

WAR *For Anarchism* COMMENTARY

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TWOPENCE.

INDIA'S STRUGGLE for FREEDOM is our STRUGGLE

THE BLOOD OF THE INDIAN people, the blood of Amritsar, flows again under the blows of tyranny. In the cities of India, unarmed masses are shot down by the guns of British money, and the chosen leaders of the Indian people are imprisoned for demanding the elementary rights of men. Wherever the Indians raise their heads in protest, bullets and lathis greet them with mutilation and death.

Once again the British ruling class shows its true face. The mask of liberalism donned to deceive the Indians is put aside at last, and the stalwarts of national independence in Europe, the champions of minorities, the supporters of the Russian fight against invasion and oppression, take up arms to crush the Indians who ask for freedom.

The Indian leaders, courted but recently by Cripps (the self-styled friend of Nehru), are denounced as fifth columnists, traitors, friends of Japan, blackmailers. The British gutterpress spews its calumnies on the Indian nationalists and the Indian people. The worn out lies are used to justify the British action. We are defending the Indians in spite of themselves! We are saving them from the clutches of the wicked and cruel Japanese! We are preventing the Hindus and the Moslems from exterminating each other! Britain who for the last two hundred years has been engaged in more wars than any other country, presumes to teach the Indians how to live in peace! Britain, which after a century and a half of paternal rule has still left 90 per cent of the Indian population illiterate, pretends that her rule is beneficial to India! The Nabobs, who for generations have grown fat on the sweat of the Indian masses, pretend that they are protecting these masses from the exploitation of Japan! Can any sane and honest man in this country support this fantastic accumulation of deceit and folly?

Yet, in this country, hardly a voice is raised in protest to the cruelty and reaction of the British Government's policy in India. The Labour Party sits in smug silence, and any protest that might have been raised by individual M.P.'s has been carefully avoided by sending Parliament on holiday. The Communist Party, both in India and in this country, pursues its usual course of toadying to the Government and betraying the workers, and demonstrates the hypocrisy of its own canting talk about freedom in India. The so-called workers' parties who aided the government to fix the collar of slavery on the necks of the British Workers, cannot be expected to prevent the maltreatment and slaughter of the Indian workers.

Eventually the evil policy of the British government will inevitably bring down disaster on its own head. By their suicidal folly, the rulers of Britain are sealing the fate of their own Empire, and for the Labour Party and the Communists this new betrayal will only contribute to their final discredit in the eyes of the workers of this country. But the academic contemplation of eventual and final consequences will serve no purpose now. It will not save the Indians from present oppression or the British Workers from the consequence of their government's folly in India.

The British Worker must realise that the interests of workers all over the world are one and identical. They must realise that their freedom is bound up with the Indian people and that if they acquiesce in a denial of this freedom, they are only hastening the final elimination of their own liberties.

Therefore, the British Workers should express in speech and in action, everywhere, and in every way they can, their protest against the tyranny of British reaction in India and their solidarity with the Indian masses in their struggle for freedom. Only in this way can Imperialism, whether British or Japanese, be destroyed and the liberties of the British as well as Indian Workers, be gained.

INDIA

GANDHI, NEHRU, AZAD and other Congress leaders are back once more in the jail of the British Raj. The events leading up to these arrests are of particular interest, in that they expose so completely the cunning and dishonest methods used by the British ruling class in fighting its political enemies.

Several months ago the Indian Government released from prison, Congress Party leaders and members as the first step in the proposed negotiations with the Indian leaders. This first step was virtually forced upon the British Government by the march of events, particularly the Japanese menace to British interests in the Far East. Cripps was chosen to represent the British Government in the negotiation; an astute move on their part, because in the event of the negotiations failing, the Government could point out the fact that no more radical and greater friend of India could have been chosen to state the British case (and at the same time Cripps as a political figure would recede into the background as rapidly as he had climbed to the limelight). The negotiations failed in spite of the fact that at the time the Congress leaders appeared ready to make compromises.

Cripps returned to London, the Indian problem unsolved, and Indian co-operation more needed than ever as the Japanese advanced. It was now necessary to destroy Congress' influence at all costs. The raid on Congress H.Q., took place over two months ago and the publication of the documents was held up until such time as they would prove most useful against Gandhi and Congress. The object in publishing these documents was to show that Gandhi and Co., are Indian Quislings, and so prepare public opinion throughout the world for the wholesale arrest of Congress leaders and wholesale terrorism on the unarmed civil population. The same method was used in the case of U Saw, Prime Minister of Burma. He came to England to ask for Burma's independence, and though Churchill refused, he was treated in high circles and in the press with consideration. On his return home he was arrested and interned as a Quisling. Yet he and the Congress leaders never expressed opinions such as did Mr. Amery, Secretary for India for instance, at the time of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria:

"I confess that I see no reason whatever why, either in act or in word, or in sympathy, we should go individually, or internationally, against Japan in this matter.

Who is there among us to cast the first stone and to say that Japan ought not to have acted with the object of creating peace and order in Manchuria and defending

herself against the continual aggression of vigorous Chinese nationalisation?

Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt, stand condemned if we condemn Japan."

Or as Sir Robert Craigie, British Ambassador in Japan: "Both (England and Japan) are ultimately striving for the same objective—a lasting peace and the preservation of our institutions from extraneous and subversive influences" (*Times* 29/3/40)—These gentlemen have not been interned. In fact, Mr. Amery is Secretary of State for India and with Mr. Churchill, responsible for the new terror in India.

THE INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Less than two weeks before the arrest of Gandhi, the Government of India issued an announcement lifting the ban on the Communist Party. The reasons given clearly show that the Indian Communist Party has abandoned the struggle for Indians independence.

"The Communist Party of India in their announcements and circulars to party members have recently indicated a change of front, and recognising this war as a people's war in which the Indian people must in their own interest make common cause with the united freedom loving nations, have decided, if permitted, to throw their energies into the task of co-operating with the existing war effort. According to their statement of policy, if members of the party are free to act, they will devote all their energies to teaching the people what war means, and organising them for self-defence and resistance to the enemy.

The Government of India welcome this statement of their intentions, and desire that full opportunity should be given them of putting those intentions into practice. In order, therefore, that they may function legally as a party, the Government of India have decided to remove the ban on the Communist party of India and its organs, "The National Front" and "The New Age."

"The Government are confident that those who are released will make use of their freedom by devoting themselves whole-heartedly to giving their fullest assistance in the war effort."

The Government obviously knows to what extent Communists are tied hand and foot to the dictates of Moscow to appreciate that the released Communists would fall in line so long as Russia remained an Ally, and their hopes have already been fully justified by the attitude of the Communists within Congress who were amongst the 13 out of 250 delegates present who voted against the resolution asking Britain to withdraw from India.

According to *Reynold's News* (8/5/42) they voted an amendment that:

"Congress should take the initiative in building up a united National Front of all who want to secure India's immediate freedom and who are prepared to support the formation of a provisional National Government.

Such provisional Government, they said, should undertake the organisation of armed, as well as non-violent, defence against the Fascist aggressors, in close co-operation with the United Nations and their armies."

The Indian Communist Party follow in the steps of the German and Chinese Communist Party, who had to pursue a reactionary policy in order to follow the orders from Moscow. Once again Stalin has destroyed a Communist movement abroad, as obviously the Indian Communist Party has no future now, in order to protect his own interests.

WHAT CONGRESS WANTS

There is a considerable confusion regarding Congress' policy. This is partly due to the double censorship which operates both here and in India, on all information coming from India, as well as the bias of the different newspapers which publish sentences out of their context, and thus give a completely different interpretation. There is one point however, upon which the Congress leaders have expressed themselves quite plainly and consistently, and that is their desire to be freed from British domination. And in the same way as Dr. Azad in 1940 declared before Congress;

"While we were considering the dangers arising from Fascism and Nazism it was impossible for us to forget the older danger which has been proved to be infinitely more fatal to the peace and freedom of nations than these new dangers, and which has in fact supplied the basis for this reaction. I refer to British Imperialism."

Gandhi in 1942 declares:

"If Congress were given independence it would not take power for itself. All parties and all peoples in India, including the Indian States, would share in the new Free Indian Government."

The idea that the new Government would side with Japan was not true, because the Indians were not going to change one kind of slavery for another."

It is quite clear from the resolution and the individual statements of Congress leaders, that they propose to rid themselves of British Imperialism and at the same time resist Japanese Imperialism.

The Government in India, maintains that the British and American armies are going to repel the Japanese invaders and will use the Indians as they think fit in the military operation. Congress on the other hand, has no faith in the Allied war machine for the defence of India. Gandhi put it in these terms: He thought that as far as the "United Nations" were concerned:

"India was merely an operational base which they might leave if they found it untenable."

"They may be defeated, and they may leave you just as they left the people of Burma, Malaya and other places with the idea of recapturing lost ground when they can."

"That may be their military strategy, but, supposing they leave us, what happens to us?"

"In that case Japan will come here."

With a military record of strategic withdrawals and successful evacuations, British authorities do not seem qualified in condemning Gandhi's methods of unarmed resistance, especially when their recent actions prove that they are afraid of that weapon when it is used against

them. Churchill knew the force of passive resistance, when he wrote in 1930: "The truth is that Gandhi-ism and all that it stands for will sooner or later have to be grappled with and finally crushed. The loss of India would mark and consummate the downfall of the British Empire". Mr. Churchill may have changed his opinions about Hitler but he seems to have remained faithful to his wish to crush "Gandhi-ism and all that it stands for".

OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO INDIA

Politicians never seem to tire of saying, that until India is united we cannot withdraw our forces from that country. It is time the myth that the white man can bring civilisation to the coloured races is exposed, and we face the fact that there is no moral justification for the enslavement of the colonial peoples. If the British occupy India it is not of course for her own good, but because as, casting away that most truly bright and precious jewel in the crown of the King, which more than all other Dominions and Dependencies constitutes the glory and strength of the British Empire."

THE ANARCHIST POINT OF VIEW

During the past three years, *WAR COMMENTARY* has published a considerable number of articles on India and our position regarding Congress policy. Space prevents our covering all the ground again. We shall limit ourselves to quoting from the Mid-May issue of *War Commentary*. It is our message to the Indian people.

The Indian workers must seize the land and the factories; they must free their arms to overthrow the Imperialism of both the British invader and the Japanese attacker. But the seizing of the means of life is not, in itself, enough. The workers must smash the State machinery of bureaucracy, army, and police, and above all destroy the wage system that is at the bottom of all inequality and class privilege. It is through the State machinery that the British Government and its Indian lackeys now control and oppress the Indian people. It is that State machinery that the Japanese imperialists seek to seize, so that they can exploit the wealth and labour and markets of India for the benefit of their own ruling class. While any vestige of that state machinery, which is the machinery of government, of oppression, remains, such revolutionary gains as the Indian workers and peasants may achieve, can be snatched back from them by any political party ruthless and astute enough to grasp it and so impose THEIR tyranny upon India.

Seize the land and the factories. Utterly destroy the State. Abolish the Wage System. These are the prerequisites of Indian Freedom.

MASS RALLY

INDIA'S STRUGGLE IS YOURS

Express Solidarity with the Indian People
in their fight against British Imperialism

CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQ., HOLBORN, LONDON

SUNDAY AUGUST 23rd, at 6.30 p.m.

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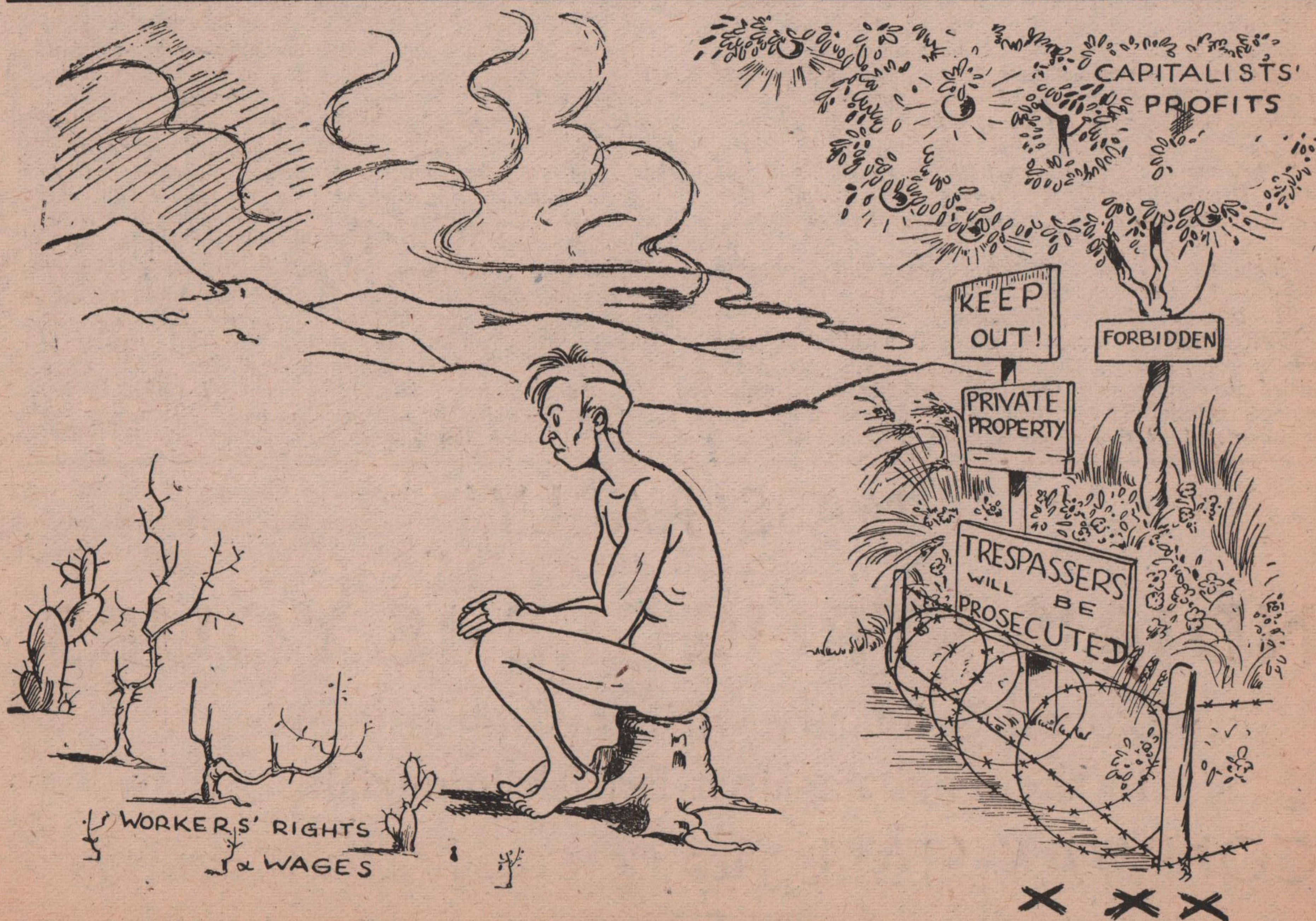
SPECIAL APPEAL

Some left wing papers publish sample letters telling the editors what fine chaps they are and how the writers look forward to receiving their publications regularly. We, too, receive a considerable number of letters expressing appreciation of our work. We don't publish them, because we feel that readers prefer that we should use all available space for articles. But we do enjoy hearing from our readers that they approve of **WAR COMMENTARY**, and we are even more satisfied when these readers enclose a contribution to the Press Fund or offer their services, or place an order for a number of copies to be sent regularly! That may sound mercenary to those who don't contribute, but, actually they are to blame for our rather blunt statement. The trouble is that so many readers take everything as a matter of course. They receive their copy of **WAR COMMENTARY** regularly, read all the paper (with the exception of the Press Fund Appeal) and wait for the next issue. It doesn't occur to them that **WAR COMMENTARY** is produced at a loss, and that if it does appear regularly, it's only because

there are, fortunately, a few readers who always remember to send us their bit to the Press Fund to meet the deficit. Now comrades, you who haven't contributed before, and who like the paper and want to see it go on, don't you think **WAR COMMENTARY** deserves the price of a packet of cigarettes?
The Editors.

PRESS FUND, JULY 1942

£ s. d.			£ s. d.			
Kingston: J.W.B.	5	0	0	Leeds: M.F.	10	0
Oxford: Sympathisers				Watford: J.B.	5	0
		2	6	London: L.	10	0
London: Park Sympathisers	8	10		S. Francisco: Comrades per L.N.: (\$43)	10	11
London: G.	8	0				
London: "Hyde Park Listener"	3	0		Cirencester: A.	2	6
Gloucester: T.H.C.	4	3		Aberdeen: W.M.R.	3	0
London: V.R.	5	0	0	Glasgow: Collection, Brunswick Street meeting	2	0
London: S.W.; G.C	2	0				
London: F.C.D.		6		Los Angeles: H.H. (\$5)	1	3
Kingston: Kingston Group	1	0	0			
Edinburgh: D.J.M.		2	0	Kingston: T.W.B.	10	0
			0	Bristol: W.S.	5	0
Enfield: S.R.R.		2	6	Total for month	35	18
Lanark: "Lanarkshire Miners"	11	9				
				Total to date	229	5
						2



ADAM, 1942

Workers' Control in Industry

by TOM BROWN

IN THE LAST ISSUE of *War Commentary*, we said of the stay-in strike: "It is not the Syndicalist aim to return to the employer class the means of production and distribution, but to retain them in the hands of the workers operating them by the principle of workers' control of industry".

This issue of Workers' Control causes dismay to many, if not all Socialists and Communists. "How can the workers run industry?" they ask.

If the workers cannot run industry, we must examine the claims of the others, the capitalists and politicians. Let us take the capitalists first.

The capitalist is the owner, the shareholder, or at the least, the big shareholder. We shall see how necessary he is to industry. Most workers do not even know their employer, who he is, or where he is. Even when a man's name appears over a factory gate or on a commodity, the identity of the boss is still hidden, for usually the person who gave his name to the concern has long since been swamped by finance capital. The Angus Watson Packing Company, of "Skippers" and "Sailor Salmon" fame was once personally directed by Mr. Angus Watson himself. About twenty years ago new capital, mostly American, entered the firm and Angus Watson was given a nominal managerial job. After being treated like an office-boy, Watson retired protesting, but his name still appears on the products of "Angus Watson & Co., Ltd." So we might go on from one company to another; the real boss is unknown to the worker.

A couple of years ago, America gave us an amusing example of the absentee capitalist. A rich woman, who was very fond of her Pekinese dog, was afraid lest she die before the little pet. In order to provide its living in the case of her demise, she consulted her lawyer and stock-broker. The result was the transfer to the Pekinese of a big block of industrial shares! So, the Peke became a capitalist. A few years ago, the same thing occurred to a chimpanzee, and for all that it matters, all shareholders might be Pekinese and chimpanzees.

Once, discussing Workers' Control with a Communist metal machinist, I put the problem in this manner: let us suppose that your employers, the shareholders of the company, are holding their annual meeting in a big hotel. The Luftwaffe appears in the sky overhead, the hotel is bombed and the shareholders are blown to smithereens. Next morn-

ing, before going to work, the machinist reads the sad news. Would he, left with no employer to control the industry, forget his art of machinery or his knowledge of metallurgy? Would he be unable to read a micrometer or a blue-print? The machinist gave his answer in indignant tones. But while most Socialists will agree with our statement about the capitalist, they will yet not trust the industry to the worker. To them it is the politician who must control industry. Let us see how the politician is indispensable to the production and distribution of wealth.

All industry requires specialisation, the division of labour. So modern industry develops technical problems, all of which no man may know. The problems of engineering may not be understood by the seaman, or the problems of the chemist may be unknown to the miner. But the politician claims to know everything!

The prospective Member of Parliament will go to a constituency of 100,000 or more inhabitants and present himself to busmen, railmen, weavers, cooks, teachers and a thousand other crafts or occupations and claim to *represent* them all. If he is returned to Parliament he will vote on the working of the mines without having been down one, he may speak on shipping laws without having been to sea, he will speak and vote (and compel others to act on his opinion) on building, agriculture, woodworking, road making, medicinal practise, entertainment, education and a hundred other services, each one of which requires a lifetime of study and practice.

Not content with solving the problems of technique in his spare time at the House, he will interfere in everything else from birth control to telling us how to spend our Sunday evenings. On one odd afternoon each year, he will spend a few hours settling the affairs of India, a sub-continent inhabited by a mere 400 millions.

If one considers the composition of any House of Commons, it appears to be sheer impudence for them to interfere in technics, particularly the whole sphere of technics. The dominant social groups in any Parliament are lawyers, retired military and naval officers and directors of finance companies. Owing to the M.P.'s being drawn from mixed constituencies, without any regard to vocation, it is possible for a parliament to be composed of 615 ex-

army officers or 615 lawyers.

If we consider the Cabinet, the picture is no less comical. A man is appointed as Minister of Agriculture, not because of any knowledge of farming, but because of political or business pull. At one time the conservative government appointed a Minister of Mines whose only qualification seemed to be that he was a fox-hunting squire. When he answered questions in the House, Labour Members responded by crying "Yoicks!", "tally-ho!" and other cries of the hunting field. When a Labour government was formed, however, an ex-tailor's cutter was appointed to the same ministry.

Instead of the political or geographical method of organisation, the Syndicalists build on an industrial basis. Such a basis is now the foundation of the future society and the embryo of Workers' Control.

Under Workers' Control the mines would be run by miners and not by lawyer-politicians. The engineers would regulate the factories, the textile workers the mills, the railmen the railways and so on, throughout each industry and service.

Each industry would regulate its own affairs, each factory or mill its affairs. This is quite unlike the political organisation which claims the right to govern everything. Further, the political method is chiefly concerned with governing men, the industrial syndicate is for the administration of things.

Political parties can never lead us to Workers' Control, for by building parties we are erecting barriers in the way to that end; we are building something which we must later destroy. On the other hand by organising industrially now we are creating an organisation which can take over control of industry and which is not to be later destroyed, but developed.

At present the Syndicalist workers organise themselves at the point of production, seeking the unity of all workers in the factory or other undertaking, breaking down all craft union barriers, of age, sex, degree of skill, craft, black-coat, or black hands. United, the workers in each metal factory become federated to the district federation of engineers, while each district federation sends its delegation to the National Federation of Metalworkers. This method is carried on throughout each industry and service; textiles, transport, power, farming, distribution, sanitation, etc., Then, all national industrial federations are linked together in the National Federation of Labour.

Here we have an organisation able to swing its forces to any part or the whole of industry, so that any section of workers on strike any receive the full support (industrial solidarity rather than just collections) of the rest of their fellow workers. How unlike trade unions, which have no real connection with one another, and collect tanners for strikers while they quite constitutionally black-leg on each other;

railman against busmen, engineers against boiler-makers, porters against loco-men.

With the triumph of the stay-in strike such organisations take over the control of industry. The factory branch manages the factory, while the district affairs of the industry are regulated by the district federation, the common problems of the industry by the national industrial federation, and the whole of the economy of the country is co-ordinated by the National Federation of Labour.

The greatest weakness of the trade union is its lack of an ultimate aim, a supreme reason for existence. At its best it struggles for a higher wage or a shorter working day (At its present worst it gives up the struggle). But a struggling man usually has some aim. He intends to end the struggle victoriously by finally overcoming his enemy, not to keep the action going for ever and ever.

So, the ultimate aim of Syndicalism is not a wage increase, but Workers' Control of industry. Every action by the Syndicalist workers is a means to that end. Every strike is a training period, a skirmish before the Social General Strike.

BAHAMAS NATIVES REVOLT !

The capitalist press carried only a short paragraph about the recent revolt in the Bahamas. The following extracts from an article in the *Industrial Worker* (27/6/42) explains why the paid press has reasons for keeping quiet about the conditions which caused such incidents.

When the United States acquired sites for a number of naval bases from Great Britain in the famous over-age destroyer trade, one of the provisions of the agreement was that the U.S. would not "spoil" native British colonial workers by paying them a wage higher than the prevailing one. This policy, which of course U.S. contractors were glad to apply, last week resulted in demonstrations of discontent at Nassau, in which at least two workers were killed and which caused the Duke of Windsor to hurry back home from Washington.

All the mistakes the British made in Malay and Burma are paralleled. Political freedom is generally denied. The natives are not permitted an army of their own. Progressive leaders are interned, even though they have supported the war effort since 1939.

When the U.S. contractors arrived they made two things clear, according to the Jamaica Trade Union Council: They intended to pay no more than the highest prevailing wage 80c. a day—and they would have nothing to do with unions. Workers were compelled to sign yellow dog contracts. If a worker took a grievance to a union, he was fired.

White U.S. workers were imported at much higher wages than those paid the West Indians. For example, skilled negro carpenters have to work for \$1.02 a day alongside U.S. carpenters drawing \$14 a day.

The cost of living, according to Public Opinion, the People's party newspaper, has increased 46 per cent. Wages have increased less than 15 per cent. Most of the food consisting chiefly of rice has to be imported. With submarines causing a near-blockade, a serious shortage exists.

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We can do it !

A few months after the "Peace of Munich," the *Free-thinker* carried some significant lines on war, concluding: "Rise up, ye strong and great potential dead, Your brain and brawn can end this farce long ere your blood be shed." As usual, however, we continued to let things slide, leaving the old firm to pull us through. We are now gathering the fruits of our folly, and if the taste is bitter, the blame does not lie with our impotent gods, but in ourselves.

"War," says Oliver Wendell Holmes, "is the surgery of crime. Bad as it is in itself, it always implies that something worse has gone before." So long as we tolerate war, which lets loose all that is vilest in man, so long must we suffer the thrusting upon us of press-spawned war idols and political fakes. And the relegating of broken and time-expired gods to the dustbin is to no purpose if the best we can do is to discard one set, only to elevate another. Ten years ago we were told. "Time teaches a lesson. It is a melancholy reflection upon the wisdom and foresight of the statesmen charged with readjusting world affairs after the upheaval of the great war, that policies which were then advocated with passionate fervour, now stand revealed as naked folly and economic madness." And the same tribe of Blimps is nominating itself as the architects of the heaven to come—after this war. God help us !

The press invites us to line up behind the banner and gospel of Vansittartism, which is simply Bourbonitis in its most virulent form. "The solution of the present evil,"

declared the noble Lord at Glasgow on July 10th, "is the occupation and re-education of a defeated and purged Germany." The Christlike touch is supplied in a benediction by the Rev. Percival Mackenzie, who announces that "There is no hope for the world but the complete extermination of the German race—men, women and children." Asked if he thought the scheme practical, he said: "If you bomb a country sufficiently, disrupt transport enough, and use enough poison gas, it could be done, for the people would starve." The man of God regretfully added: "As a chaplain I am not allowed to carry weapons." You bet !

General Crozier records. "The Christian churches are the finest blood-lust creators which we have, and of them we made free use." And these blind guides cackle of "stooges" and "fifth-columnists," whilst their own published piffle is worth army corps to the German war machine. There is, however, a suspicion that this mission of hate has gone flat. Vansittartism is the voice of God to this bunch of back numbers, and all who doubt it are denounced as Nazi stooges. One daily says it has done its best "to bust this stoogery," thus admitting that there is healthy heresy in our midst. "Nor must we tolerate stooges," it goes on, "if they exist in any department of the nation." That sounds precious like a vigorous swish of the rubber truncheon. Any new order of society based on this villainous creed will not be set up in the interests of the general health—rest assured of that. The new social order must be the work of our own hands. Therefore let us not put our trust in gods, past, present or to come.

Let *we can do it !* replace the idiotic *we can take it !*—and get on with the job—*Now*.

H. DERRETT.

American "Justice"

AFTER being in custody nearly two years, a Negro share-cropper named Odell Waller, was electrocuted by the State of Virginia on July 2nd for having, in self-defence, killed his white landlord, Oscar Davis. Thereby one more crime was added to the thousands already committed in the name of "American Justice".

Waller was tried in September, 1940, before an all-white jury of ten landlords, a business-man and a carpenter. Eighty per cent of the population of the county in which he lived—including the workers and negroes—were excluded from the jury which convicted him, because they did not pay poll-tax. Only people earning more than a certain amount are taxed!

Despite the fact that Waller's mother had testified that her son had shot, in self-defence, a man who had constantly tried to cheat him; despite the fact that mass protest meetings were held and delegations called at the White House and the Department of Justice in Washington, demanding a stay of execution pending a new trial, and despite the fact that the case was taken up by the Workers' Defence League, this negro boy was cold-

bloodedly murdered by the judicial machinery of the American government.

The *Industrial Worker* reports that Governor Colgate W. Darden, who refused to commute Waller's sentence or to grant a stay of execution, stated with regard to the campaign to save Waller: "Such campaigns 'are extremely detrimental to the public interests' having the effect of 'sowing racial discord at a critical time' He described Waller's trial . . . as 'a fair and impartial trial'."

The diabolical cynicism which impelled him to say that campaigns to save an innocent man sow 'racial discord' is only too obvious. The "sowing of racial discord" between the whites and negroes in America is the recognised policy of the American State, enabling it to divide and rule, in the same way that the British administration creates and exploits differences between the Arabs and Jews in Palestine, and the Nazis do the same thing with the Jews and 'Aryans'."

Odell Waller's name will go down with those of the Scottsboro' boys, of Joe Hill, of Sacco and Vanzetti, and of the Chicago anarchists, as martyrs to the inhuman machine of American class-rule.

H.K.

MINISTER ADVISES

Newspapers have published the following instructions issued by the Ministry of Fuel.

"Coke and the larger sizes of anthracite are at present in better supply than other kinds of coal. People who normally use only house coal are advised to make part of their purchases in coke in order to mix these fuels when the time comes for burning them and those who can use anthracite should buy the larger sizes and if necessary break it themselves.

Householders who have no cellars and normally do not store coal are advised to set aside a small space either inside or outside their houses in which to keep say, five hundredweight of coal."

Where does the Ministry of Fuel expect people living in one room to store coalin the bath?

"DEMOCRACY" IN THE HOME GUARD

"A Home Guard commander can discharge a man without giving any reason by merely posting his name in battalion orders with the words "Services no longer required," said Mr. Carey Evans, counsel for the War Office, when he was prosecuting Home Guard L/C. Harold Crowley, last-war ex-soldier, for refusing to return his rifle and kit after he was dismissed a year ago.

The stipendiary magistrate, Mr. J. Bowen Davies, K.C., had asked that the C.O. should be brought to court to say whether Crowley had been given a chance of stating his case before he was discharged. Mr. Evans said the War Office did not intend to comply.

"The Authorities in London," he said, "take the view that evidence of that kind is wholly irrelevant. It is not for the prosecution to prove that he was dismissed properly or at all." *Daily Express 29/7/42*

The attitude of the War Office aroused the indignation of a former mayor who sat on the bench, and who explained "*and this is a democratic country!*"

The Counsel for the defence aptly remarked; "*I imagine that Home Guards who give up their leisure after a hard day's work, and who are subjected to such treatment will want to hear more about it.*"

RED ARMY PROGRESS

"With the Hun drive for mastery of the Caucasus, there have been two developments in the psychological atmosphere of the Red Army.

The first is the creation of the Alexander Nevsky, Kutuzov and Suvorov Orders for officers only, and the second the application of the most stringent rules and discipline.

The new decorations are designed to indicate that Russia is literally fighting for national survival, and the purpose of the ruthless new discipline is to slow down any retreat to the minimum in the hope that Britain and America will be able to strike in the west and relieve the pressure on the Red Army before it is too late."

Daily Mirror 3/8/42

If the "Hun" continues to advance we shall probably see that Orders (for officers only) of Catherine the Great and Ivan the Terrible will be created. The psychological effect on the followers of Marx and Lenin will be tremendous.

FOOD FACTS

"During the four weeks ended on June 25, the un-sound foodstuffs condemned by the inspectors of the Manchester Markets Committee included 27½ tons of meat, 23¼ tons of fish, 13 tons of which remained un-sold after several days; 13½ tons of vegetables, 8½ tons of which were unsold after several days; a quarter of a ton of canned and dried fruit, 300 head of game, 606 head of poultry, 2,220 rabbits, 62 eggs, 693lb. of jam and other groceries, 1,319lb. of canned, condensed, and evaporated milk, and 1,462 lb. of canned luncheon meats."

Manchester Guardian 27/7/42

BEAVERBROOK & CO., PLEASE NOTE

"Mr. Ernest Bevin said at Pontypool yesterday, that those who shouted for a second front were "feeding" Hitler and Goebbels.

"By creating a division in the country," he said. "our friends of the Left who shout this slogan are creating the very condition we all want to avoid."

Manchester Guardian 27/7/42

Through

DEMOCRACY IN HIS MAJESTY'S COLONIES

"Britain is surely determined to bring back the good old days. The natives of Ceylon have been given back a freedom which they lost only a couple of years ago—the right to be whipped for stealing. To force the natives to work for a living instead of living off the country, whipping used to be the punishment for the theft of vegetables and coconuts in Ceylon, but this was eliminated in a revision of the penal code just before the outbreak of the war. As a practical demonstration of what they stand to gain from the Four Freedoms, this renewed whipping practice should make all Ceylonians enthusiastic for the war."

Industrial Worker 27/6/42

GOVERNMENT AT WORK

"Thousands of pilchards and mackerel are being being thrown back into the sea off the Dorset coast because wholesalers cannot get petrol for their lorries to transport them from the beaches.

Mr. Jack Pitman, a Weymouth wholesaler, said yesterday:

"Hired lorries arrive too late to save our catches. Sometimes they travel 12 miles just to carry the fish a short distance to a train. This means petrol for about 30 miles instead of six miles, which would be the case if I did the work myself."

The last catch of pilchards landed by Mr. Pitman's boats' crews totalled 30,000. "The whole lot had to be thrown into the water," he said."

News Chronicle 6/8/42

Fish, cabbages, potatoes were not wasted in Spain during the revolution when syndicates organised production and distribution. This won't prevent people from saying that anarchy means chaos and that government stands for order and efficiency.

BLIMP ON DICTATORSHIP

"I myself would like to see the Prime Minister given more power," said Lord Clanwilliam, speaking in Manchester on Saturday. at a meeting of representatives of Conservative clubs in Lancashire and Cheshire. "No democracy can ever wage a war. In war-time you want an autocracy or what is commonly called a dictator. and although we are not ready yet for a dictator, and perhaps will not be until something terrible happens, still I would like to see greater powers given to the Prime Minister."

On all hands, he continued, he heard complaints of difficulties, of obstruction, of persons who put spokes in the wheel of the war effort. We had no dictator to put things right. *Manchester Guardian* 27/7/42

Gad Sir! Lord Clanwilliam is right. How can we destroy Hitler without a dictator? We are not ready for it yet, but if we could persuade the German people to lend us theirs for a time, he would soon put things right for us.

The Press

LUCKY INDIANS

"An indigenously assembled bicycle, produced by a Bombay firm, has recently been tested and found satisfactory. Certain parts were non-standard, but the firm has guaranteed to bring these up to the level of the Defence Services' requirements. It may, therefore, be assumed that India will shortly be producing a complete bicycle to Army standard, with the exception of the free-wheel, chain and hubs. These parts must be imported. Several other firms also are producing bicycle components and spare parts." *The Chamber of Commerce Journal* April 1942.

After another hundred and fifty years of British domination India may even be able to produce a tandem. One wonders why Indians don't show us more gratitude!

C.P. on India in June 1942

V. K. Krishna Menon, in *Labour Monthly*, (June 1942) concluded an article on India with the following sentences:

"A National Government in India now is a supreme and desperate necessity. The forces of the people and the State must be united. Disunity spells disaster to India. It weakens the cause of the United Nations.

We must act now! The Government must be compelled to reopen negotiations immediately on the basis of the recognition of the national independence of India, and the agreement to the formation of a National Government."

The poor C.P. member in India who may get *Labour Monthly* only now, must think Krishna Menon is a fifth columnist whom the British Government should put under lock and key.

LORD'S JARGON

"This is the duty of a motor-bicyclist towards a pedestrian, according to a judgment by Lord Thankerton, in the House of Lords to-day:

He must drive with such reasonable care as would avoid the risk of an injury to such persons as he could reasonably foresee might be injured by failure to exercise such care." *Evening Standard* 5/8/42

WHO ARE THE FIFTH COLUMNISTS?

While Bevin declares that those who advocate the Second Front are helping Hitler, Communist Sam Wild declares that the Fifth Columnists are those who oppose the second front.

"Asked what preparation was necessary before a second front could be opened, he said that the first thing would be to lock up the Fifth Column in this country, "including the people reported in to-day's press as saying that Russia is not fighting for us." "No military or strategical excuse for the absence of a second front in Europe can be provided by anybody in this country," Mr. Wild declared. It was entirely the result of Fifth Column opposition." *Manchester Guardian* 3/8/42

The "people" reported as saying that "Russia is not fighting for us" is Lady Astor who committed the crime of stating in a speech, at Southport,

"I am grateful to the Russians, but they are not fighting for us. They are fighting for themselves. After the Battle of Britain it was America who came to our aid. The Russians at that time were allies of Germany, and it is only now they are facing the Germans that they have come into the fight. To hear people talk you would think they came to us in our own dire need. Nothing of the kind."

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A SOLDIER WRITES

THE GENERAL FEELING among the British workers, prevailing up to the beginning of the war, was: "We have not wanted war. However, as things have developed, there is only one thing for us to do—let's do the job and get it over." In these days the morale was good. The masses were ready to "go to it" and ready to fight.

Now, however, this attitude is considerably changed. Britain has had to register one defeat after another; the men who have been conscripted have had to undergo the deadening influence of the army. In spite of all the reforms and changes which have been effected, the lack of talent and the backwardness of the ruling bureaucracy has succeeded in bringing about what no fifth column could have done more effectively—the demoralisation of the ordinary soldier. Lack of organisation, red tape, undemocratic class differences, etc., have undermined the confidence of the men in their officers and in the army command.

Social iniquity, class "justice" the triumph of opportunism over the class struggle, growing fascism, the development towards monopoly state-capitalism, the increasing power of the City, etc., etc., the corruption of the trade-union leadership and its press with regard to civilian life; all these things have contributed towards shaking the morale of the soldiers.

The army is not optimistic about the Second Front. The hitherto defensive war leadership has shown itself to be wrong. The ordinary Tommy, though he may lack complete understanding, nevertheless has enough intelligence to realise instinctively that many things are missing and many others entirely misplaced in the army. There is a lack of confidence in the military leadership and the officers and in the organisation and administration of the army.

There is a lack of the feeling that all are pulling on the same rope, that all are fighting for the same cause and that democracy and freedom are at stake, for liberty and democracy do not exist in the army; on the contrary we find those very things which they claim to be fighting—lust for power and the madness of the many little Hitlers. Most soldiers are fed up and only want one thing—to get out of the army!

Luckily for the real rulers of Britain—the City—the discontent of the uniformed masses has not been brought to consciousness, deepened and guided into revolutionary tracks by a very great number of active revolutionary agitators as was the case in the last war. Then, the aim was to transform the imperialist war for profit disguised as a

fight for freedom, into a civil war with the object of overthrowing the government and establishing freedom in one's own country.

The average British soldier is still too passive and obedient. He tolerates downright injustice and offences against his human dignity without any decisive revolt and resistance. His anger finds an outlet in grumbling and in being "browed off". He does not know the tactics of passive resistance and does not know how to make effective use of the few legal rights he has got. His individual will is either already uniformed by militarism or it slides into apathy after some unsuccessful attempt at rebellion. He completely lacks the feeling of solidarity. I know some cases where "trouble makers" have received exemplary punishment merely for revolting against the bad treatment by their "superiors". Although they expressed thereby the feeling of everyone in the company, no solidarity was shown to the punished men and there was no manifestation of any protest.

Bad food, bad lodgings, bad treatment, corruption, the favours granted by officers, etc., are universally considered the most senseless and undemocratic methods conceivable, but in spite of this the logical consequence is not drawn.

To-day the Tommy seems still to be politically uninterested and even extremely difficult to influence; tomorrow, however, he may remember the old slogans of revolutionary socialism and act differently.

Then, having begun to think and see things for himself, he may throw aside the nice post-war plans of the state-bosses and their wire-pullers and discover the right principles, which he does not have to-day, in order to turn against his real enemies—those in his own country.

IMPORTANT PUBLIC MEETING

SUNDAY, 23rd AUGUST at 3 p.m.

The Challenge of Totalitarianism

Discussed by

WILFRED WELLOCK

TOM BROWN

FREDRICK LOHR

CONWAY HALL, Red Lion Square, Holborn,

ADMISSION FREE

(Organised by FREDRICK LOHR)

continued from p. 6

The People's party has supported Britain against the Axis from the beginning of the war in 1939. A glance at its modest demands gives a good idea of how deplorable the conditions are; They ask land for small farmers at low interest rates; a dollar a day minimum wage; unemployment compensation at \$2 a week; production to make Jamaica self-sufficient in food; free trade with American nations; restoration of Jamaican troops; local self-government.

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The Future of the Proletariat

THE WORD 'PROLETARIAN' derives from the Latin *proletarius*, which meant literally one of the lowest order of freeman whose only use to the Roman state was to beget offspring (*proles*) to serve in its legions. When the word appears, somewhat rarely, in seventeenth century English literature, it retains the same general reference to the poorest classes and is used frequently in a derogatory sense to mean common or vulgar, as in Butler's *Hudibras*—'Low proletarian tything-men'.

In the nineteenth century, with the appearance of working class revolutionary movements, the word came to have what we can regard as its more or less exact modern meaning, i.e., the wage earners of all degrees and all kinds whether industrial or agricultural. Later there arose a restricted and inexact application to the industrial wage earners, the workers in the large aggregations of capitalist industry. This is the sense in which it seems to be used most frequently nowadays, so that when we hear a Marxist talking of the proletariat, we understand the word in this narrow definition. For the purposes of this article, I shall use this inexact but general sense.

It is a prevalent theory among various schools of Marxists that the revolution can only be achieved through the agency of the industrial proletariat, whose advanced social consciousness makes them alone fitted to lead the revolting workers. Whether Marx himself actually stated this, has been the subject of considerable discussion among his followers. And it is indeed difficult to find any explicit statement among his involved and circumlocutory periods. But it does seem probable that he held some such theory, for he maintained that the revolution would come via the concentration of capital, which would result in the erection of vast amalgamated monopoly organisations of industry, whose increasing oppression of the workers would eventually provoke them to revolt. This conclusion is stated somewhat vaguely towards the end of Volume 1 of *Das Kapital*:

'Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated'.

Such statements as this, together with Marx's various declarations that each country must go through an industrial phase before the revolution is achieved, and his verbal participation in nationalist wars on the side of the more highly industrialised countries (on the ground that they had progressed further towards the revolution), make it appear probable that he would have agreed to a theory that the revolution must be led by the industrial workers.

Over against this must be put the fact that towards the end of his life Marx wavered over the question of the necessity for a high degree of industrialisation before the revolution can be achieved. The publication of a translation of *Das Kapital* in St. Peterburg pleased him so much that he began to look favourably on Russia, then the greatest European peasant country. He does not seem to have reached any definite conclusions about Russia, but there is extant a letter written to a Russian girl, Vera Zasulich, in which he said, very evasively, that his state-

by **George Woodcock**

ment in *Das Kapital* that each country must pass through a state of intensive industrial capitalism referred only to those countries whose economic structures had been built on 'private property, based on individual labour'. Russia, whose traditional peasant economy was based on primitive communism, *might* pass to a revolutionary society without having to undergo a period of capitalism. This is an embarrassing document for those who would justify, on a Marxist basis, the establishment of an industrial neo-capitalism in Russia as a prelude to the 'communist' society. But it is perhaps unfair to introduce Marx when we discuss the opinions of Marxists. For Marx himself stated, 'All I know is that I myself am not a Marxist'. And he certainly seems at one time or another to have denied every theory that has been attributed to him. It would seem as if his well-known malicious humour led him to turn his doctrines into a maze of ambiguities and contradictions in which his future followers would blunder to the most ridiculous conclusions.

Whether or not Marx did assert it, the fact remains that Marxists have, for the most part, maintained this Messianic role for the industrial proletariat, and have, in practice, neglected peasants and farm workers generally, as well as other workers not employed in the large industrial aggregations. We will leave aside the question of whether the communists really mean the proletariat when they mention them as a leading class, or whether this Protean word has yet another meaning, and must be taken as applying to the scurf of shyster lawyers, eccentric deans, popularising scientists, minor scholars, lesser trade union officials and party bureaucrats who form the leading junta of the party organisation. Instead we will give some attention to the nature of the industrial proletariat, particularly as it exists in industrial countries.

Here I would disclaim any desire to create a mythical monster called 'a proletarian'. Too many revolutionaries carry about a sort of ventriloquial dummy which they call 'a worker' and which bears as little resemblance to any individual worker as the unicorn does to any creature in nature. In the words of Edward Bernstein, 'We have to take working men as they are. And they are neither so universally paupers as was set out in the Communist Manifesto, nor so free from prejudices and weakness as their courtiers wish to make us believe' . . . General statements about workers are as inexact as most generalisations. Usually they approach no nearer to the truth than the unicorn to his zoological prototype, the rhinoceros.

Workers are first and foremost individuals, men with their own personalities and characteristics. It is in this sense, as individuals rather than as classes, that they are of interest to anarchists. The anarchist teaching appeals to the man rather than the mass. But men do become classes and masses when and insofar as they undergo a common reaction to common circumstances. And if we are to end classes, if we are to break up masses into individuals acting in the co-operation of free men, we must at least form some general idea, as exact as possible, of the common attributes of the proletariat.

For the last hundred years the English industrial workers have been subjected to a progressive conditioning administered by the most capable ruling class in history. By a clever application of a series of minor concessions the activities of the workers were turned away from the revolutionary trends of the 1830's to the reformism of the New Model Trade Unions. Workers' organisations were, by the corruption of their leaders, turned into instruments for assisting class rule, until, to-day, the trades unions have been incorporated in the totalitarian state machine and the leaders of the party built on the workers' efforts and cash, act the most brutal parts in a reactionary government. By means of universal state education, the press, the radio, the cinema, the workers have been doped into an ignorance of social truths and a general mental unawareness far greater than that of their illiterate ancestors of Owen's day.

By the granting, in easy stages and over a number of years, of universal suffrage, the workers have been encouraged in the illusion of political equality, the illusion that the possession of the vote gives them a say in the government of the country. The Jacob's ladder of social and economic advancement has been hung continually before them, manifested in a graded caste system among workers. Every worker can become a foreman if he is sufficiently servile. Every clerk can become a manager if he is sufficiently officious and unscrupulous. In their higher-paid ranks, skilled craftsmen, foremen, engine-drivers, etc., the workers tend to become dovetailed into the petty-bourgeoisie, imitating their manner of life and acquiring their social prejudices. A very high proportion of the proletariat has been completely demoralised by these golden apples of capitalism, and is devoid of any revolutionary consciousness. Not the least appalling result of this corruption of the workers of Britain is the fact that they have lost any real sense of self-respect, any desire to develop their personalities for something better than the social and economic scum of would-be go-getters.

While it would be ridiculous to contend that capitalism has given out its prizes to a majority of the workers, many have benefited from the exploitation of the empire, and their good fortune has given a hope to many more of their fellows. But they should keep no illusion of continued good fortune. Capitalism will not, cannot continue to offer such baits to the proletariat. English capitalism, if it survives, will have a poor time after the war. Then the English workers will begin to experience something nearer the life of their Indian comrades, on whose misery their comparative (if slight) well being has been based. As the contradictions of capitalism drive it to act for its own eventual destruction, it will turn the screw ever more and more severely on the proletariat. Only then, I am convinced, can we hope to see a revolutionary consciousness among the English proletariat.

This revolutionary consciousness, as I noted in a recent issue of *War Commentary* is to be found more in countries with small industries and large peasant populations than in countries preponderantly industrial. In such countries men have not been subjected to the intensive conditioning imposed by efficient capitalism. The state, though perhaps more ruthless in theory, is in practice, less efficient and subtle in its oppression. The workers have not been subjected to the demoralisation of bourgeois standards, of social and economic advancement. For them there have been no Jacob's ladders, no golden apples of the Hesperides. Having escaped the regimentation of great factories, of universal state education, of the giant press, they have retained their natural perceptions, their human individuality and integrity, of which the workers of Britain have lost so much. In these countries the revolution has not retreated through the ineptitude of corrupt political parties which gulled the workers into giving their support to a fatal programme of reformism and appeasement.

Quite apart from the demoralisation induced from the policy of rulers, it seems that there is an inner, fundamental demoralisation in the factory system itself, with its usual accompaniment of a life divorced from any close or lasting contact with rural life. It takes considerable strength to withstand the spiritually destructive elements in a mass life, a life of regimentation and uniformity, of division of labour carried down to the absurdities of the Ford and Bedaux systems. Such a system is in itself a prime cause of the intellectual sterility which falls like a blight over the lives of the great majority of the urban proletariat.

In this connection it is significant to note that among the workers of Britain the most emotionally live, culturally sensitive and socially conscious, are those whose circumstances of work and life bring them in some close contact with nature, or provide some form of work that allows a certain individual initiative or creativeness. Thus the miners, most of whom still live in fairly close contact with rural surroundings, are the most militant of the British workers.

It is obvious that under a society based on freedom a system of production that in itself results in mental or emotional slavery cannot be allowed to survive. In an anarchist society there will no longer be any place for men to waste their lives in the monotonous performance of a single function. Life will become many sided. Men will no longer be industrial or agricultural workers, urban or country dwellers. The barriers between town and country, between factory and farm, between manual and intellectual work must be broken down, and men's experience of life must be as complete and varied as nature will allow. No class of workers can lead such a society. The industrial proletariat, as such, must be eliminated along with the bourgeoisie and every other class of the old state society. The individuals who comprise it will be able to reintegrate themselves in freedom into the whole men of the new society of anarchy. In the words of Kropotkin, 'We maintain that the ideal of society—that is, the state towards which society is already marching—is a society of integrated, combined labour. A society where each individual is a producer of both manual and intellectual work; where each able-bodied human being is a worker, and where each worker works both in the field and the industrial workshops.'

As a class the proletariat has no future. When economic exploitation dies, the class of the exploited will die. Life and the future belong to no class, but to mankind.

An American Communist's Experiences

by *Marcus Graham*

FRED E. BEAL was pardoned by the Governor of North Carolina after he returned several years ago from Russia—choosing to serve a 17 to 20 years' sentence rather than continue to participate in the reign of the Bolshevik Government. And in 1937 the Hillman-Curl publishing house of New York City issued Beal's *Proletarian Journey*. I did not chance to read it till recently, but it made an unusual impression on me, and it is this impression that I wish to share with the reader.

Since Bolshevism's ascent to power in Russia there have appeared numerous volumes by Communists who went to Russia only to return disillusioned and renegades—as far as the ideal of Socialism was concerned. Fred E. Beal went to Russia twice, and each time he was disillusioned. But he did not turn renegade; he came out of the purgatory, still faithful as ever toward the ideal of his life. This fact alone makes Beal's volume outstanding and worthy of the attention of every student of social ideas. But the book has another great merit. It is straightforward to a point that many authors shrink from—to reveal one's own weaknesses and shortcomings. Beal had done things that he came to feel ashamed of, but he has the courage to admit this.

Fred E. Beal is the son of an early settler whom the march of the machine age drove from the land to the industrial city. In his early youth Beal was forced to join the ranks of the proletarians. He chose the trade of a textile worker, as that the chief industry in New England. The experiences he underwent in the various textile mills are in themselves about as strong an indictment of the inhuman exploitation and reign of governmental terror that the present economic system rests upon, that has ever been penned in American literature.

Beal's unusual story begins with the New Bedford textile strike of 1927, when he became a member of the Communist Party. He tells how the strikers' funds were abused by the C.P. officials, and the strike thereby sabotaged. In 1929 Beal came to the fore as a strike-leader in the Gastonia strike. During an attack on the strike headquarters by hired thugs and police, the chief of police in Gastonia was shot dead, and sixteen workers—thirteen men and three women—were charged with his murder; Beal was one of the accused. The case was so weak that it ended in a mistrial, but this did not satisfy the mill-owners and a second trial was staged as a result of which Beal and three other workers were sentenced to from seventeen to twenty years hard labour, two others to from twelve to fifteen years and yet another to from five to seven years.

Most of the accused chose to escape to the "workers' Fatherland"—Bolshevik ruled Russia, where Beal underwent the greatest ordeal of his life. Beal and his comrades

from the United States were treated very well there. As he writes:—

"I thought the Russian workers were certainly lucky to be getting so much food, judging by the amount we received. The beggars and ragged people must indeed be "bums" who would not work for Socialism . . . But the waiter who served us killed this thought, he looked so scrawney and wasted. And, after we were through, he would eat the leavings . . . At the first opportunity we had, we asked a high Communist Party official . . . about this condition. He explained that there was a shortage of food because the Party decided to export food and other products to capitalist countries for machinery . . ." (Page 231.)

But they were to learn much more, especially as to how the Bolshevik Government was transforming a great peasant country into an industrial nation—according to the precepts laid down by Karl Marx. Writes Beal:—

"My interpreter explained that the Government encouraged peasants to leave their farms and to go into industry. Communist agents were even sent to the villages for this purpose. In many respects this was analogous to the industrialization of the South in America. The southern farmers and hardy mountaineers had little or no knowledge of machinery when they started their trek to the cotton mills. Mill agents enticed them to the city and the machine with the same promises that the Russians made to the *maujik*, the betterment of their social economic conditions." (Page 235.)

Beal and his associates were expected to repay the somewhat better treatment accorded to them in a manner that illustrates the methods that the Bolshevik government has no scruples in employing. Explains Beal:—

"We had a conference. Again we heard the Comintern's decision that we jump bail and remain in the Soviet Union . . . in order to absolve the Comintern and Soviet Government for any blame for the action, we should all have to sign a paper, already drawn up, to the effect that all of us begged to be admitted into the Soviet Union! . . . I was quite puzzled by the solicitude of the Comintern. From experience I knew that the Communist Party was never concerned over the personal welfare of individuals, except for propaganda purposes. One reason for the decision, I found out, was the use the Russian Communist Party expected to make of us by displaying us to the Russian masses as a horrible example of American justice. The Russian worker was just then having a hard time trying to keep alive . . ." (Page 239-240.)

This exploitation is analogous to the United State's "democratic" government, whose Department of Justice chooses leading exiles from other countries to broadcast hymns of praise for the "glorious freedoms" that we have—written down on paper, but seldom practised!

Beal and his fellow Americans were not the sole exiles in Bolshevik Russia, and he tells us what happens to all such refugees:—

“ . . . we were taken ‘home’—to the House for Political Emigrants . . . The plight of these emigrants was pitiful. They had fought against injustice and misery in their own countries where they were the backbone, the elite, of the Communist and radical movements. They sacrificed everything for the cause. In the Soviet Union they were nothing . . . The Soviet functionaries did not grovel at the feet of these revolutionary heroes as they did before visiting capitalist politicians . . . Leaders of the Bela Kun type did not live in the House for Political Emigrants but in the finest apartments as befits Communist politicians of the first magnitude.” (Page 240-241.)

Of the “assignment” given to him, Beal writes:—

“I was informed . . . that my assignment would take me to Uzbekistan, in Central Asia . . . It looked as if the Comintern wished to send me as far away from the Soviet capital as possible . . . I left for a tour of Bokhars, Samarkand, Tashkent and a score of other cities and villages in Uzbekistan. In each place, at specially arranged meetings I was assigned to tell how and why the workers starved in America. It was the hardest thing I have ever done in my life. The people wore such a hungry, hopeless look . . . When I visited the silk mills in Tashkent, I was surprised and disturbed to find many children working. They would plunge their tender hands into near-boiling water to retrieve cocoons, just as children do in the factories in China, owned by Western capitalists . . . (Page 251.) The Soviet Government was building tanks and guns and airplanes, the chemical plants to defend the Soviet Union. This was the common explanation for the general privation. But what did the workers of Soviet Russia have to defend! They were hungry. They needed clothes and shoes and living quarters . . . (Page 256.)

Already disillusioned, as were many other similar exiles Beal tells us how he tried to deaden his mind and body to what he was experiencing:—

“For a few weeks I went on drinking sprees with other Party members. But even vodka was not potent enough to drown the realities.” (Page 261.)

Then along came one of the famous “confession” trials.

Writes Beal of one of these:—

“At this time the great public trial of the so-called Industrial Party took place in Moscow. It attracted world-wide attention and was dramatically staged by the Communist Party with that purpose in view. For, about two months earlier, the Moscow newspapers had published a matter-of-fact announcement of the execution of forty-eight men and women, chiefly scientists and technicians, who had held important posts . . . This summary execution of people condemned by a secret tribunal . . . had created an international furore. Protests signed by Albert Einstein and other world figures were circulated abroad and the act was compared with the bloody incidents of the Tsarist regime. The Soviet Government decided, therefore, to hold a public exhibition of the manner in which it administered justice and it chose the Ramzin case . . . All the students in the Lenin school of which I was a member were compelled to parade past the Dom Sayuzov Palace at Labor the night of the trial and to shout ‘Death to the wreckers! Death to the enemies of Soviet Russia! Death! Death! Death!’ . . . The factory workers were there, because they had to be, for fear of losing their bread cards and suffering worse penalties . . . How I burned with

shame at this organized mob . . . The Ramzin ‘confession’ provoked wide discussion and speculation within and without Russia . . . There had been hundreds, thousands of executions in the Soviet Union that year. There had been numerous ‘confessions’ . . . Sometimes torture was used, at other times threats of harming members of the prisoners’ families were applied . . . I had known capitalist injustice. I now knew Communist injustice. But justice, I wondered, where it is to be found!” (Page 263-266.)

Fred E. Beal had experienced enough in Bolshevik Russia to prefer the jail sentence that awaited him in the United States, rather than remain. He was determined to escape, and succeeded by subterfuge, in getting away.

Meanwhile in America, the Court disallowed the appeal of the Gastonia victims. Beal and most of the others were willing to surrender, but the Communist Party did not like the idea at all! And strange as it may seem to the reader, Beal and most of the other victims of American capitalist injustice escaped a second time for the land where they had experienced equally degrading oppression and suffering under the shield of “proletarian” regime.

What Beal found upon his second sojourn in Russia was anything but pleasant. Some of these experiences he relates in these words:—

“The food situation in Russia had taken a decided turn for the worse during my nine month’s absence. But I still had some American dollars and I patronized the Torgsin stores. What an extraordinary institution was the Torgsin! It developed out of the shipment of food packages from abroad to relatives and foreigners in Russia . . . The Soviet Government quickly saw in this trade an opportunity to obtain the much needed currency, and monopolized the commerce.” (Page 275.)

Beal witnessed and participated in many tragic experiences, as he now admits, with very little credit to himself. One such incident was the hunger march of the women of the foreign colony before the office of the Kharkov Tractor Plant. It was defeated by the lying speeches of Soviet officials, including Beal himself.

How free is the worker in his supposed own “proletarian fatherland?” Beal supplies the answer:—

“The Tractor Plant . . . is surrounded by a high brick wall. Every entrance is guarded by a soldier with loaded rifle and fixed bayonet. In addition there are watchmen at the entrances of the factory grounds. Every person entering the plant . . . must have a pass with the bearer’s photograph on it, stamped and signed by the chiefs of the G.P.U. (Secret police) . . . This unusual passport system was devised to enchain the workers and restrict them to certain zones . . . Thus, a worker in Kharkov having a passport good only for that zone, could not get a job if he moved, for instance, to Rostov or Stalingrad.” (Page 294.)

And as to beggars and criminals, by-products of every capitalist system; are these at least extinct in Bolshevik ruled Russia? Beal supplies the answer:—

“Wherever I went in the Ukraine, I saw thousands of homeless outcasts about the streets . . . they stole anything they could lay their hands on . . . In some instances they waylaid, robbed and killed some better faring compatriot in the dark . . .” (Page 295.)

Without Prejudice

Of course, we understand that Royalty to-day does not rule except by the consent of its Ministers. Where this relic of feudalism exists, it can seldom disturb the serene paths of class government with the playboy antics of Carol and Edward. As we understand bourgeois democracy, however, democracy and royalty are opposites, and there is no logical excuse for the retention of the paraphernalia of a hereditary monarchy and aristocracy. Royalty may not rule, as Carol did; that is undemocratic. It may not be impotent, like the King of Italy, whose name or number we cannot even remember: that is unkingly.

In order for Royalty to be a success, it must be something more than an animated postage stamp and something less than a Cabinet Minister, and if it is successful on these lines, the capitalist system may well retain it, as it does the Lord Mayor's Show, the Tower of London, and, if you will, Madame Tussaud's. They remain historical and traditional links, and only genuine revolutionists, with a history and tradition opposed to imperialism and authority, can oppose the idea of a privileged few at the helm of State. British Republicanism (with the possible ex-

ception of H. G. Wells) is therefore non-existent. Even socialism has been parliamentarised and broken in to garden parties at the Palace. The few remaining revolutionary socialists are mostly anarchists, opposed to all governments and consequently all the exterior trappings of government such as Royalty.

There need be no illusions; we all know that the holding of high commissions by Royalty is decorative. There are no amphibian soldier-sailor-airmen; consequently there can be no general-admiral-air marshal. The Front Bench admitted this, when speaking of a unified command forgetting that ostensibly there was.

The Royal ladies holding commissions consequently registered with other civilians, but sections of the Press said they were not to be called up because they were members of the Forces. This is rather puzzling, and the Queen did not register, because she was in the Forces. At the moment, I have before me a picture of Her Majesty in civilian dress. She is pursuing her peacetime duties. Naturally Royalty cannot be reduced to the ranks in this system. Commissions are inevitably a spare time job. But let there be democracy in the capitalist system, even with royalty, especially lest the delicate question of the strain of the blood royal, so questioned in the last war, be raised again by overardent Vansittartites. In short, let Mr. Bevin compile a fresh list of reserved occupations.

"The hungry folks stood in the way of the bureaucrats anxious to make a good showing before the visiting delegations and tourists . . . The Soviet authorities . . . would round up the starving people . . . and turn them over to the G.P.U. . . . I confess that I even took part to some extent in these inhuman dragnets." (Page 297.)

Perhaps no indictment of the Bolshevik regime could equal this statement made to Beal by Petrofsky, the President of the Ukranian Soviet Republic.—

"We know that millions are dying (of hunger).

That is unfortunate, but the glorious future of the Soviet Union will justify that." (Page 310.)

Disillusioned more than ever before, Beal writes:—

"All governments have their satellites in the form of semi-official press correspondents who disseminate 'inspired' news . . . Now the Soviet press is a government press. Its servility to Stalin is beyond comprehension abroad. It practices an almost inconceivable deception upon the Russian people and indirectly upon the outside world. Its weapons are denunciation and prevarication." (Page 326.)

And Beal concludes his *Proletarian Journey* with this striking paragraph:—

"Yet my status had not changed between 1929 and 1937. My ideals had not changed. O discovered that Soviet Russia was the greatest fraud of history. I learned that there is still nothing mightier in the world than truth. I found that the Stalinist road leads to calamity and darkness. But I am as convinced as ever that there is another road to a free and classless humanity, a road that is worth the quest, and which can be found only by minds liberated from the worship of false gods and by spirits strong enough to face the truth in the quest for truth." (Page 352-353.)

* * *

It is a great finale, yet it leaves this writer uneasy, Beal repeats a great truth when he subscribes to the need

of liberation from the worship of false gods. Yet, one finds him refer on page 346 to Leon Trotzky as the greatest living Communist, whom he vainly sought to meet after his second escape from Russia. Evidently, Beal has not learned to discard the worship of all gods. For, if Trotzky had succeeded Lenin instead of Stalin, would he have acted differently? One need only recall the blood bath at Kronstadt that both Lenin and Trotzky carried out to realize that Trotzky would have acted in the same way as Stalin.

What Beal failed to learn from his experiences in Russia is the great lesson that the Lenins, the Trozkys, and the Stalins are victims of the powerful and inhuman State machine that they helped to build up. Once having assumed the role of rulers, they had to wind up as he himself puts it, as "dictators" over the proletariat. It is not individuals that Beal should blame, but rather the institutions that the theories of Marxian Socialism inspired, which in turn, became masters over the individuals.

This is the great division line between the Marxian and Anarchist school of thought. It is only the anarchist school that has freed itself from the worship of all false gods—for it fully realizes that it is power that corrupts the individual. And the greatest corrupting device is the monstrous creation of capitalism—the State machine. The corruption of socialists in every part of the world by capitalist regimes is one striking proof of this. Fred E. Beal's *Proletarian Journey*—is but another striking proof that even when Socialists capture the State—as Karl Marx dreamt of—the State institution becomes the corrupting master of every one who agrees to become a part of it.

Fred E. Beal's book serves as a great vindication of the soundness of Anarchist philosophy, even though Beal himself has failed, as yet, to reach this conclusion.

SOLDIERS' PAY INEQUALITY

The Government has refused to consider the increasing of soldiers' pay before the Summer recess. The disparities in soldiers' pay is likely to create a feeling of hostility amongst soldiers of various allied countries. One remembers how English soldiers were disliked in France because the French soldier was getting a little more than a penny a day while British soldiers were getting about half a crown. While the French couldn't afford drinks or cigarettes they saw the cafés crowded with English soldiers who were also able to entertain friends, while they had to rely on the help given to them by their families. The better uniforms of the British also excited the envy and jealousy of the French. This created a feeling of hostility between the two peoples and prevented bonds of friendship being linked between them. It was of course wrong for the French to dislike the British soldier because he had better pay and uniform, as he was no more responsible for his half-a-crown than the French soldier for his daily penny. But such feelings cannot be prevented and in this war one can already see envy and hostility arising against American soldiers here. It would be wrong however if American soldiers were held responsible for the better conditions they have. One should always keep in mind that the policy of any government is to divide and rule and that it may not be a pure accident that such inequalities should exist. The job of the conscientious soldier is not to dislike and try to bring down to his own level, soldiers of allied nations, but try to get as much as they do. If the U.S. Government has increased the pay of the American privates from £5 5s. to \$12 a month, why should the British Government refuse to consider immediately a substantial increase of army pay.

The various army pays at present are:

British: £3 16s. a month (15s. 2½d deferred)

American: £12 10s. a month (plus 20 per cent. overseas allowance).

Canadian: £8 15s. a month (£4 10s deferred)

Australian: £11 5s. a month (PLUS 2s. a day deferred).

Polish: £3 0s. 10d. a month

French, Belgian, Norwegian, Dutch: £3 16s. a month.

The old trade union slogan "Equal pay for equal work" would be a fitting one for soldiers to adopt.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF FASCISM

In British Newspapers on Friday, July 31st, there appeared an item of news concerning the killing of P.C. Patrick Murphy on Easter Sunday, in Ireland. Six young Irishmen whose ages ranged from 18 to 22 years, were sentenced to death for carrying out such an act. These men were described as "terrorists who belonged to an armed gang", and the general tone of the press was such as to sway public opinion against the men concerned.

In the papers on the following Sunday, a small piece of news was published about a French youth of 18, who had been sentenced to death as a "terrorist", by a military court in Occupied France. This time the tone of the Press was one of sympathy and support for the unfortunate man. Why the different attitude towards similar acts?

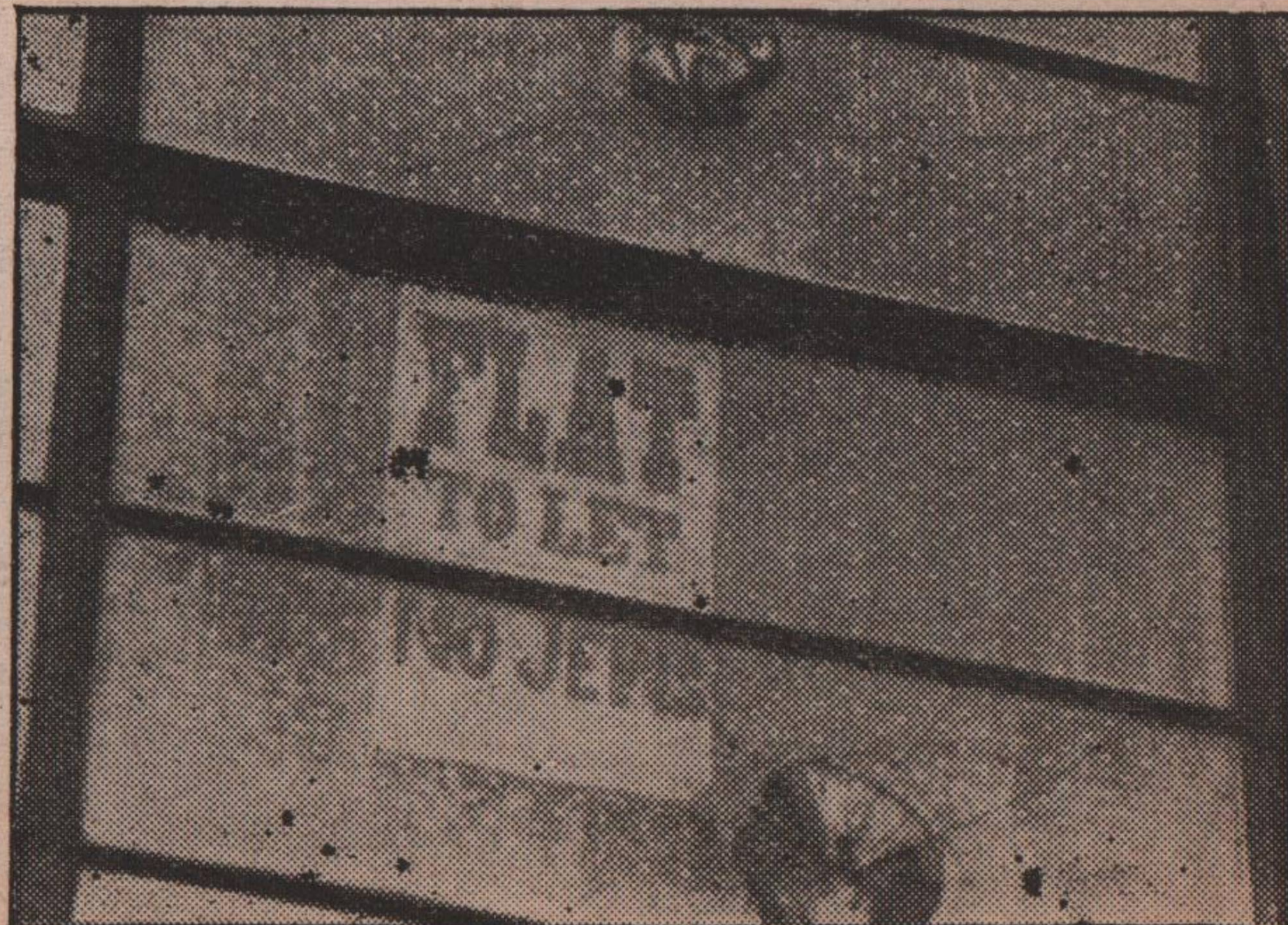
The Frenchman was only resisting the organised violence of German Fascism in Occupied France. But the Irish youths, too, were fighting against the organised violence of British Fascism in Occupied Ireland. Naturally, the British ruling class favours such acts when committed against opposing powers, as it assists them to establish their own hegemony over the people. But when such acts are directed against the might of British rule, they are savagely suppressed.

It is also interesting to note that whenever several French people are executed for killing one German soldier, a self-righteous howl of indignation goes up about "atrocities committed by the barbarous Hun against the civilian population". But similar cruel acts are justified when committed by "democratic" Governments. But surely six Irishmen for one British P.C. is just as much an atrocity as six Frenchmen for one German soldier?

This particular incident demonstrates perfectly the hollowness of the pretentious claims of British Imperialism to be "fighting in the interests of freedom-loving peoples, etc." It reinforces the claim of the anarchists that as long as government, i.e., organised violence, exists, freedom cannot live. Only when the State has been completely smashed will liberty for all be established.

T.W.B.

Seen in London



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