For Anarchism COMMENTARY

"No Laws are binding on the human subject that assault the body or violate the conscience.

SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE

"Let us consider that arbitrary Power has seldom or never been introduced into any country at once. It must be introduced by slow degrees, as it were step by step, lest the people should see its approach."

LORD CHESTERFIELD.

Fortnightly, 2d.

"We have been challenged: We accept the challenge. We will fight: fight the Defence Regulations and that

foul and un-English institution, the political police"

declares Herbert Read to crowded London protest meeting

800 Express

Solidarity with arrested

Anarchists

Holborn Hall meeting

compass of war. As they travel along the dusty roads, they lose their marks of identity, their uniforms and badges —they resume their human shape and appearance: the grey mass of the un-employed. From unemployment they were snatched unemployment they were watched under the control of the war will end in Unemployment: the war will end in Unemployment.

an this Land of Longer, we have exceed the conwhy at the final stage of the uniwhy at the final stage of the uniwhy at the final stage of the unirades arrested? Is it to be acrosslycontended that at this twoffth hourmades arrested? Is it to be acrosslycontended that at this twoffth hourmembers of Ili Minjerty? Forces that
the outcome of the war would be in
doubt? I hope that that will be the
compliment ever paid to the philosophy of anarchiem. What other
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have never taken off their masks.

There was a time—back in 1940—when I thought that here too the war would inscribely lead to revolution—without a social upheavel. I was wrong. We won the Battle of Britain, without a social upheavel. I was wrong. We won the Battle of Britain to a poor prematurely-born hommen-their masks, stayed in their hide-outs their masks, stayed in their hide-outs their masks, stayed in their hide-outs was the old boss writ large. There were regulation and controls—was the old boss writ large. There was no essential change. We were a not seen the control of the c

has hitherto fought openly. Some have fought in a roundation way—by collaborating with Badodio in Italy, with King George in Greece. I have been a considerable to the control of the cont

redictions:

Comrades, the time for doubte and hesitations is past. Those who waited for the war to bring about a recolorion must now repeat their mistake. The time was the properties of the past to be no revolution—just yet. But from this moment we move into active resistance. Movement is now here. It Endiand, and we, after of necessary, the properties of the propertie

them to continue the high by our side.

That fight will not be condusted in the hills or on the beaches or in any such romantic please—it will be carried into the streets and docks, into our continue to the street with the carried into the streets and docks, into our weapons are words, and all we need for success. "everywhere in the world." That is the first of the four freedoms, but what cynical mockety is this which in the moment of victory is this which in the moment of victory is this which in the moment of victory in this which in the moment of victory is this which in the moment of victory in this which in the moment of victory of the world." That is the first of the four freedoms, but we shall not suffer their persecution. We do not challenge than the carries of that free way like that is a natural, any triff that way like that is a natural, any triff that

is just. But we stand from in socreting in this country have fought for throughout the centruly have fought for throughout the centrules, and we challenge that State which, with arbitrary of the standard of the standard should be supported by the standard of the standard should be supported by the support of the standard should be supported by the standard should be supported by the s

We could give our comrades many inspiring words to remember as they stand in the dook next week, but most stand in the dook next week, but most those words which an American those words which an American jury during the last war, when he was steing a similar charge. That Quaker's facing a windler charge. That we would not be a similar to the country of the country

at occasion:

"Gentlemen of the Jury, I am accused of having obstructed the accused of having obstructed the accused with the control of the

arrivance wants to be branded a prion cell. As ord my days in a prion cell. As a prion cell. What you will do to me does not what you will do to me does not benigs, and I made up my mind that I was not one whit better than the meanest of cent. I said thes, and I made a criminal clement. I am of it while there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

Like Engene Debs, our four con-rades have dared to stand from in the cause of humanity. What they have cause of humanity. What they have cause of humanity. What they have have said and will contain the con-putation of the con-tain the contained of the con-putation of the con-tained of the con-come, we shall not fail them. If the four are imprisoned, forty will see come, we shall not fail them. If the four are imprisoned, forty will see heart in the contained of the con-tained the contained of the con-tained the contained of the con-tained of the con-tained the contained of the con-tained of the con-tai

Trial Date Fixed for April 23rd

Attorney General to lead

Attorney General to lead prosecution
THE trial of the four sanchies, Manched Servenon Richards, Marched Servenon Richards, Marched Servenon Serveno the importance the Government attach to this as a test case in their attempt to suppress the freedom of speech and writing. The solicitors for the defence are Smithdale, Rutledge & Co., who conducted the defence in the previous hearing and defended the four Trotskyists in the Newcastle strike case.

It is hoped that as many comrades as possible will attend the hearings, which may last for several days, in order to show their solidarity with the four comrades who are standing their trial.

FRENCH POLITICAL POLICE CHIEF CONDEMNED

CHIEF CONDEMNED

Lacian Rotte, Director-General of the
Investigation Department of the French
Scotland Yard, chief of the Paris Special
Beanch, was condemned to death by the
Parge Court to n 1th Agril. In evidence
members of the Resistance movement described torrures carried out by the political
police in order to secure information about
anti-Fascista study.

crose increase tarriers out by the pointees and "Fascist activity.

Throughout the war, the police of various constraints are down that readines in the constraints are down that readines in with any question of justice, or any anti-fractic conviction. In Prancy, for instance, with any question of justice, or any anti-fractic conviction. In Prancy, for instance, and now the Allies. Under all of them, their chief concern has been to cruth the chief concern has

GLASGOW FREEDOM DEFENCE COMMITTEE 23, Wilson Street, Glasgow

important meeting is being held at important moeting is being held at imo Cinema on Sunday, 22nd April, im. Help to make it a success by a your friends and workmates along!

Sponsors of the Committee now contribute a widely representative list of prominent individuals

"Our Comrades go to trial as our Representatives"

NOW IS THE TIME TO SUPPORT DEFENCE FUND

WAR COMMENTARY-FOR ANARCHISM, 21st AFRICA, 1748

A Plague on both your Houses!



WHAT ABOUT THE WORKING CLASS ?

THAT politicians are just place hunters is frequently pointed out by Anarchists, and demonstrated by the politicians themselves. They may give the appearance of being a "happy family" during wartime, when the propaganda to be served up to the workers demands an appearance of "national unity"; but the minute the war seems likely to end, and a general election is in sight, one finds an ugly campaign of backchat and credit-seeking breaking out. Why? Because a General election is like musical chairs; when the music stops everyone has to try and get a seat, and there aren't enough seats for everyone. So the devil takes the hindmost, few things being so depressing as a politician out of office, compelled to fall back on such devices as writing his Memoirs!

War Commentary has unfailingly pointed out, whenever the Labour Party leaders in the Cabinet have lent themselves to some particularly servile piece of dirty work against the workers on behalf of the Tories,

that they needn't expect any gratitude. In politics there's no such word. When the Tories have used the Labour leaders to get to the top of the ladder, they will turn round and kick them in the teeth. This is what is already beginning to happen-for example, in the exchange of pleasantries recently between Brendan Bracken and Ernest Bevin. So important did the Evening Standard consider this little skirmish that it placed it in headlines on its front page, to take precedence over even such events as the Allied advance into Germany.

The ground they chose to have their battle on is interesting. Bevin accused the Tories of having got in at the last election -1935-on a disarmament ticket, and then immediately repudiating it. He accused them, quite rightly, of having pursued a policy of appeasement with the dictators. The Tories cannot deny the charge, so Brendan Bracken, Conservative mouthpiece, replies in classical political vein, "what about you?" The Labour Party op-

posed re-armament, and discounted the likelihood of war. And any way, Trade Union leaders are monopolists too. Two blacks make a white for purposes of fooling the working class during the war; but when an election is in the offing the pot must denounce the kettle. Both sections in that uneasy partnership of political parties, who both want undivided power (and the jobs that go with it) are anxious to claim that they were all-wise, all-seeing, etc. enough to expect the war and take all the necessary measures of preparation; that when war came, but for them (whichever they are), the war would have been lost, and so on and so on. Trying to fool all of the people all the time.

What About Fighting Fascism?

Hatred for Hitler, revulsion from the crimes of Nazism, undivided support for anti-Fascist forces abroad; our leaders always were animated by these noble motives -if we were to believe what they say now.

to tell. The Conservatives supported Hitler and Mussolini, belped them to achieve power, helped them to retain power by granting loans at critical moments, and by winking at their multiple aggressions. And not Hitler and Mussolini only, but a bost of lesser dictators as well, not to mention Sir John Simon's and Mr. Amery's work of propaganda on behalf of the Japanese, or the more or less open recognition of General Franco. The Labour Party bleated about "collective security"-as if such were possible in the jungle which is capitalist com-

as if this were not an instrument to serve British and French Imperialism. What did their anti-Fascism amount to, when they supported Leon Blum's Non-Intervention betrayal on the grounds that to send arms to Spulse to Spain would "precipitate war"? And when it became clear that Hitler and Musselini solini were openly and deliberately using Spain as a tearing out ground for their armed forces, and ensuring positions for use during the coming war did the Labour Party change their attitude then? No. (continued on p. 4)

Beware of the To The Editor:

"War Commentary—For Anarchism"
Let ms tell you the way it is with me Ed. Then Phoney
you will see that Life can be easy and Life can

He next

be hard. It all depends whether you are up there or down here. Five years ago I should have said Up here or down there but that was five years

Since then there has been button-polishing. marching there and back loading and unloading, writing, checking all the gerunds you can possibly think of, and now I'm down here.

It's been for nothing too. Except to fetch me down from up there down here. I never thought, never imagined That would have done this to me -humility and markness. But it did.

You see Ed I used to be a snob. I was young. I believed You are you and I am I and somehow or other we deserve the same treatment, Equality of Opportunity they called it-the Socialists mean. But I was a snob just the same. And a middle-class snob which is worse less justified. We believed, us, bank-clerk, student, civil servant, that they, them, factory-worker, bricklayer, farm-labourer were unfortunate, could not believe in the solidarity of the workers. As far as we bethe solidarity of the workers. As far as we be-lieved at all that is: more often we didn't believe anything at all. You see Ed, we were snobs and all was right with our world. Fine. Until the wer. Then there was a great noise and out of all the clamour we remember hearing words like Volunteer, Duty, National Service. May-

be there was something inside of me saying Beware. Beware of the Phoney. It is there all around you and you can't always see it, but you must feel it, you must, you must, however strong the opposite magnet. The opposite magnet is a Phoney and you must beware. Inside of me there was something and it said to me Beware of the

Phoney.

I had to stand in front of 5 gentlemen, and tell them about this Phoney. But that wasn't so easy. The When it came to words it wasn't so easy. The Phoney was something you felt not something you talked about, and talking about the Phoney was meaningless. Also it got you nowhere. So these 5 gentlemen said to me: All this talk of yours (they said); it's only what we think really, so why should you be a special case. They were right I'm sure. Let me give them the credit for being right. I'm sure they thought the same. But they didn't feel, I know they didn't feel, because if

have sent me to my death. I died Ed, a mean and horrible death. That opposite magnet was too strong for me and I was cought between its arms, its horrible inhuman phoney arms. But don't get me quite wrong, phoney arms. But don't get me quite wrong, i was cought, yet I struggled, am struggling, shall struggle. Struggling you see with death. Life after death? Well, that's no new idea.

Funny thing about new ideas, Ed. they don't seem like new ideas but just as if you had known about them all the time and were waiting for sameone, something to some and make you shout out: Oh yes, of course, that's the way it is.

That's the way it was with me and you. Ed. With me and your idea I mean. Your idea about no government and workers being free and everything rosy. Your idea about Anarchism. It came upon me and there I was thinking: That is what have telt all along; although I didn't think it I know that's what I meant when I said to the 5 gentlemen: Your war is a Phoney. That's what I meant all the time.

Only I didn't understand about Power. Not then. But now after 5 years of marching and singing and sighing and dying and all the other gerunds, I do know about it. I know that Power is not safe, not for you and me, Ed. I know that meekness and humility only are strong, that Power destroys its own strength. I know that the world was top-heavy with its Power, hes fallen from its overch and crarked. perch and cracked.

The cracks are not deep and will be filled in-that's what I fael. The Phoney will come along and talk blah, blah, blah, and the cracks will be filled in. Just like that. But that way it won't hold together, not that way. You and I, Ed, we've got to stop them coming along, and talking and filling in the cracks. Yes we've got to stop the office together and empty quarantees and glib, slick tongues and empty guarantees and blind faith and belief in Phoneys. Up to there

blind faith and belief in Phoneys. Up to there I'm with you; the Phoneys must be shown. But at Revolution Corner I get off. I get off not because I'm afraid of the crash but because I think you'll find you're only going round in a circle. The scenery will become monotonous.

Maybe it's the snob in me. Maybe I haven't weighed up the workers. Maybe I'm wrong but I don't think I'm more than 50 per cent. wrong. You might may: The workers are not e stupid set of dullards. They know what they want and they are going on strike until they get it. If necessary they are going to fight until they get it. Sure that's fine if they know what they want. But do they know? Did the Russians know? Or if they did know why didn't they get it? What went wrong?

I write to friends Ed-critics, socialists not snobs you understand, but humanists. What do they say? Oh yes, they say, it's all right, it's fine this anarchism, it's logic and so on but there's one thing you're overlooking—you can't change Human Nature. But they are wrong there. You can change Human Nature. You have, meaning one has. One has seen Human Nature change from horrified reluctance to callous indifference all in 5 years. And that only shows one change. Oh yes, you can change human nature all right.

So now we'll ask again. What went wrong? What made the Russians go round in a circle, miss the direction? They didn't change Human Nature. And that you must do first. It's no good going on strike against corruption, beginning a revolution, coming out afterwards with blood on your hands. By aping your enemy you debase, corrupt yourself. No that's no good. Because you're in for the same familiar landscape all over again. Blood and money. Money and Power.
Your anarchism, Ed, just think about it. It's a

complete way of life and it doesn't ever include blood and Power and men becoming savages. With your brain justify murder, killing, violence-yes perhaps, but always with your heart feel the wrongness the immorality. Don't just look at ends. Means are important too. Ends and Means. Means and Ends. And Means to such basically humane Ends must be basically humans. Humanist Pacifist. Non-Violent.

In other words Anarchism equals Pacifism? Yes, I think so-more ar less. Militant Pacifism call it pacifism with a kick. Anyway without a kick,

Life stops being Living, stops being artistic.

Now do you see what I meant Ed by: Life can be easy and Life can be hard. Before the catalog and the catalog and the catalog and motor-trips. clysm Life was easy with gaiety and motor-trips and then in a flash life became hard and the world's troubles became our troubles. It needn't have been so but conscience or feeling or sensi-bility said it should be so. And now life will always be hard; but it will be vital. Therefore creative, artistic.

Also one hopes it will be humanist. This isn't a quarrel with you, merely a statement of doubt, that is a shared doubt. What we want to say is: Look before you leap. Look, in other words, for the real Change of Heart before you go the way of Russia. Live your anarchism as means and end. Show your way to be the right way. The only right way. Change of shape of the world's heart to the shape of your heart. Difficult because some are shaped like swastikas and others like hammers and sickles, some like eagles and others like un corns. Some unfortunately are made of stone, but many you will find to be plastic. These you must find, teach, send out in the strange places, as Confucius taught and Christ sent out his

You believe in Anarchism, Ed. You believe in good. Therefore you believe in Good. You're religious, and so you must respect the spirit of the lesson of Christ, Confucius. You owe it to your disciples. Also to everybody. On't slip up because you have a new Way of Life to offer the world.

FROM DON LEWIS DYER : HEAGE DERBYSHIRE : 6/3/45.

ECHNOC

COAL MINING. REPORT OF THE TECHNICAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE. H.M.S.O. 1/-.

THE coal industry is, in several ways, the key industry of capitalism. It furnished the basic raw material on which capitalist industry was enabled to grow up in the industrial revolution, and still, even in these days of increasing electrification of industry, provides either directly or indirectly the principal motive power of almost every factory as well as the means of heating or lighting, in the form of gas, electricity or coal itself, almost every house in the country. It provides power for the greater part of our transport facilities, and is the most important raw material of many industries, including plastics, dyes, fuel oil, and a

number of important ersatz products. For these reasons it was also the first industry to react in widespread dereliction to the various crises inherent in the nature of a capitalism which has expanded bey of its markets. This resulted in an element of uncertainty in the coal industry which led the capitalists to make sure of their money by spending as little as they could in modernising capital equipment and methods of working, and thus coal mining has become the classic industry to illustrate the tendency of capitalism to hinder the course of scientific and empirical improvements and deliberately to neglect inventions which make for safer or less laborious production, on the ground that they will interfere with immediate profits. Lastly, partly because of the factors already mentioned, and partly because of the particularly brutal forms of exploitation used by the coal owners in an industry which they knew no man would enter if he could find a better, the struggle between the employers and the workers has assumed a fiercer, more open and more sustained nature than in any other industry in the country—to such an extent that a dispute in the coal industry led to the great General Strike of 1926, which shook the foundations of British capitalism and gave the Labour leaders the opportunity for their first great betrayal of the working class,

Coal, therefore, is bound up intimately with the whole economic and social structure of modern society, and until some form of power is evolved or utilised in this country which will obviate the need for mining it, any kind of society that can be envisaged will be concerned with the methods of its production and the effect which it will have on other industries

and on the social pattern in general.

Therefore, it is significant, but not surprising, that at a time when the structure of capitalism appears to be changing its character from private enterprise to something approaching the technocratic managerialism envisaged by Burnham, we should be presented by an elaborate and government-sponsored report a group of technicians on the present conditions and desir able changes in the coal industry.

The result is a remarkable document, in which we find men who are at present executive officials in some of the largest collieries, sitting in technical judgment on the coal industry and condemning it without reservation. The contradiction is made all the more extreme, because the signatories do not seem to realise, or do not wish to realise, that the defects in mining are the results of capitalist organisation, and that any rationalisations they propose to carry out will be of an efficacy strictly limited in relation to the fluctuating standards of capitalist

THE TECHNICIAN'S PART

Nevertheless, the criticisms are, in most cases, intrinsically valid, and, where purely technical matters are concerned, the recommendations seem usually to be sound. Industrial techni-cians are, of course, subject to necessary limitations of outlook Technicians have a function in industry; considered objectively, they are workers who can make a sound theoretical contribution to production, and whose specialised scientific knowledge is necessary in any form of work which has become more complex than ordinary handicrafts. Unfortunately, the tendency in modern industry is for the technicians to detach themselves from the other workers and to assume executive functions, to become a necessary part of the managerial power group which reproduces in each place of work the characteristic hierarchy the modern economic and political institution. As the tendency towards managerialism increases, this detachment of the technician will also increase, and his connection with executive power will become stronger. The technician is thus dangerous when he is cut off from the workers, because his technical knowledge makes him of peculiar value to the capitalists and managers for the achievement of their own purposes. Under these conditions the technician naturally seeks to increase his own power and indispensibility by keeping the workers ignorant of the theoretical and scientific basis of the work in which they are engaged, by reducing their functions to detached mechanical processes and keeping in his own hand the co-ordination of these This process is, in the long run, detrimental single functions. to industry, because the technician himself becomes detached from the practical functions of the industry in which he is and from the empirical brought into alliance with scientific theory by all the great inventors of the past. Thus, it is common to encounter young engineers, bred in university and drawing office experience, whose theoretical knowledge has been excellent, but whose schemes in practice have often revealed the kind of faults which would have been obvious to any worker who had a lengthy practical experience of the functioning of his industry.

These limitations, however, hardly effect the technical sections of the report under review, which are based on the collection of statistics and practical experience from the coal industries of various parts of the world, and whose evidence, probably in spite of the natural prejudices of the reporters, results in a tremendous indictment of the British coal mining industry, which, in comparison with similar continental mining in Holland and the Ruhr, is wastefully out-of-date in its methods, and, while providing worse conditions for the miners, results in a man-shift production of coal of 231 cwts. as against 36 cwts. in Holland under similar conditions of mining but modernised equipment and better working conditions. The backward nature of the British coal industry is further illustrated by the fact that while between 1925 and 1936 the man-shift production of coal increased in Holland by 118 per cent., in England it increased only by 14 per cent.

In order to improve the coal industry the committee recommends widespreading changes, and where there are merely technical they are to be approved almost unreservedly. The mechanisation of coal getting, loading and underground transport, the replanning of underground communications to facilitate transport, the electrification of mines wherever this is possible, are all excellent things in themselves. But they are wholly good in a social sense only if they do not result in a worsening of conditions for the miners. Here we have to consider two aspects

MINING IN FREEDOM

What is the attitude we should adopt to mining as it might be in a free society? Mining is a dangerous and irksome em-ployment, and the first object of the members of a free society would be to reduce such employments to the minimum. In such circumstances we should endeavour as far as is possible to eliminate the need for the use of coal. It could be greatly reduced by the use of other forms of power, such as water, wind and tide power for the making of electricity. As for the various industrial raw materials which come from coal, it would be desirable to substitute these as far as possible by materials gained by some less unpleasant process. If they could not all be obtained without the use of coal, then it would be the duty of the members of society to consider whether such materials were indispensible, whether it would not be better to carry out some simplification of living in order to climinate the need for materials gained by dangerous or unhealthy processes. If for materials gained by dangerous or unhealthy processes. If it were found that the need for a certain amount of coal mining existed, then it should be performed in such a way is to involve the least possible heavy labour, and for this process improvements of the kind suggested by the report would be a mere commencement. In such a society the reduction in the amount of labour used would not result in unemployment—which makes the mechanical device such a bogy to workers under capitalism -because each man would receive goods not according to his labour but according to his needs, and the greatly reduced amount of labour would be so divided as to provide leisure for

"IMPROVEMENTS" UNDER CAPITALISM

In a capitalist society, however, the position is not so simple. The introduction of mechanical devices in the pits is certain to result in a recurrence of unemployment among miners, because it is not at all likely that the consumption of coal will increase in this country after the war, and rationalisation will mean a higher individual output and thus fewer men. This will result in a recurrence of the situation that existed before the present war. There will be a great pool of mine labour from which the owners will be able to take their pick, and on whom they will be able to impose their own conditions. On the other hand the decrease in purchasing power among the workers will contribute in producing the next cycle of capitalist crisis, and thus play its part in creating the conditions in which it would be necessary for the country to go to war again in order to save the ruling class from its economic dilemma.

These facts are realised, at least in part, by the technicians, who suggest a number of palliatives to decrease possible unemployment. It will be noticed that the principal of these, the insisting on the training of young men until a much later age than at present before they are allowed to go underground will be to the advantage of the owners by providing more efficient workers, and will result ironically, in a further reduction in the labour requirements. They realise also, that the situation will increase their own power, and for this reason they are insisting on a substantial change in the relationship between the owners and the workers, deftly trying to shift some of the blame for the state of the coal industry on to the miners for their independence and demanding 'proper discipline' in the mines, without which, they assert, there 'can be no real efficiency, particularly in a highly mechanised industry.' They go to to say, 'There must be trade union discipline as well. The lightning strike must not take place if there is to be any chance of true and lasting unity and co-operation between management and mineworkers. The kind of unity these technicians obviously envisage is that between the slave and his master, the efficiency they desire is that inadequate form produced by fear, which is the principal element in all external discipline. The fact that they look to the trade unions to help them in setting up their industrial dictatorship is significant and not unexpected, in view of the treacherous actions of the union leaders during recent disputes in the coalfields.

The changing of conditions in any industry under capitalism is at best a partial improvement which will always result in some compensating disadvantage. Permanent benefit to the community will only come from improvements which are the result of a balanced social outlook, and which spring up in a society where men's actions are not restricted by conceptions based on the profits of certain individuals. This report speaks of the 'curious and ancient' customs to which miners adhere in their own protection. It would be more appropriate to point out that the great fault of the opinions of the technicians who prepared this report is that they are bounded by a reverence for the curious and ancient' custom of capitalism, whose existence will make all their efforts turn like the Dead Sea Fruit into additional factors in the misery of the workers...Only when the mines are owned and, where it is necessary that they should continue, operated freely by the mine workers in the interests of the community, will any improvements yield their full potential benefit.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

The Principles at Stake

(Restricted from Common Wealth I eview, April 1945)

VERNON RICHARDS, Marie Louise VERNON RICHARDS, Barrier Bourse

Richards, John Hewetson and Philip

Sansom have now appeared twice before a

magistrate at Marylebone on a charge of magistrate at Minister of documents, being in possession or control of documents, the dissemination of which would be likely to the dissemination of which would be likely to cause disaffection among persons in the Services." They have been remanded on bail They have been remanded on bail and will appear for trail at the Old Bailey.

It is impossible—and needless—at this stage to discuss the facts of this case. It is also irrelevant to consider the views expressed by the accused and others through War Commentary and other publications of the Freedom Press. The issue immediately confronting the public is whether such prosecutions are desirable, and whether (if not) vigorous political pressure is not immediately necessary

to put a stop to the proceedings.

The legal machinery already exists in this country by which the Government could easily stifle all opposition altogether. The fact that opposition voices can still be heard at all is therefore due to the very restricted use, so far, of the enormous powers entrusted to the Home Office. This may be attributed by some to the good sense and tolerance of Mr. Morrison and his colleagues; but if so it is time we realised that good sense and tolerance in dictators are no substitutes for constitutional safeguards and public vigilance. However, a more probable explanation of the economical so far-of emergency powers is probably to be found in the fear which their own weapons must inspire in our fledging bureaucrats. If they hesitate to use them on a large scale, it is surely for fear that the public might suddenly become aware of the menace presented by such powers.

The Freedom Press prosecution may there-

fore be regarded as a test case, not merely of certain legalistic points, but of the gullibility of the British public. Should it pass without widespread protest against the whole principle involved in such prosecutions the way will be clear for the Government to make further and wider applications of its powers to suppress opinion and to imprison its political opponents.

The danger is particularly clear—as the present prosecution shows-in the case of the Forces. Serving officers may stand as candidates for Parliament (though they are liable to find obstacles in their way if they are not supporters of the Government). They may—as Sir Henry Wilson and other high officers made very clear in 1914, with regard to Ulster-exercise their right as eitizens to refuse service to a Government whose policy they oppose. Indeed, where the interests of the Conservatives has been concerned they have been prepared to carry the claims of conscience even further, as Lord Birkenhead explained in the Observer (March 29th, 1941)—once more with Ulster

in mind. "There never had been a case in history," he said, "in which civil war had developed in which not only the officers but the rank and file of the army had claimed their right to form their view as citizens on the issue presented to t'em."

This was in justification of mutiny-from the Right. And should the Conservative Party ever again be in the unfortunate position of opposing a British Government on any vital issue we may be sure that Sir Henry Wilson and the Army chiefs of 1914 will find their imitators. But with the Tories firmly in the saddle we hear nothing of the right of soldiers to form their views, unless they are to be views approved by the Tory Government and its Lib.-Lab. hostages.

Instead there is every sign of terror at the prospect of a political awakening in the Services; and the prosecution of the Freedom Press may be reasonably regarded as a try-out in the use of emergency legislation to crush

political opposition. It will be interesting to observe the attitude to-day of the National Council for Civil Liberties, which so vigorously opposed the Ineitement to Disaffection Bill, before it became law; for the principles involved in this case are precisely the same as those opposed by the Council at that time. Equally interesting to note the reactions of the Communist Party, and compare them with-for instance-the campaign they waged at the time of the Campbell case or of the Meerut trial for "Conspiracy." But cynical reflections on the defection of past champions will not absolve us from the responsibility to fight here and now on this issue, which deeply concerns the free-

Successful prosecutions of this type would mean much more than the victimisation of a few people for expressing their opinions, even though the actual number of prosecutions might be small. We have already seen the effect of the Emergency Regulations in intimidating publishers, editors and printers. Fear of prosecution has made them, in many instances, so cautious that they have probably exercised a censorship much more strict and more narrow than the Government itself would have dared to exert openly. And that is the purpose of all such prosecutions. Without even the necessity for a widespread application of the law, a few well-chosen trials of this kind can rapidly create an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty, in which the unofficial censorship of those who control paper and news-print will become rapidly worse, the Government's object being achieved with very

little coercion apparently used. A Defence Committee has been formed. Further information can be obtained from the committee's office at 17, St. George's Street, Hanover Square, London, W.1.

POLITICAL CENSORSHIP TICKETS OF HISTORY

Roosevelt and the Principle of Leadership

Franklin D. Roosevelt's opponents at the last Election insisted on the fact that electors weren't choosing between Dewey and Roosevelt but between Dewey and Truman, but F.D.R. wanted to hang on to power to the last. Four months after Election he died.

The Press might have spared us the build-up Truman, who "never wanted to be Vice-sident". There was a struggle between Wallace and himself as to who should occupy the seat next to the throne and Truman was very definitely selected behind the scenes as a prospective President. The Press-here at any rate -and Parliament as well, prepared for F.D.R.'s death by having had a dress rehearsal when Lloyd George passed on, when with singularly bad taste they mourned over the loss of a man of 80 in the fulness of his years, though thousands upon thousands had for so long been butchered in youth and manhood for a war in which a man who had held power at such a crucial time as Lloyd George must be held at least partly responsible. Parliament had had so many voluble mourners from all Parties over Ll. G. that when it came to F.D.R. the stagemanagers had it all organised-only one would

Privileged Position

Without wading through the eulogies of F.D.R. one cannot help pointing out he had everything he had ever wanted-power, glory, wealth, family, and a reserved place in historyand he was not young, he was at the height of his career. (Field-Marshal Smuts rather wistfully envied him choosing such a convenient moment to die).

These politicians make war their stalking-horse. F.D.R. would never have got a fourth term without the war danger. Churchill would still be a nonentity as he was between 1927 and 1939 had it not been been for the war, in which he was able to get back into the limelight from

which other politicians had ousted him. It is beyond their power to make wars for that reason, but they make good use of them, and as far as we can see have no stone to throw at the blackmarketeers. During war they enhance their reputation by being the national leader. Before the war one could criticise Churchill and the average person would just say, "These politi-cians". Now the answer is "Well, anyway, say what you like about him, but he set foot on German soil which is more than Hitler did If you try and explain that a few million others had to brave the way for him to step on German soil, you're taken to be pro-Hitler. national leader thus gets all the glory. (Mr. Bevin, having helped to create the Churchill myth as the easiest way of leadership, now realises he has to tone it down a bit and points out "This is not a one-man war". True. Why not have said it before?) Some old folk still think Queen Victoria won the Crimean and Boer

Actually, "great vien are only the tickets of history" as Tolstoy said. Certainly they make a difference to some extent, but they are caught in the inevitable web of economic conditions and State power once they get in power. Hitler tried to force things the way he wanted-a "union of the Aryan races against Judaism and Bolshevism". At one time he was in alliance with the Bolsheviks, and his racial theory is quite shattered by events (partnership with Italians and Japanese against Danes, Norwegians, etc.). He could only fall into the traditional policy of German imperialism, and even if he hadn't been a Nazi he would have had to have done so. That policy-the march to the East-overtaxed his resources and led to his

Build Up by Publicity Campaign

In the same way the President of the U.S.A. was no stronger than his economic environment and all this "Great Man" talk is so much sloppiness. The leaders of political life build them selves up by a publicity campaign, both direct and by insinuation. For instance,-"The Big This term originally was taken to mean Britain, Russia and America (or is the order wrong?) It was gradually popularly inverted to mean Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, by a definite sponsored move—captions of "The Big Three in Conference" (pictures of the Big Three's representatives) until it was accepted as normal that it meant the three rulers. (Incidentally, this may have been all right for Franklin I. and Joseph II. but Winston I. as an ardent monarchist when it comes to putting European kings back on their thrones, might have had some consideration for his sovereign's feelings in the matter). We let statements like this pass, and an inferiority complex is engendered in the masses. It ought to be remembered: "The great are only great because we are on our knees". When we stand up they are little, frightened men. Now one reads—and reads so often one comes to believe it (I counted in the eulogies I read on F.D.R.'s death alone a dozen references to this) that the "Big Three" were "three strong men". What nonsense when one comes to think of it-two of them in their sixties and one in his seventies. In addition, all are often referred to as "warriors". They belong in fact strictly to the "let you and him fight" school—F.D.R. spent the last war in a safe Government position and took no part in previous wars. (His affliction was not tracted until 1921). Churchill was in the Government in this and the last war, and an ordent supporter at a distance of the Russian Civil War on the White side. He was a war correspondent in the Boer War, but as a very young man was, we believe, a subaltern in the Zulu War. Stalin was opposed to the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 and the Great War of 1914; however, he took no active part in the Civil War though (or should we say because) a member of the BolStrong Men Myth

None of them are strong physically (we refrain from stooping to the level of Nazi propagandists jeering at Roosevelt's infantile paralysis or Allied propagandists jeering at Goebbels club-foot, having apparently nothing else to disagree with him about). Stalin has recourse to the trick-photography trick of adding inches to his height, as did Mussolini, while Roosevelt answered the "smear campaign against his health" ("neutral commentators") by parading a few months ago in an open car in the pouring rain, at Election time, just as Musso, used to jump over vaulting-horses of bayonets and cry journalists "Am I feeble? Am I sick?" Churchill has a better angle than exhibitionism -he lets you know his drawbacks but boosts them as virtues. The same people who look askance at the profiteer with his fat cigar and war ribbon in his button-hole think it very stimulating to see Churchill with his fat cigar and various types of uniform.

These men are strong, but not physically and certainly not mentally—they are strong because they have the power to give other people commands. We the people who carry out the commands give them the power in the last instance ad we ought not to forget it. Instead of letting them "parade on our chest like monkeys" we ought to assert our dignity at last, as a prerequisite to asserting our rights to the fruits of our labour, and not bow down to leadership.

Mourning by Order

A Royal demise, or the death of a politician in his old age, gets plenty of publicity. They plunge the nation into gloom by closing the places of entertainment, as in 1936, and then say how loyal we are for not going to the pictures when the gates are locked. When the common people are butchered, then we get cheerful music and are told, "We can take it", the manufacturers of which slogan forgot to add, "As long as we don't get it"

Mrs. Roosevelt was delicate enough to point out it wasn't a personal tragedy but a tragedy for the peoples. "Do you think Truman will be a second Roosevelt?" asks the patrioteer anxiously. Just wait till he gets the publicity boys going a bit, and he'll be a second Jesus Christ, never mind a second Roosevelt. People like Eden, Assheton, Attlee or whoever it will be here, Truman in the U.S.A., Molotov or Kalinin in Russia, may be small-fry now beside the "Big Three" whom the history-books will blandly tell us "won the war". Just wait a few years until they're established and see what big shots they are boosted up to be once they're in power.

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29th APRII Questions & Answers on Anarchism Mat Kavanagh, Ronald Avery, Jack Wade and others will answer questions

Discussion on Germany's Future: Bradford Trades Council

(From a Correspondent)

On Thursday, March 22nd, 1945, the March meeting of the Bradford Trades Council took place in the Textile Hall, Bradford.

The only resolution to be put before the Council during that meeting was proposed by Fred Rooum, of the National Union of Sheet Metal Workers and Braziers. It was:-

That this Trades Council urges our national Leaders, and those of our Allies not to expend time and energy in defining and punishing those responsible for the war, but rather to devote their resources entirely to the rehabilitation of the distressed, and to the prevention of future wars.

This is a rather unusual resolution to go before a Trades Council, but even more unusual was

A British major went shopping for Queen

Wilhelmina during her recent visit to parts of

shops but could not find a pair suitable for the

Eventually, he went to an officers' shop where

They did not fit, and a message had to be sent

There was an extraordinary fade-out to the

After Mr. Sandys sat down Mr. Craven-Ellis

(Nat., Southampton) spoke for fifty-three

At one time during his speech there was no member present in the House apart from Miss

Horsbrugh, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Health, two Government whips and a Labour

cial Secretary to the Treasury, and one Conservative member, Commander Prior.

They were later joined by Mr. Peake, Finan-

Mr. Craven-Ellis continued undaunted, a

Daily Mirror, 24/3/45.

lonely-looking figure amid the rows of empty benches. Then he finished and at 6.39 they

he bought a pair of officer's leather gloves which were handed to the Queen.

to a shop in Brussels for a pair to be forwarded.

Evening Standard, April 1945.

NO FINES FOR THEM

DUTCH HEROINE

liberated Holland.

housing debate.

minutes.

the fact that Fred, whose idea was mainly the non-punishment of German workers, quoted extensively from War Commentary for Anarchism, of February 24th, 1945. He pointed out as did War Commentary, that "Workers all over the world must realize that wherever poor wages are paid, they help to lower wages everywhere" and also indicated, that environment-maddened Nazi leaders and Gestapo men should be killed, where necessary, not with the idea of punishment, but with the idea of self-protection, which

one has when killing a rat or a disease-germ.

Needless to say, Fred was violently opposed by his fellow Trade Unionists, particularly by Albert Wallis of the Electrical Trades Union, a Communist who admits nothing bad in what he believes to be a good thing, and nothing good in what he believes to be bad. To use a wellworked metaphor, Wallis, like the Daily Worker and the Daily Mail, calls every grey either black or white, thus having to deal with only two shades instead of an infinite number, which he finds easier on his brain, if less accurate. Wallis, opposing Rooum, spoke vaguely and some-what irrelevantly of "a farmer down south somewhere" called Gough, although he didn't mention his name, making the surprising statement that "if we let Germay off, we shall have to let

Fred, replying, said that he could see from the speeches that his resolution would not be carried, but if the German workers were punished, it would not matter much, as it would mean merely that civilisation would take a few steps backward instead of forward, as it has done many times before. The resolution was quashed by an overwhelming majority, which shows how great was the feeling for their fellow representing the British workers, the Trades Council and the Communist Party.

Through the Press

His quest was a pair of gloves. The Queen's pair had become dirty and Major B. Hutchings, a London lawyer and the Queen's orderly officer "THE GOOD SOLDIER during the tour, was asked to buy another pair. The town was Tilburg. Because of the short-age of clothing in Holland, he toured many SCHWEIK" (1945)

This is a new angle on a "they-can't-put-me-in-gaol" story, reports A.P. from the French

Riviera. Col. Warren E. Pugh, Commanding Officer of the Riviera district, tells it. A repatriation of American prisoners-of-war was in progress at Casablanca, and military police were on guard at the dock, he says.

A soldier passed near two M.P.s standing at a gangplank, and muttered: "They couldn't make me go aboard that ship."

'What is that you say, Joe?" asked one M.P. The soldier stuck out his chin and said: "1 say you can't make me go on that ship."
"Sez you," replied the M.P. "If you're

supposed to go on that ship, you're going on it."

His fellow M.P. came to his aid and they pushed the man up the gangplank despite his "You'll get into trouble for this."

ship sailed. The soldier was marked AWOL in North Africa. He was picked up in New York, having

And to the M.P.s who picked him up he said, "I kept telling those two other M.P.s they would get into trouble if they forced me on to that ship." Star, 15/3/45.

MUTINY IN GERMAN FLEET?

tic Sea, has been under a news black-out. A report reaching the Sunday Dispatch last night was that this was caused by an attempted German naval mutiny in the three small ports on

Light units of the German Baltic Fleet Naval Command, evacuated from Pillau and Danzig, arrived at Bornholm, according to the report, and on hearing the news from the Western

So serious was the disorder that the Commander-in-Chief of the German Baltic Fleet had to leave the entire Baltic Sea submarine fleet in Danzig, where it has now fallen into the hands of the Russians. The fleet numbered 45

The mutinous crews belonged mainly to E-boat flotillas under training, who were to have been dispatched to Holland and the Frisian Islands in the North Sea.

LUFTWAFFE INTERVENES Formations of the Luftwaffe stationed at Swinemunde, the naval base north of Stettin, played a predominant part in suppressing the

Sunday Dispatch, 1/4/45.

THOSE HUNS!

The Werewolves' campaign has begun. We have captured documents instructing these fanatical Nazis how to sabotage and kill. They call for the placing of sugar in petrol

to burn out pistons, sand in oil tanks and tar in vehicles' greasepoints, and for the stretching of wires across roads to kill motor-cyclists. Daily Express, 5/4/45. This sounds strangely familiar, it reminds

one very much of an Home Guard instruction book.

INDUSTRIAL ACTION IN N. ITALY

Italian partisans and reports filtering through from the North suggest that strikes are frequent and workers are going slow. Workers in the Lancia car factory in Milan

struck as a protest against the shooting of a number of young partisans. The Fascist owner closed the factory and called in the Fascist armed guard, and hundreds

of Germans and armed Fascists searched the

Ferriere Fiat works for weapons, watched by jeering workers. The Speakers' Committee of National Liberation, guarded by armed partisans, have even addressed the striking workers in public.

Evening Standard, 28/3/45.

IT'S A WONDERFUL WAR

Some indication of the tremendous war-time effort of the Birmingham Small Arms Company was disclosed by Sir Barnard Docker, the chair-

At its peak the company reached an annual turnover of £42 millions, and for a long period its employees numbered 50,000.

Sir Barnard is very proud that Rommel preferred a Daimler Scout car as his personal transport in the Western Desert.

Daily Herald, 21/3/45.

LOOTING - AND NOT BY GERMANS

shevik Party.

Looting by American soldiers is almost an accepted practice, too seldom punished. Looting on a small scale happened in France when the Allies first landed. It is now happening openly and continuously in occupied Germany. A great deal of the loot is wantonly destroyed; much is sold; some given away. A friend who is just back from Germany gives me a vivid narrative of going up on an official job to a flattened town with American officers who, when they passed a hotel that had survived the blitz found themselves unable to resist the temptation of breaking in and filling up odd corners of the lorry with sheets, silver, and other useful articles. They were far from easy in their consciences. The disciplinary effects of tolerating this kind of thing are very bad. The effect in Europe as a whole if democratic soldiers behave like 17th century mercenaries must be to spread cynicism about the Allies and their intentions. Nor can we exclude the possibility that the Black Market, which in France is already so much organised and supplied by American troops, may reach dangerous dimensions in Germany. There will be lots of camouflaged Nazis, often racketeers, who will be only too delighted to play in with the less disciplined and irresponsible Allied

The New Statesman and Nation, 31/3/45.

be called the Medal Front. For the first time of a hero of the Soviet Union.

The Observer, 1/4/45.

DIPLOMATIC SUBTLETIES

Cases

Madrid, Sunday,-General Franco went in an American Chrysler car to to-day's celebration of his civil war victory. Last year he went in a German Mercedes-Benz.-Express News Service.

Tangier, Sunday.-For the first time since the Spanish occupation of Tangier in 1940 Allied representatives did not attend to-day's parade celebrating Franco's civil war victory. The recently appointed Belgian Minister turned up—but by mistake.—Express News Service. Daily Express, 2/4/45.

COMMENTARY ON HISTORY

Bing Crosby, after crooning a new gramaphone record on an average each fortnight for ten years (75,000,000 discs sold), has become the voice heard by more people than any voice in

Daily Express, 23/3/45.

We trust the lesson of the failure of Hitler and Churchill to attain this distinction will sink home to future generations.

WITHOUT COMMENT

In addition, there was the strain, particularly to a person of her somewhat excitable temperament, of twice hearing herself sentenced to death -once at the Old Bailey and again when her appeal was dismissed.

Since that time, a very pronounced religious trait has developed in her character and this, in view of all the circumstances, is one of the symptoms that is causing anxiety to the prison

Star, 24/3/45.

COMPULSORY AMUSEMENT

When, on an ATS training-ground, a play that had been a big West End success was staged, 300 of the girls were told to go by their officers. Resenting compulsory amusement they sat with their backs to the stage!

Hannen Swaffer in Daily Herald, 22/3/45.

The Public Morality Council (London) state in their annual report that of 43 new stage procould be commended.

MISGUIDED "MORALITY"

ductions seen, nine were open to criticism and 20 Most of the criticisms concerned exploiting

female nudity, it is stated. Many reports were made to the Lord Chamberlain and some of the most undesirable features were ended. "But the root problem of the exploitation of nudity still remains," the reports says.

"It would be difficult to exaggerate the harm which this type of entertainment causes to those who frequent the few theatres which specialise this direction-most patrons now being officers and other ranks of the Allied forces." Star, 24/3/45.

For over a week the new German naval base on the Danish island of Bornholm, in the Bal-

battlefront showed signs of mutiny.

man, in Birmingham yesterday.

MOSCOW'S MEDAL FRONT There have also been additions to what might

since the revolution, "star" graduates of this summer's Matriculation examinations will receive a golden medal, the percentage of gold being the same as that used in the decoration

ONCE upon a time there was a young fellow who was very clever at mending aeroplane and motor car engines and had worked on them for a number of years, so they decided to call

him up.

Well, when he went for his medical, he was foolish enough to tell them what a lot he knew about engines, so they decided to put him in the Army instead of the R.A.F.; and he was made into a soldier. Once in the Army, however, he became a serious problem for the higher-ups, because they found out that he knew something about cooking as well as engineering, and they had a very difficult job to decide whether to put him into the Medical Corps or the Infantry, since these were the only jobs they could think of in which they were sure he would be unhappy. You see, the Army had to keep to its traditions of putting men where they are least suited, so after long discussions among the brasshats, they put him in the Infantry, and poor Private Conscript found himself marching up and down to orders and doing all sorts of useless silly things that were designed to crush his individuality and give him a fear of authority.

It came to pass that one fine day before

It came to pass that one fine day before Private Conscript's brain had gone quite stag-nant, he got an idea, which of course is quite the wrong sort of thing for a soldier to get, and he decided to ask what the war was all about.

"Please Corporal," he said, "can you tell me why we are fighting this war?"

"Don't be daft!" said the Corporal, "every-one knows we've got to fight, so get on with polishing your brasses. Remember you nearly got on a charge last week for not polishing the back of one of your buttons!"

"Please Sergeant," said Private Conscript standing stiffly to attention with all his brasses shining two hours later, "can you tell me why we are fighting this war?"

"What!" yelled the Sergeant Major. "Wants to know why we are fighting the war, does he? Put him on a charge for insubordination—asking

A FOOLISH ODBS/11ON

"You are charged," said the Company Com-mander next day, "with insubordination. You have heard the evidence. Have you anything to

"Yes Sir," said Private Conscript. "I only wanted to know what we are fighting the war

"You want to know why we are fighting the war, do you?" said the Company Commander trying to be sympathetic. "But surely you know we are fighting for freedom!"

"What freedom, Sir?" asked Private Con-

"Er . . . hum . . . er . . . "Case dismissed," said the Company Commander all bothered.

"Right Turn, Quick March, left-right, left-right, left-right, right-turn, left-rightright, Halt!



Dismiss!" said the Sergeant Major, and Private Conscript picked up his cap and went off.

"Bai-Jove!" said the Company Commander in the Officer's Mess that evening. "Had an extraordinary case before me to-day—Private soldier wanting to know what the war was about—had the cheek to ask "What Freedom?" when I told him. The very ignorance of these animals.

"Ho-ho-ho!" laughed the Colonel, "I must tell the General that one when he comes. He likes a good joke, Ho-ho-ho . . " and all the officers laughed because they thought they had better laugh because the Colonel thought it a good joke.

"Very funny thing," said the pompous old General when he was chatting with the Prime Minister in his Club a few days later. "I heard of a case of a soldier asking why he was fighting the war, while I was on this Inspection tour. The fellow actually wanted to know why we are fishing. It makes the laugh!" fighting. It makes me laugh!

"What!" said the Prime Minister sitting up suddenly. "Somebody not know why they are fighting—a soldier?"

"Yes, why?" asked the General a little surprised

"After all the money we've spent on propa-ganda about 'Freedom' and all the trouble we have been to to get Hitler built up. It's pre-posterous! Who was this man?"

"Just a cheap conscript," said the General. "One of the Colonels told me about it."

"One of the Colonels told me about st."

We'll find out who it was," said the Prime
Minister angrily. "The man's a danger to the
realm. Think what would happen if everyone
asked that question? Think what it would
mean to the Arms industry and our Shares?
Have the man arrested and put in prison under
18B. If people can't swallow our propaganda
and start asking questions, they deserve to be
locked up. They'll be spoiling our war by refusing to fight if we let this go on! They will
have us broke! Have him locked up at once."

So poor Private Conscript was taken out of the Army and locked up in prison, and while his comrades went off to the front and got shot to bits, he lived unhappily ever after.

R.L.



Letters to the Editors

To whom it may concern

Dear Comrades.

In view of recent sourcitous attacks made on the characters of our comrades of the Freedom Press, we, the Glasgow Gessup of public the following statement:

The statements made by Tom Brown regarding the actions of the Freedom Press comrades are quite unwarranted—a fact which must be clearly recognised by Brown as he ourselves in view of the circumstances in which he and ourselves had soccus to the information which he claims was witheld.

We further wish to affirm our complete solidarity with our comrades of Freedom Press who have always shown themselves to be of unquestionable integrity in the past, and who face a threat of incarceration for their working class militancy at the present time. We ask all amarchists and sincere lovers of freedom to join us in the fight to defend our comrades.

Glasgow Anarchist Federation.

The following comrades wish to associate themselves with the above statement of the Glasgow Anarchist Federation: Mat Kavanagh, Ron Avery, Charles Harding, P. Edsall, George Woodcock, Jack Wade, Lillian Wolfe, Tom Earley, S. Watson Taylor, Albert Meltzer, Philip Sansom, Frederick Lohr, Laurie Hislam, Preston Clements, Robert Blum.

Protests against the unwarranted attack on the comrades of Freedom Press have also been expressed by comrades in Cornwall, Easter, Plymouth, Bristol and Oxford.

B.B.C. FOR TRIAL?

Deax Comrades,
Amongst the allegations raised at the preliminary hearings of the trial of our four comrades, a prominent one, I gather from War
Commentary, is the alleged distribution of copies
of War Commentary containing a description of
the 1918 revolution in Germany and the formation of Soldiers' and Workers' Councils at that
time.

Naturally, one cannot comment on this, and one presumes the court will decide whether or not this is "disaffection" within the meaning of the law. However, it is interesting to note that the B.B.C. German News Service has not only described the events in 1918 also, but has pointed out that Soldiers' and Workers' Councils are being formed at the present time on similar lines, only a few weeks after the case was first heard.

If the four comrades should find Lindley Fraser queueing up for his place in the dock, ask them to tell him from me his programme's

Yours fraternally, K. A. B.

Anarchism after Disillusionment

Aithough I agree without reservation that Anarchism is both desirable and workable, there appears to be a great difficulty in making others appears to be a great difficulty in making others appears to be a great difficulty in making others appears to be a great difficulty in making others appears to be a great difficulty in making others are some possible to the British workers skytt programme) is due to the British workers shown programme in authoritarian systems.

I have reached the conclusion from the above that Trondysiam as a system of society is an inevitable page in the education—by latter experience—of the masses.

Anarchism provides only for the downfall of capitalist society, the workers themselves being expected to build the new society from below. Trothysism on the other hand not only provides for the downfall of depitalist society has of soviet Socialist Government for the workers to satisfy their craving for "authority without to satisfy their craving for "authority without

This means that Anarchism will have to await distillusionment in Tronkyjam. I hope I'm

C. CLAFS

distillusionment in Tronskyiam. I hope I'm wrong!

[Certainly our comrade is correct in assuming that not until the workers are distillusioned in authoritariam systems will there be any possibility of a mass anarchist movement. However, one does not wait to become distillusioned it one has already a clear picture of polisical parties. Individuals already awakened to the role of polisical parties, Individuals already awakened to the role of polisical parties. Individuals already awakened to the role of polisical parties. Individuals already awakened to the role of polisical parties, Individuals already awakened to the role of polisical parties. Individuals already awakened to the role of polisical parties, Individuals already awakened to the role of parties always that the rest of the working-dass will awould the round to distillusion. Distillusion like the polisical with but not much to finish up on. The Trotskyists, or Bolisheviks, in Russia brought the existed for 25 years and ripaned into Stationion but is not finished yet. Distillusion came long ago, but the dictatorship has prevented it having any effect. The only way in which the prolestition dictatorship am to overstroum is by another revolution. Obviously one might at well have the libertarian revolution in the first place.

. and the Rustiam workers did have a libertarian revolution that drove out the Toar and established free Soviets. Then the Bolshevik Party came on the scene and seized power; their role being to dissolve the free Soviets and health a dictatorship. They did not destroy their role being to dissolve the free Soviets and health a dictatorship. They did not destroy their post the workers do that while they gratesome they let the workers do that while they gratesome they let the worker of that while they gratesome the mass movement, with their cadres" in order to destroy the free tockety, councils of workers at the point of production without their being festered to a political party. The Trotskylus wate and you get a "Kronsnadt". If Anar

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A plague on both your houses!

(Continued from p. 2)

For when delegates came from Spain to urge the T.U.C. to use direct action to compel the government to send arms, they were refused. Neither Conservatives nor Labour bosses showed any concern for the struggle of the working class on the continent against Words in plenty-but deeds? not Fascism. on your life!

What About the Interests of British Workers?

The Conservatives are openly the party of the bosses. Only those who think that the master rules by "right", and that the worker "ought to know his place", think that their rule is "beneficent". But the Tories are not themselves the ruling class; they are the political party of the ruling class, the big property owners, and financiers, and they administer the country for the benefit, not of the population as a whole, but of this class. Under capitalism, where private property is "sacred" (that is to say where the workers have no property) society is administered in the interests of financiers, industrialists and large land-

But what about the Labour Party? They have now been in office three times. The first two occasions saw them just as imperialistic as their competitors. When out of office they excused their failure to alter the existing unjust pattern of society by whining that the captains of finance and industry had prevented them, had sabotaged their good intentions. What did they expect? The ruling class is there to fule, and the -be it composed of Old Etonians or of Trade Union leaders-is there to carry out the measures necessary for the class well-being. If they don't serve these interests well enough, out they Ask Ramsay MacDonald!

The Labour leaders seem to have learned this lesson at least, for in their third period of office-in the wartime Coalition-they have showed an indecent willingness to serve. No work has been too dirty for

FORTNIGHTLY 2d. WAR COMMENTARY

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Decisions which have condemned millions to starvation and degradation.

Houses!

gaging in mutual dog fights in the hope that the working class will once more swallow the election dope and give them the blank cheque of power. It is time to recognize that to prove the other fellow a scoundrel (not difficult in political circles) doesn't wipe out your own crimes against the working class. Politicians, however, are not likely to get smitten with conscience and stand down after making a clean breast of it and hanging unworthy heads in bitter shame. Not at all likely. If the dirty business of deceiving and robbing the workers which is politely called politics is to be washed up, it is the workers who must wash They have only themselves to blame if they are fooled once again. "He who would be free, himself must strike the It is not by electioneering that the workers will secure their emancipation from the fetters of wage slavery. The fetters will only be struck off for good and all when men take control on their own account of the places of work, when they combine directly with their fellows in organizing production and distribution for their mutu benefit. When they ignore the do-gooders Don't blame the

Marchist Commentary

AACHEN - WHAT IS THE TRUTH?

According to reports published in the Press, Aachen (Aix) in Germany was being run as a Nazi town by the Allied authorities. They appointed as Mayor a man who had been prominent in public life, a local lawyer, throughout the Nazi régime. He picked as local officials men who had been members of the Nazi Party—recently, owing to many criticisms, some of them had to resign. Correspondents have laid stress on how it seemed to be the same workers doing the dirty work for the Allied authorities as did it for the Nazis, whilst those who had

them to undertake. Bevin has tied up the workers and offered them thus bound to the bosses; Morrison has carried through wartime legislation which gives virtually un-limited powers to the Government. And the whole tribe of Labour leaders in the Cabinet have slavishly boasted that they accept full responsibility for the Cabinet's decisions on foreign policy—in regard to Greece, for example; or Italy, or France, or Germany, one might add. Decisions which everywhere bolster up openly or covertly Fascist administrations against proved anti-Fascist Resistance movements.

A Plague on Both Your

These are the people who are now enand phrase-mongers. Don't blam politicians! Do the job yourselves!

the soft jobs before became burgomasters and local officials, and faithfully interpreted the de-crees of harshness.

The Nazis threatened that Allied Quislings

local officials, and faithfully interpreted the decrees of harshness.

The Nazis threatened that Allied Quislings would be shot at their desks, and the burgomaster of Aschen was shot at his home by three unknown men. Naturally, the London papers tell us it was the Gestapo (as usual, headlines say it mar the Gestapo, while the text of the column says it may have been the Gestapo). Hence a good deal of pessimism as to the future of Germany. The papers did not then mention about the burgomaster's record, but merely said he had collaborated with the Allies. He may have been shot by his former masters, whom he deserted, as Count Ciano was—on the other hand, is it not possible he may have been shot by his consistent opponents?

FLOGGING FOR CRUELTY

Many cruelty to children cases have come to light recently, somewhat ironically in a world which bombs and starves them. How can one understand the mentality of this type of person? In the House of Lords debate, Lord Denham gave some very ghastly examples, and stated:

"All my life I have had a passionate abhorrence of cruelty. I ask the Government to amend the law, if necessary, so that in cases like that at Grimsby the punishment of flogging can be given to the guilty man.

"During the five years I was a barrister and went on the Midland circuit I had the most vivid recollections of hearing a judge of the High Court sentence a criminal to be flogged.

"When sentence was being delivered I have seen the old lag tremble and blanch with fear at the sentence. I advocate flogging for

cruelty."
When the "do-gooders" who are so passionately opposed to cruelty have an identical approach with the offenders, the cases are not to be wondered at. It comes to the old question of belief in punishment. When this notion disap-pears from people's heads they will cease to make young children—or old lags—blanch with fear at reprisals for offences, and cruelty will

I.L.P. CONFERENCE

I.L.P. CONFERENCE

The record of the recent I.L.P. Conference is, on the whole, even less inspiring than one might have expected from such an organisation. The I.L.P. is a political party, and for this very fact we do not imagine that it will over night be converted to anarchist ideas or methods which are the opposite of its own basic form and its objective of gaining political power. But even from a political party certain standards of realism in its approach to social problems are to be expected if it is to claim justifiably to be revolutionary. Whether a political party can in fact be revolutionary at all in a real social manner is a question on which we are in disagreement with the I.L.P., but it is difficult to see how a party can even claim to be revolutionary when by a majority its delegates decide to seek alliance with such a body as the Labour Party on the grounds that it is "the mass party of the British working-class". F. A. Ridley, who opposed affiliation, made a speech with which, so far as it concerns the Labour Party, we find ourselves in substantial agreement. To quote from the report of the conference:

"F. A. Ridley, speaking for the minority arms as the conference of the conference."

"F. A. Ridley, speaking for the minority group on the N.A.C., referred to the statements that the Labour Party was the mass special by !

party of the British working-class and said that Social Democracy had been the mass party of the German working-class and it had been powerless to stop Fascism. Did anyone think that the British Labour Party would put up any more serious resistance to Hitler than German Social Democracy had done?

German Social Democracy had other "The history of the Labour Party, like that of other parties in this country, was of its capitulation to British Imperialism. Tracing the deterioration of the Labour Party and drawing attention to the fact that it was Labour Ministers in the Coalition Government who had instituted Defence Regulation IA(a) and the recent action against the anarchists, Ridley added:

'If Keir Hardie could hear us to-day he would turn in his grave so violently as to solve the problem of perpetual motion'."

would turn in his grave so viouenty as to solve the problem of perpetual motion."

It is difficult to see how the LLP, if it does accept affiliation to the Labour Party on the terms which Transport House is likely to demand, can find any justification for continued existence as an integral unit. Membership of such an organisation as the Labour Party means an effective submergence in all its follies and betrayals. Against the managed block votes of the Trades Unions the LLP, even if it wished to induce the Labour Party to pursue a progressive, let alone a revolutionary, policy, would find its efforts continually thwarted, and to pursue an independent policy within the Labour Party would be to invite expulsion or destruction. If the LLP, enters the Labour Party it will have to abandon every pretence at being revolutionary, and it will inevitably lose the genuine revolutionaries and even the conscientious liberals who remain within its ranks. As an influence of any value in the working class movement it would have achieved its final extinction.

The Connor case

Dear Comrades,

Convictions for drunkenness are mostly hypocritical (only a year or so ago the London magistrate most noted for convicting old women of drunkenness, fell downstairs at his home drunk and died: and continually Parliament jokes about drunkenness with Lady Astor, regardless of the fact that convictions often hurt the poor, especially the old, who cannot afford to treat it as a joke, like the rich). Nevertheless, they seldom exceed fourteen days for an old "offender". Had John Connot come up before a court at home for his "crime" of alleged drunkenness it is doubtful if (considering his record as a seaman and the fact that it was a first offence) he would have got more than five shillings fine. In Russia he has received a year's imprisonment. Had this been inflicted on a British seaman in any other port—in any small or neutral country—the Foreign Office would have raised hell to get him out. Being Russia—powerful and an ally—sit will think itself damned forward to "make representations".

All workers ought to rally to the defence of John Connoc which have in advance a fore-

All workers ought to rally to the defence of John Coursor, who is having in advance a fore-tasts of what life would be like for us if the Bolsheviks got into power here too. More power to the elbow of the Glasgow Anarchists and to the elbow of publicising the master. War Commentary for publicising F, B, A. the mass | F. B. A. Fability by Francis Print Life Strate, Lands, M.E.]

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