No country can claim to be fully liberated if it does not give free access to the representatives of the world's press.

Manchester Guardian, 7/2/45.

WHY NOT MENTION IT IN 1940?

A warning to men and women in the Forces that they must not expect to find that better world to which we all look forward as soon as they step out of the Forces, was voiced by Brigadier-General E. R. Fitzpatrick, national chairman of the British Legion, at the Midland area annual conference at Nottingham to-day.

After five or six years of war this would be impossible, he said, and it would be the worst possible leadership to hold out hopes that can only lead to disappointment.

Evening News, 10/2/45.

Anarchist Commentary

T.U. CONFERENCE NOTES

In the days of Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolsheviks organised an international working-class conference... The Russian trade unions were represented, and they invited what few Communist unions existed abroad, and also the international anarcho-sindicalist movements of all countries...

The Anarcho-Sindicalists left in a body and held their next conference in Berlin in 1922, forming an independent workers international, the I.W.M.A. Moscow, disappointed at not capturing either the Anarcho-Sindicalists or the I.W.W., had set up its Red Trade Union International...

To-day, however, the reformist trade unionists generally accept the fascist idea of State corporations and under the influence of war feeling have invited the Russian trade unions to the London World Trade Union Conference...

The American Federation of Labour, part of the I.F.T.U., refused to come because the Russians were there and more particularly because their rival bureaucrats of the C.I.O. were there... The I.U.C. and the C.I.O. were the two organisations of substance there...

velt's henchman, and the Russian spokesmen were Stalin's mouthpieces... Then the officials seemed to think I was wanted outside. As we are now in London...

The delegates did not meet as free men at County Hall, and it was a mockery of internationalism... It only claimed to represent those nations whose governments were associated...

There must be a workers' international conference when it is possible, but this can only be without the aid of Governments... It can only be one of genuine revolutionaries, straight from the bench or from prison...

CHURCHILL AND FRANCO

By the "indiscretion of a newspaperman", facts have been published in the newspapers... From the story appears that Mr. Churchill's "kind words" to the Caudillo were taken by him as an overture to a political alliance...

Franco was told he would not be a delegate at the peace conference, but this is hardly a rebuke in the name of democracy as has been suggested... The office of Freedom Press in Belize Road, Kilburn, are in a large private house...

JUST A REMINDER

We happened to notice the Evening Standard editorial (3/2/45) by the way, referring to "the Franco-Mussolini-Hitler war against the Spanish Republicans"...

Deserter's Wife Reprieved—But Baby Dies

In the last issue of War Commentary we reported that a woman who had feigned to denounce her husband—a deserter from the army—to the police, was sent to prison for a month... Her baby was committed to an institution...

WAR COMMENTARY is offered to members of the Services at special rates. 1 year, 1s. post free. 6 months, 6d. post free. Take advantage of this offer to introduce new readers to the Services.

Reviews BLUE PRINT FOR UTOPIA

"BREAD AND ROSES", by Ethel Mannin. (Macdonald and Co., 10/6.) Few writers have the courage at the present time to write and get published a work on social theory which is other than reformist or downright reactionary...

Ethel Mannin's blueprint for Utopia is that of an essentially anarchist society, and the chapters on social functions deal with most essential aspects... The Glasgow Workers' Council have done a useful work by printing this little pamphlet...

British Intervention in Greece

The Glasgow Workers' Council have done a useful work by printing this little pamphlet, and it deserves a wide circulation, especially at the present time... Details are given of some of the counter-revolutionary exploits of British Imperialism mentioned above...

ment and control generally". (p. 46.) The late author comments "To approve of that struggle in the minds of the anarchists in that they try to admire the tactics through which they achieved—the tactics of violence" (p. 49)...

The chapters dealing with the abolition of the monetary system, the setting up and functioning of collectives, the individual basis of Utopian housing as opposed to the communal system of modern blocks of flats, also the social status of women, who fulfil a full and natural role according to choice and ability, contain a wealth of detail and well reasoned argument...

ANARCHIST FEDERATION GLASGOW GROUP

● GLASGOW GROUP SUNDAY MEETINGS at Brunswick Street, 3.30 and 7.0 p.m. Lectures every Monday in Hall at 23 Wilson Street commencing 8 p.m. Questions and Discussions

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

● POLICY TRADE UNIONISM OR SYNDICALISM? 24 pages. Tom Brown 3d. (postage 1d.) NEW LIFE TO THE LAND George Woodcock 3d. (postage 1d.) HUMANITY AND SOCIETY George Woodcock 3d. (postage 1d.) VOTE—WHAT FOR? E. Maitland 2d. (postage 1d.)

"Ours Not to Reason Why" can be obtained, (price 3d., by post 4d.) from the Glasgow Workers' Council, 116, Kenrew Street, Glasgow, C.2., or from Freedom Bookshop, 132 Cheltenham Road, Bristol.

● PAISLEY GROUP Sunday Meetings at Goal Square, 7 p.m. also in the Bakers Hall, Genze Place, 8 p.m.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP 132 Cheltenham Road, Bristol. Freedom Press publications advertised elsewhere in this issue also in stock. The following books are still available...

The Press & C.I. Check on Anarchists

For space reasons it was not possible to reproduce the Press comments on the Freedom Press in the last issue of War Commentary but we promised readers that we should do so in this issue...

Detailed reports of the results of the officers' inquiries have been submitted to the Home Secretary and the Director of Public Prosecutions.

The offices of Freedom Press in Belize Road, Kilburn, are in a large private house. When I saw the front-door key left there to a promptly answered by a pleasant-faced middle aged woman...

TOLD TO QUIT The room was in some disorder, and the woman apologised, saying she was packing up as she was moving to a new address. "The landlord has told us to go," she said. "He does not like our business."

VOLUNTARY WORKER "I am simply a voluntary worker," she said. "All letters should be addressed to the secretary."

In the two latest copies of War Commentary there are references to the police searches and a complaint is made that Freedom Press files and other materials seized have not been returned.

UNENVIABLE POSITION "We are also in the unenviable position of not being able to send out accounts for money owing to Freedom Press which now runs into several hundred pounds sterling, nor have we details of payments made and to be made for books received, thereby jeopardising our credit with suppliers."

Reference is made to "our readers in the Services who have been subjected to the indignity of being searched." Their letters, it is declared, "show a spirit which is a source of inspiration and hope for the future."

The following morning February 2nd the Daily Telegraph had more startling revelations for its readers, but this time it was without readers of its early edition and not its 4 a.m. edition. Headed "ALIENS SUSPECTED OF SEDITION" it runs:

"Special Branch detectives who have been investigating the activities of a group of Left Wing extremists which was reported in the Daily Telegraph yesterday, are suspected of

circulating alleged seditious literature near army camps and naval barracks, have, understood, discovered that some of its members are of foreign origin. Detectives have visited the homes of some of the members of the group and have taken possession of large quantities of literature and files.

When the enquiries are complete a full report will be submitted to Mr. Morrison, Home Secretary, and Sir Donald Somervell, the Attorney-General."

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS. ● POLICY TRADE UNIONISM OR SYNDICALISM? 24 pages. Tom Brown 3d. (postage 1d.) NEW LIFE TO THE LAND George Woodcock 3d. (postage 1d.) HUMANITY AND SOCIETY George Woodcock 3d. (postage 1d.) VOTE—WHAT FOR? E. Maitland 2d. (postage 1d.) ● THEORY A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM Marston Graham 100 pages 1s. (postage 1d.) ANARCHY OR CHAOS George Woodcock 124 pages 2s. 6d. (postage 2d.) ANARCHY Chosen by Herbert Read 162 pages Cloth 8s. 6d. paper 2s. 6d. (post. 3d.) THE WAGE SYSTEM P. Kropotkin 19 pages 3d. (postage 1d.) REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT P. Kropotkin 16 pages 3d. (postage 1d.) THE STATE—ITS HISTORIC ROLE P. Kropotkin 44 pages 1s. (postage 2d.) THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM Herbert Read 32 pages 1s. (postage 1d.) ● GENERAL THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE Tom Brown 16 pages 3d. (postage 1d.) THE WILHELMHAFFEN REVOLT E. Maitland 40 pages 6d. (postage 1d.) WIMBLEDON REVOLT E. Maitland 16 pages 2d. (postage 1d.) THE ISSUES IN THE PRESENT WAR Marston Graham 32 pages 6d. (postage 1d.) THE MARCH TO DEATH John Odlay 13 pages 1s. 6d. (postage 1d.) SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL JUSTICE William Godwin 32 pages KROPOTKIN—HIS FEDERALIST IDEAS 10 pages 10s. WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA M. L. Berneri 66 pages THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN Herbert Read 32 pages HOMES OR HOVELS—The Housing Problem and its Solution George Woodcock 16 pages ● FREEDOM BOOKSHOP 132 Cheltenham Rd. Bristol

All Correspondence should be addressed to:—

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