

WAR *For Anarchism* COMMENTARY

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TWOPENCE

ITALY CAN SOUND the call TO REVOLUTION

MUSSOLINI HAS FALLEN. We would rejoice more if his end had been that of a tyrant and not of a cabinet minister. His has been perhaps a more pitiful end than if anarchist bombs or bullets had struck him at the height of his success and glory. But the Italian people have been deprived of justice on the man who has oppressed them for more than twenty years.

The "leader" of the Italian people has abandoned them at the moment when his presence and leadership would have been needed more than ever had the people trusted him. But it is obvious that the faith and admiration he had inspired amongst many had disappeared. How long ago? Already at the time of Abyssinia, the sight of wounded and sick soldiers filled the heart of Italians with hatred for the builder of the New Roman Empire. Italian intervention in Spain brought more impatience and disgust. But at that time Mussolini had powerful allies abroad. Any revolt against him would have been sabotaged as was the revolt of the Spanish people against Franco.

Not only in France, but in Britain and America, Italian anti-fascists who could have organised the resistance inside Italy were persecuted by the police. Anarchists who attempted to take Mussolini's life did so at the risk of being imprisoned by the police agents of the free democracies. When the attentats took place they were greeted with horror in the World Press. If Mussolini has survived to tender his resignation to the King he must thank the French Sûreté and Scotland Yard rather than his own O.V.R.A.!

Badoglio, the man who used mustard gas against the Abyssinians, has taken over. He is described as representing "royalty, piety and order". What could be nicer for the British and American governments? But will he succeed in maintaining order? He may be able to use the O.V.R.A., the fascist secret police, as police bodies are generally willing to serve any party in power. He will find the use

of the Blackshirt militias more difficult as they are likely to remain faithful to Mussolini. They are formed merely of young men brought up in the fascist tradition, saturated with imperialist propaganda, kept at home while the other troops were sent to die in Africa. This privileged body may not find the change of régime to its liking.

However, the severity of the martial law imposed shows that Badoglio, the Addis Ababa Duke, is prepared to use all available means to maintain order. If he succeeds and is ready to negotiate, one can foresee that the Allies will receive with open arms the Italian Quisling. They will find in the Piedmontese Pétain the solution to their problems of occupation and administration.

But Badoglio may fail to suppress the insurrection of the Italian people. Italians do not seem to want to leave the job of crushing fascism to a murderer of unarmed Abyssinians and to a half-witted monarch. If they can't get hold of the big fascist leaders it is likely that they will get rid of the party officials and bureaucrats who have been vexing, humiliating, and oppressing them for years. The wearers of black shirts are in for a rough time.

Badoglio has only doubtful arms at his disposal. But prying eyes will be watching for any signs of revolutionary risings. Germany, Britain and America are there, ready to intervene. Italy is therefore caught in a vice. From the Alps and from Sicily the white armies of intervention are prepared to come in to restore "peace and order".

Italians must remember the example of the Commune caught between the armies of Germany on the one side and of French reaction on the other. Cut away from the rest of France, completely isolated, the Commune had the courage to fight for its ideals without considering defeat. Like Paris in 1871 Italy may set an example which will inspire the people now under the yoke of Fascist and democratic governments all over the world, to revolt.

Is there a Revolutionary Situation in Italy ?

FOR THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION the situation in Italy is a critical one. It is the first occasion in the totalitarian era which has developed since the last war, in which the dictator of a modern state has been removed. For the first time, a totalitarian state has been decapitated. The highly organized state machinery of oppression in Italy has received a check—the magnitude of which it is, as yet, impossible to gauge. But the question is: will the check provide an opportunity for the working class forces to rise and overthrow their rulers and their instruments of class domination?

The importance of Mussolini's fall will be felt outside Italy, especially in other fascist countries. Dictators are everywhere invested by their own propaganda ministries with such a halo, that the rapid collapse of one tyrant cannot fail to shake the prestige of his fellow dictators. In Germany, in Spain especially, the submerged masses will feel a new hope, a new energy.

That Badoglio has grasped the critical nature of the Italian situation is shown by the severity of his martial law decrees, his curfew, his limitation of the right of assembly to no more than three persons at a time, and the other measures he has taken "to preserve order". He hopes to tide over the critical period by naked military oppression.

Churchill's speech indicates to those who understand the potentialities of the situation that he intends to prevent, if possible, an uprising of the Italian workers and peasants. His appeal to the Italians is for unconditional surrender only, not for a rising and overthrow of the Badoglio government, with its declared intention of carrying on the war. He threatens unrestricted bombing, rather than offers assistance to insurrectionary movements. There is no pledge to support Italian anti-fascist guerillas! Furthermore he was careful to justify in advance any allied intervention against the potential Italian revolution. Such action is labelled beforehand as part of war strategy. "This Nazi war machine is the hateful incubus upon Europe which we are resolved utterly to destroy, and the affairs of Italy must be handled with that supreme object in view." That will not prevent him brutally suppressing the revolutionary forces which in Italy or Germany or anywhere else form the most dangerous and effective foe of Nazism.

The *Daily Worker* also is at work guarding against the Italian revolution. In its editorial of July 27th, it urges the futility of "political" action (*i.e.* Italian internal affairs) as "mere delay", and demands only *military* measures against Italy.

Ruling class fears received their clearest expression in the following passage from Churchill's speech: "We certainly do not seek to reduce Italian life to a condition of chaos and anarchy and find ourselves without any authorities with whom to deal".

What, then, are the problems facing the Italian workers? The machinery of State power has been shaken, but to what extent, and how long will it take to recover its stranglehold? Italy was ruled on the one hand by the economic power of the corporations (which still exist), and on the other by the direct violence of the Fascist militia and the O.V.R.A.—the secret police equivalent

to the G.P.U. or the Gestapo. The power of the Corporations may well have been disorganized by the loss of Sicily and the collapse of the war economy. More important, however, is the state of the O.V.R.A. and the Fascist militia. Are these trained hoodlums efficient tools in the hands of the Badoglio militarists, or are they so intimately bound up with the Fascist party and Mussolini that the new government has had to disband them? Has the fascist machinery been destroyed along with the removal of the party leaders, or is it still there for the new leaders to use? For the moment we can only speculate on these issues.

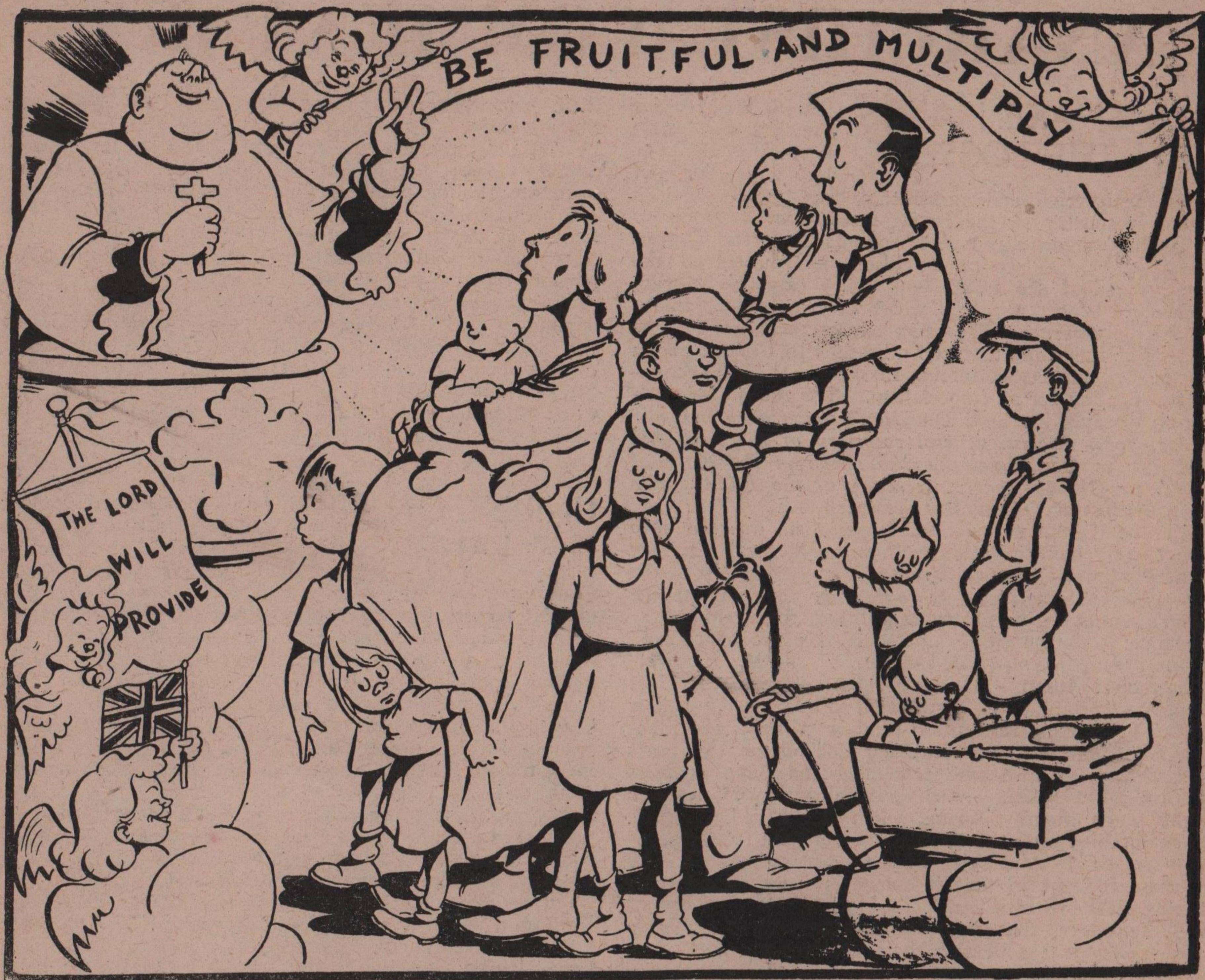
But apart from the former Fascist instruments of State power, Badoglio's régime depends upon the army (said to be at daggers drawn with the Blackshirt militia). The army, however, may turn out to be a most unreliable prop. The Italian army, like the army of the Tsar in 1917, is a peasant army; it also may "vote with its feet" and simply dissolve away, rather than carry on a futile war.

Whatever happens, it seems certain that, in these critical days when—to use Churchill's phrase—"Italian affairs are in this flexible, fluid, and formative condition", the Italian workers have at least the chance to strike a blow at the whole edifice of world reaction by initiating the revolutionary movements which alone can end this and all other wars. It remains to be seen whether they can seize the opportunity.

After twenty-one years of savage repression, they have only themselves to rely on; they have no highly organized Socialist party, or no highly vocal Communist Party to mislead and betray them. But, on the other hand, no revolutionary propaganda of anarchism has been able to make itself heard since 1922. Nevertheless, the anarchist movement in Italy was second in size and influence only to that of Spain, and, on the theoretical plane, was perhaps even more advanced still. The occupation of the factories in 1919 showed that the Italian workers instinctively grasped the economic revolutionary necessities of the post-war situation, even if they failed to carry them through to a successful conclusion.

Let us suppose that the social revolution *will* be attempted in Italy. Nothing is more certain than that intervention will immediately follow. There were a hundred indications of this possibility in the speech of that practiced interventionist Churchill on Tuesday. And the *News Chronicle* in its editorial for 27/7/43 openly declares that "for the time being the Allies will have to keep Italy under some form of military dispensation, with Italian civilian co-operation in local affairs". But intervention will not be the monopoly of the Allies; the counter-revolutionary armies will pour over the northern borders from Vichy France and Austria.

Is the Italian revolution therefore doomed in advance? Not necessarily. Revolutions have a way of spreading and disorganizing interventionist armies (especially when these are themselves war weary) and of upsetting far away tyrannies. That is why the international ruling class is so scared of them. But the Revolution only spreads if it is a revolution, and offers the workers of other lands a vision of something worth while to fight for. Halfway measures destroyed the Spanish Revolution,
(continued on p. 3)



"Even to-day the happiest people in the country are women with large families. They are the people who have the best time because the necessity of looking after many children made one forget oneself. Mothers of families of six, seven, and eight, living in a few rooms, are far happier than the women you find in the Ritz Hotel or dodging life in other ways."

Lady Astor during the recent debate on the trend of population in the House of Commons.

hindered its spread, and failed to pierce the apathy of workers elsewhere. The Italians must not make the same mistakes.

Let them occupy the factories and seize the fields, placing them under direct workers' control through local and regional committees. But let them also see to it that no vestige of the former state forms remain to provide a soil and a handle for the counter-revolution within. They must destroy all political and legal machinery, all records relating to private property, police dossiers, and national labour registers. They must destroy the banks and abolish for ever the power of currency. Abolish the wages system with its starvation threats and its dividing of the workers. If economy is based on the working of natural resources in order to supply the needs of all, it cannot be ruined by withholding credits, or strangled from Wall

Street or the Bank of England.

If no trace is allowed to remain of the means whereby man is able to dominate man, if equality and freedom for all is established, then the revolution will spread abroad as an example and inspiration to the workers oppressed in other lands. The defeat of intervention in Italy will depend less on the products of the Fiat works than on the solidarity of the workers of the world. Such solidarity was extended to far away Russia in 1921 by the English workers who refused to let arms go to Poland for use against the revolution. It will be extended all the earlier to the Italian workers according to the brightness of the revolutionary fire.

Let the fall of the first of the Fascist dictators herald the revolutionary uprising that shall overthrow oppression everywhere.

ANARCHIST COMMENTARY

T.U.'s SHAKE HANDS WITH THE BOSSES

"A SCHEME for dividing world markets after the war by a system of cartels, or international agreements, was put forward in London yesterday at the initial meeting of a group of British Industrialists and trade unionists." (*News Chronicle*, 20/7/43). Viscount Davidson, mouthpiece of the bosses, repeated the usual (and true) capitalist slogan, "Unless we export, we die," which Goering made famous in his Nazi version, "We must export, or burst". The meaning of this capitalist catch-phrase is that if one makes a profit, one must seek foreign markets. It is the economic justification for all imperialism. The *News Chronicle* goes on to say, "Viscount Davidson's views were endorsed by Mr. John Brown, general secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, who spoke in the place of Sir Walter Citrine, general secretary of the T.U.C., who is still in Russia". Comment is superfluous.

Trade Unions support for Imperialism was put even more bluntly by Mr. C. Jarman, acting general secretary of the National Union of Seamen, who is reported in the same issue of the *News Chronicle* as declaring at the Union's annual general meeting "that there should be assistance from the State and some measure of control. *Shipping must be used in the interests of the Empire.*" In harmony with this repulsive subservience to the chief foe of the working class, he went on to demand the utmost severity in exacting retribution for war crimes. He advocated what amounts to a continued blockade of Axis ports after victory. Those who remember the three quarters of a million German women and children who perished in the seven months during which the Allied Blockade was maintained after the Armistice—perished from starvation—will be revolted by this beastly suggestion. It is all the more hideous in that it emanates from an allegedly working class organization.

Let us hope that these two announcements of Trade Union policy will disillusion their members about the usefulness (to the workers—their usefulness to the bosses is certainly clear enough) of reformist unions.

BOYS IN THE MINES

EVER since the horrors associated with the conditions under which the workers toiled during the years of the industrial revolution aroused a feeling of disgust among the 'enlightened' of all classes and hastened the birth of Victorian philanthropy, with its ineffectual attempts to palliate the most glaring of these injustices, the work of the coal miner has been regarded as the most unpleasant and dangerous of toils, and efforts have been made to restrict it, as far as possible, to men and keep the women and children out of the mines. Among miners themselves the prospect of their sons following them into the pit has always been an unpleasant one, and they have taken any opportunity that might arise to get them into some less dangerous and exacting work. Now, however, all these sentiments, whether born from ineffectual philanthropy or hard experience, are to go by the board, and the war to free Europe is to plunge England back into the early nineteenth century type of industrial slavery. That is the real meaning of the government move to send boys of sixteen into the mines.

As a newspaper extract in "Through the Press" shows, the boys will be chosen mostly from the working class, from among the miners' sons, because they happen to be there on the spot. The miners' M.P.'s are so certain of the kind of reception the proposal will receive among

their constituents that they dare not risk their next election chances by supporting it.

The newspapers, on the other hand, almost unanimously support the driving into the mines of these unfortunate "young men" (it is curious how young a man can be when he is wanted for some unpleasant job—we shall soon reach the foetuses). The *Daily Worker*, as usual, stands well to the right, and, in approving of the scheme, remarks pompously "We have to be prepared to adopt speedily any and every measure to increase the production of coal". So we can expect in the near future to see Comrades Rust and Pollitt going down beside the "young men" in the pits. Or perhaps that is going too far, and they wish merely for a return to the good old days when women crawled about the pits, dragging the loaded tubs of coal behind them.

UNREST ON THE LAND

THERE is growing discontent among farmers in all parts of the country at the unfair use which is being made by War Agricultural Committees and the Ministry of Agriculture of the dictatorial powers that have been given them for regulating agricultural production. From counties as far apart as Gloucester and Essex comes news that the farmers are making organised protests against the way in which the Committees use their powers for taking over farms. It is alleged that favouritism plays a great part in the matter, and the farmers are demanding that some form of machinery for appeal should be set up. At present the decisions of the W.A.E.C. are irrevocable.

Concern is being felt among small farmers in some parts of the country at a proposal to take away from the county councils the small holdings they were allowed to set up and administer under previous legislation. This is, of course, a natural consequence of the policy of centralisation which is proceeding everywhere in the country's administrative system. On the whole, the county councils have proved reasonably fair landlords, and the black record which many of the W.A.E.C.'s have achieved in other respects does not make the smallholders anxious for a change of governors.

Distribution schemes organised by the central authorities also are causing annoyance among growers because of the lack of practical relationship to the circumstances under which the growers work. Recently Scottish tomato growers decided to cease planting any more seeds in an attempt to force the Ministry to grant their reasonable demand to be allowed to sell half their produce to local retailers.

A further grievance against the authorities is the fact that the Income Tax bureaucrats are attempting to extract tax on the £2 per acre granted to farmers for ploughing up old pastures. Naturally enough, the farmers feel incensed at the idea that the Treasury gives them £2 for their work and then tries to take half back, leaving a paltry £1 per acre for their trouble. This, of course, is the kind of cold-blooded prank which bureaucrats often play on their victims. At present a test case is in hand, the latest news being that the Income Tax commissioners have deferred the decision. Whatever may be the tardy outcome of this dispute, the principle remains that when Governments give anything they always do their best to take it away with the other hand. The farmers, of course, have experienced this kind of treatment for years. Now, however, they occupy a vital position in the national economy, and a resolute combination of farmers and farm workers to resist the government in its machinations could not fail to be effective.

PROPAGANDA at WAR

"THE AIM OF propaganda is to *force* a doctrine upon a people," said Adolf Hitler, and set about doing it. No government can reign by violence alone. A government must use propaganda to so cudgel and intimidate the minds of men that they will be psychologically conditioned to submit to State violence. This is especially true in time of war.

"It is not reasonable to expect even barbaric peoples to fight an enemy whom they regard as 'not a bad sort of chap'. Any sentiments of this nature must be dispelled before the warlike spirit can be thoroughly kindled. In wars between peoples there must be hatred of the enemy."

So wrote an Army propaganda officer, Captain Sidney Rogerson, in *Propaganda in the Next War*.

In the creation of hatred government is aided by the weakness of most persons towards condemning in the opposite side that which receives approval, or passes unnoticed, in their own. A few cases from the previous and the present wars will illustrate this. With almost brutal frankness Captain Rogerson wrote:

"I never pass the statue in Trafalgar Square to Nurse Cavell without reflecting that after the inscription 'Patriotism is not Enough', should be added 'Propaganda is also Necessary'. . . . It cannot, I hope, constitute any slur on her memory to assert that by the letter of military law she deserved death . . . It is a matter of history that not long after she was executed the French authorities shot two German nurses for similar offences!"

One of the atrocities claimed against the Germans in the 1914-18 War was that of executing condemned men by tying them to cannon mouths and firing shots through them. This caused immense indignation, yet several conservative histories of the Indian Mutiny tell of the British authorities using that spectacular method in executing mutineers. Wrote Lieut. F. Roberts (afterwards Field-Marshal Lord Roberts) to his mother:

"Well, the troops assembled at Jhelum and we have come along this far (Amritsar) doing a little business on the road such as disarming regiments and executing mutineers. The death that seems to have the most effect is being blown from a gun. It is rather a horrible sight, but in these times we cannot be particular."

Letters written during the Indian Mutiny, p. 12.

All of the atrocities committed by the Nazis during this war had been used in the building of the British Empire (and all other empires). Let us consider as an example the laying waste of villages in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia and the establishment of concentration camps. I have before me an article by Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, a military

correspondent of the Beaverbrook press. Fuller lightly writes:

"For instance, in the first war in which I ever took part, the South African War of 1899-1902, as there were few things, such as railways, roads and bridges to destroy, in 1901 Lord Kitchener determined to make the area of operations a waste. This meant the burning of all farms and the herding of women and children into concentration camps."

Evening Standard, June 20, 1943.

By

Tom Brown

We have space for but one more example of the one-sidedness of war propaganda. Much anger has been caused by newspaper allegations of German airmen shooting at British pilots who were making forced descent by parachute, and during the showing of the film *Wake Island* gasps of horror were heard at the portrayal of a Japanese pilot shooting an American in such a position. Yet, an account of such action from the other side, from no less a person than the Under-Secretary of State for Air, causes not a flicker. This writer, Captain H. H. Balfour, M.C., M.P., was an airman during the war of 1914-1918 and on one occasion was ordered to shoot down an observation balloon.

"When I got near and opened fire, the observer jumped out in his parachute. Now the balloon itself is only rubber and silk filled with gas, comparatively valueless and easily replacable, but the observer is a trained man who has sat in that balloon-basket day after day, knows the lay-out of our trenches and his probably spotted most of our artillery positions. His knowledge is of value to the enemy and he is not easily replacable. Therefore I followed him down as he swung helplessly below his parachute, and shot the best part of one hundred rounds into him, or around him, which I do not know as his body just continued to swing."

An Airman Marches, page 136.

This action brought the wrath of Balloon Command upon Captain Balfour's head. They considered it unsporting and, this seemed still more to the point, feared reprisals. Balfour proceeds:

"The feeling was so strong that I launched a counter-attack by going straight to the General and asking him if we really were at war or whether we were playing a sort of game with the rules that must not be transgressed. I am glad to say that he supported me in what I had done and I heard nothing more." *Ibid.*

However, atrocity propaganda in this war has been much more moderate than in the 1914-18 War. So far we have not had the stories of German soldiers marching with babies impaled on their

bayonets, or anything like the famous "Kadaver Works" tale which alleged that the Germans collected their dead soldiers, extracted the fat from them and turned it into explosives and margarine. This moderation is true of the British Government at least; most of the large scale atrocity stories come from Russian official sources.

The greatest difficulty facing the British Government propagandist is the lack of a traditional racial enemy, a lack not suffered by French, German or Polish spokesmen. This is caused by the foreign policy of Britain which allies itself with, or fights against, every country on earth. So that in one man's lifetime people of a certain nation may be angels on earth, then devils from hell, then angels once again. During the past one-hundred-and-fifty years Britain has fought for, and against, Germany, France, U.S.A., South Africa, Turkey, Egypt, Abyssinia, Roumania, China, Russia, Italy, Japan and a few others, most within living memory, and often changing sides three or four times.

Let two examples serve us. From the time of the Crimean War to about 1910 the Russians were brutal, dirty, ignorant and cowardly, and when the Japs defeated them in 1904 no one in Britain shed a tear. From 1910, and more particularly 1914, however, the Russians were our godly, honest, loyal and gallant allies, until the Revolution of 1917 when they became even worse scoundrels than when they threatened India in the reign of Victoria. By 1938 the ruling class of Britain was pushing unofficial propaganda, using even bosses of the Church of England to show the Russians as jolly decent fellows—and *very efficient*. On June 22nd 1941, this private propaganda of deans, officials and capitalists became the official line of the British Government. We await the next change—and the next.

As to the Japs, they were good fellows, and good customers too, they bought warships and cannon from us and when they joined the Allies against Germany no name was too good for them. Japan was the country of the "Mikado" and "Madame Butterfly", the land of chrysanthemum, cherry blossom and fat, smiling babies. Now they are "yellow monkeys", they use sweated labour and sell their daughters, they use live prisoners for bayonet practice. "The English of the East", as my schoolbooks called them, became "the Prussians of the East."

Another form of propaganda we are to consider is that of the sunshine story, "everything is well". The best possible example of this is the official account of the submarine war. So many U boats are being sunk and so many ships are arriving at British ports that the Government have ceased to

publish figures on the subject. However, we have figures illustrating the U boat war of 1917-18 supplied by one who was Prime Minister at that time,

"For some time past the Admiralty had by order of the Government been in the habit of publishing week by week the number of vessels lost by submarine attacks, and in order to make this dismal news sound as hopeful as possible, they had issued with it a return supplied by the Customs Authorities of the number of vessels that had entered and left British ports during the week. To swell this number, every entry and exit was counted, including the numerous goings and comings of coastwise small craft of the smallest dimensions, passing from harbour to harbour on the coast, so that it reached a figure of about 2,500 weekly entrances and as many clearances. Probably these figures did not deceive the German High Command, though they doubtless served to encourage neutrals, and depress the enemy populations. Unhappily, they also deceived our own Admirals! A moment's reflection would have told them that nothing approaching 2,500 deep-sea vessels could be concluding voyages to this country every week. As a matter of fact, the actual arrivals and departures of ocean-going ships were between 120 and 140 a week. The Admiralty never examined their grotesque figures."

Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, pages 1146-1147.

If the Admirals can kid themselves, what chance has the public?

We have but one other form of propaganda to consider, that of the Anglo-U.S.A. promise of a New Europe and the rest. Here is what H. G. Wells, then Britain's most prominent official propagandist, said in 1918:

"The design of the Allies is not to crush any people, but to assure the freedom of all on a basis of self-determination to be exercised under definite guarantees of justice and fair play . . . The primary aim of the Allies thus becomes the changing of Germany, not only in the interests of the Allied League, but in that of the German people itself. Germany has, therefore, to choose between her own permanent ruin by adhering to her present system of Government and policy and the prospect of economic and political redemption by overthrowing her militarist system so as to be able to join honestly in the Allied scheme of world organisation."

That is *exactly* what is being said now. What faith can we have in present promises of a New Europe when we consider the witches cauldron they made of Europe after 1918, the *post-war* blockade, the starvation of Austria, the Russian war of intervention and the numberless bloody intrigues?

We are unmoved by the propaganda of our class enemies; by their fine promises, by their sunshine stories, or even their tales of atrocity. *Some* of the latter are true, but no nation has a monopoly of such infamous deeds. Atrocities are products of war, they are not reasons for making war. We are opposed to atrocities. That is why we are opposed to imperialist war, for war is the greatest of all atrocities.

Sicily: Test Case for Allies' Political Strategy

RESISTANCE IN SICILY has clearly been minimal. As we pointed out in the last issue of *War Commentary*, Sicilians have always been anti-fascist, sullen in their attitude towards Mussolini and their failure to show fight reflects more a hatred of Fascism than any love for "Democracy". For what sort of a régime are the Allies bringing them? Are we going to see the British and American governments establish freedom in place of Fascism? Since "Freedom versus Fascism" is the Allied propagandists' theme-song, Sicily provides a kind of test case.

We have often reminded our readers that the British Government's conversion to the cause of "freedom" in September 1939 came suspiciously late. (The American government was an even later convert still). When one remembers the welcome which Mussolini's government received in its early days—Churchill, after all, declared that he was proud to be the first Englishman to wear a black shirt—and then recalls the affairs of Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, China, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, that sudden anti-fascism of 1939 was a bit hard to swallow. Seventeen years of pro-fascism is a queer background for a crusade for freedom!

With all this in mind, let us see what is happening in Sicily. The Government has set up an "Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories"—Amgot—and has trained a horde of functionaries to administer it. Amgot gives itself away right at the start. Its chief is Baron Rennell of Rodd, who is connected with the Bank of England and the Stock Exchange, and is a partner in Morgan, Grenfell & Co. The Finance section is in the hands of Colonel A. P. Grafftey Smith—also of the Bank of England. So the Bank of England, which financed the Nazis and Mussolini when their economy was rocking, also has a firm hold on the first Allied "anti-fascist" government!

The first acts of Amgot are in harmony with its directors' background. The lira has been fixed at 400 to the £, compared with 75 to the £ before the war. The occupying power evidently intends to do well out of Italy. In Tunis too the lira was fixed at an unfavourable rate for the native population—at 480 to the £. This depreciation of the local currency is, of course, the method employed by the Nazis also in plundering the territories they occupy.

With the allied conquest of Sicily, Italian Government stocks have begun to rise. So also have Balkan Government stocks. The Stock Exchange is a reliable political barometer; this rise means that whatever régime the Allies establish in Italy, payment of interest on government loans will be amongst the first commitments to be redeemed. In fact, fascism or "freedom", the Italian people will still have to pay up!

With these financial measures as a start, the political structure of Amgot comes as no surprise. The Government emphasizes that Sicily is under a military régime, and that, in the words of Winston Churchill, "no political action by the inhabitants can be countenanced". The Prime Minister at the same time gave us some insight into his conception of democracy when he added that it was "the earnest hope of His Majesty's government that, when thus delivered from the Fascist régime, the people of Sicily will of their own accord turn towards liberal and democratic ideas". A liberal and democratic régime apparently is quite compatible in Churchill's view, with the complete prohibition of all political activities! It seems similar in that respect to fascist régimes.

Having peered a little below the surface of the administration in Sicily, let us take a wider view, and try to see the Mediterranean campaign in general perspective. The press have tried to sell it as the forerunner of the Second Front, the attack on the "European Fortress" itself. The Russian papers are, however, more cautious; they state that they will believe in the Second Front when they see it, and as to the present campaign, they will watch events. The Czecho-Slovakian military critic for *Reynolds News*, Miksche, gave a key to the significance of Sicily in an article published on 18/7/43. "Sicily and the Tunisian promontory," he wrote, "cut the Mediterranean in two, and to hold both is an essential condition of every campaign in the Eastern or Western Mediterranean. Sicily, with Gibraltar, assumes supremacy in the Western, as Sicily with Suez assures supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean." (Our italics). The Allies have now assured themselves of this supremacy. But at the time of the evacuation of Crete, Eden excused the failure to send reinforcements to the troops in the island by explaining that such supplies of men and material would have to go round the Cape of Good Hope, through the Red Sea and Suez. He admitted, in fact, that the Mediterranean was then a closed highway.

At that time the unrest in India was giving the Imperialists in Whitehall a headache. With what apprehension must the British Imperialist ruling class have viewed the possibility of an Indian Revolt, at a time when the chief lifeline of Empire, the Gibraltar-Suez route, was closed, and supplies and troop reinforcements would have had to go round the long Cape route! But with characteristic coolness and calculating resource, they have set out to remove this threat to the very basis of the Empire by regaining control of the Mediterranean. Step by step, from El Alamein onwards they have fought for and achieved their object. The soldiers thought they were fighting for freedom, no doubt. But the lifelines of Empire are once more intact and guarded, now even more effectively than before.

The maintenance of Empire is the key to all the British government's actions. It dictated their appeasement policy; and when that policy no longer suited imperial interests, it was dropped in favour of "1939-anti-fascism". The war is being fought for the preservation and extension of the British Empire, and, seen in this light, the occupation of Sicily simply falls into line with the campaigns of past centuries which have secured all the strong points on the route to India—from Gibraltar, Malta and Cyprus, to Suez and Aden—under British control. The Mediterranean campaign has no anti-fascist content whatever. But the re-opening of the Mediterranean highway provides a most powerful setback for the revolutionary struggle in the colonies, because it represents a tightening up of the military grip of that most steadfast foe of the working class, British Imperialism.

* * *

FLIGHT OF ORATORY

"You must fight and win and pass it on to your children."

This was the stirring finish to a speech by the Rev. A. Spark, of Glasgow, in London, yesterday.

But, in his enthusiasm, he forgot he was addressing a meeting of the National Spinners' Pension Association.

Reynolds, 25/4/43.

ANOTHER VICTORY FOR C.P.

The second front is launched—by Hershelle in this superb suit of black bouclé with its attached vest in coolest ice-blue. Notice the wide revers—a new and nice Hershelle touch!

Advert. in the *Evening Standard*.

ONE MAN = 3 COWS

Frank William Mellor (25), a soldier, was at North Riding Quarter Sessions, Northallerton, yesterday sentenced to three years' penal servitude for having maliciously killed a cow.

The Daily Record, 2/7/43.

Clayton's murderer got 12 months.

MINES FOR ETON BOYS?

If Mr. Bevin decides to direct boys of 16 to 18 into the mines or the factories, no class distinction will be made, and Eton, Harrow or other public school boys may have to go.

One problem would be geographical. Care would have to be taken about sending boys and girls where they could live at home, or where it would be possible to find suitable billets.

That has led to the suggestion that boys sent to the mines should be mainly those who already live in the mining villages.

There is, it is being urged, a danger of putting young people where they would be entirely out of reach of parental control or of home associations.

Evening Standard, 23/7/43.

When Scotch girls were sent to England to work in factories nobody worried about the lack of parental control or home associations.

COMMUNIST RESPECTABILITY

Scottish M.P.s were chuckling over the latest addition to their post-bag, a colourful and well-written memorandum from the Communist Party on the trials and troubles of agriculture.

It is a remarkable document. Were it not for the mystic letters, C.P., on the cover page and a modest reference to the Party in the last paragraph, it might well be mistaken for yet another product of the National Farmers' Union.

★ ★ ★

"What's the wurrld coming to?" commented an M.P. just arrived from the country, to me. "Muff's gone all Public-school; Clem Davies has gone Socialist; Quintin Hogg's swallowed Beveridge; and now Willie Gallacher's joined the Tories. I doot this new 'respectability' has gone to his head."

Meanwhile, Mr. Gallacher, with two strapping sons in the Services, the one piloting a Catalina over distant seas, the other training for a commission in the Tank Corps, strides boldly through the lobbies, hail-fellow-well-met as ever and one of the most popular men in the House. Truly it is a strange place, the House of Commons.

Evening News, 13/7/43.

CHINESE PROVERB

It seems that thousands of years ago, the Chinese used to have a saying, "Fool me once—shame on you. Fool me twice—shame on me."

Queer people those Chinese. They ain't half as smart as us. Imagine an American worker who would be ashamed because he was fooled only twice?

Industrial Worker, 5/7/43.

PRECIOUS M.P.'s?

I learn that the Air Minister, Sir Archibald Sinclair, has refused to allow M.P.s to take part in operational flights with the R.A.F.

Several members have asked for permission to see the air war at first hand. Sir Archibald has laid down a general rule that their requests must be refused.

I understand that the veto is based in two grounds: (1) That the work of the R.A.F. would be interfered with, and (2) That it is considered unnecessary to expose M.P.s to the hazards of air operations.

Evening Standard, 23/7/43.

Through

"NOT FOR PUBLIC USE"

Lt. Col. Moore-Brabazon, Minister of Transport, said in the Commons yesterday that railway carriages were labelled "Not for public use" when broken windows, infectious diseases, corpses, high Service officials, lunatics, convicts, and Cabinet Ministers were involved.

GRATITUDE DISCOURAGED

For proposing to erect a monument to Goering in Dortmund, a 34-year-old munition worker has been sentenced by special tribunal to three years' hard labour.

The worker, Karl Heideborn, says the Socialist paper *Arbeetar*—quoted by Stockholm Radio—moved the motion in a meeting of workers of the Dortmund factory where he was employed.

The monument was to express the appreciation of the Dortmund population for Goering's "efforts to protect the city and its inhabitants from British air attacks."

The proposal was described by the German authorities as a "malicious and defeatist mockery," liable to spread hostile feeling against a member of the Reich Government.

Reynolds, 18/7/43.

INDIAN SOLDIERS' PAY

The United States pay their coloured troops the same pay and allowances as their white troops, although their coloured troops' standard of living is much lower than their white troops.

We have numbers of Indian troops serving in North Africa and the Middle East. These fine soldiers, on the testimony of our generals and newspaper correspondents, have never failed to deliver the goods.

These Indian troops are paid by the British and not the Indian Government, but their pay is much smaller than that of the troops from Great Britain.

Letter to the *Daily Herald*, 16/7/43.

BIRTHDAY PRESENT

Sir William Firth, former chairman of the great steel and tinplate firm of Richard Thomas, was tying up roses in his garden at Holmbury St. Mary, in Surrey, when he received the news to-day that the company had doubled last year's dividend with a payment of 10 per cent. on the Ordinary shares. To-day is his birthday. "This is a pleasant birthday present," Sir William told me.

Evening Standard, 21/7/43.

MOVING UNITY

Called by the Italian anti-Fascist Federation, a well-attended and interesting meeting took place in the afternoon of Sunday, June 13, at the Holborn Town Hall.

It was presided over by the distinguished sculptor, E. Manasse, and was honoured by the presence of British colonels, thus proving how interlaced and solidly bound together are the interests and aims of Allied nations and the exiled anti-fascists.

New Times and Ethiopia News, 19/6/43.

the Press

HEAR, HEAR!

There were roars of laughter and loud cheers from Labour M.P.'s when Sir Francis Freemantle (C.) said during the debate on the trend of population in the House of Commons: "I propose legislation to control the sale of Conservatives." Hurriedly correcting himself, he said, "I mean contraceptives."

The Manchester Guardian, 17/7/43.

RED TAPE MUMMIES

Since the war began the Board of Trade have issued 1325 Orders, amendments and amendments to amendments.

Hardly a day passes without its new Board of Trade direction. Last year there were practically two issued every day.

This is an indication of the increasing legislative activity of the Board:

Orders issued from the beginning of war until end of 1939 totalled 66, during 1940 the number was 142; 1941 brought 397; in 1942 the number was 539; and so far this year 181 have been made.

According to reports from officials of the various trades' organisations "a retailer's life is a nightmare."

Evening Standard, 15/7/43.

MORRISON ON NEUTRALITY

Mr. Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, who has just returned from a visit to Belfast, said at a luncheon in London to-day:

"Southern Ireland, exercising its undoubted rights, has preferred to remain neutral and while I do not wish to exaggerate that aspect of the matter, nevertheless we cannot forget—we shall be unable to forget—that that not only indicated a state of mind between Eire and Britain which we have known for many years and understood, but the tragic thing is that Eire, a country which has fought many a battle for what it conceived to be the cause of liberty in one way or another, should have stood aside—neutral, indifferent, to this, one of the most dramatic and fateful struggles in the history of all mankind.

"That does not stand up too well in the history of the nations."

Evening Standard, 14/7/43.

In 1914, Herbert Morrison, exercising his undoubted right also preferred to remain neutral.

DEMOCRACY AND THE T.U.

I have discovered a state of affairs which as a democrat pains me as surely as it must cause alarm and despondency among those immaculate democrats, Mr. Attlee, Mr. Bevin and the other leaders of the Socialist Party.

Yesterday I commented on the fact that the Iron and Steel Trade Confederation had cast some 60,000 votes on a particular issue raised at the recent Socialist Conference and that only now was the Confederation seeking an endorsement of its vote among its members.

In other words, the Confederation's delegates were not mandated. The executive of the union decided which way the votes should be cast.

The National Union of Railwaymen follows the same practice as the Iron and Steel Trade Confederation of meeting after instead of before the Socialist Conference. Mr. Bevin's union, the Transport and General Workers, meets every two years, and the next meeting is scheduled for August.

Some other unions may follow the same practice, but these three are sufficient to establish my discovery. Together they cast more than 1,000,000 votes at the Conference. Yet the disposal of these votes was in the keeping of a few dozen Executive members, who, without any mandate whatsoever, made up their minds on the issues at stake, swayed Conference decisions, and only later are taking steps to secure approval for their actions. Since the decisions reached are now established Socialist policy, it hardly matters a tinker's curse or docker's tanner or a porter's tip whether their members approve or not.

Evening Standard, 15/7/43.

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WILLIAM MORRIS

by George Woodcock

I DO NOT intend in this essay to deal with more than a limited aspect of William Morris, that is to say, Morris as a social thinker. Particularly, I wish to emphasise, what is of peculiar interest to anarchists, his ideas on work, which constitute his most important contribution to English thought.

As a poet Morris was of somewhat debatable merit, and as an original painter or designer he was of little significance. But as a craftsman, and as the propagandist, both in words and acts, of a new attitude to art, to craftsmanship, to work in general (for to Morris the difference between the three categories was largely artificial) he was indeed of importance. To most of us to-day any individual product of Morris's workshops would probably make little appeal, but what is important to us is the revolution in ideas on art and work caused by Morris's activities and, moreover, the way in which these activities were connected with the revolutionary socialist ideas which Morris held.

For Morris became a socialist and, eventually, a libertarian, not through any intellectual, bookish trend of thought, but because the fact that he had himself become a manual worker through his ideas on art caused him to sever his connection with the middle class stratum from which he sprang and throw in his lot with the workers. He took up manual labour in no spirit of dilettantism, but to fulfil an intellectual and emotional need and, just as his conscience as an artist taught him the ugliness and inhumanity of life in the age of capitalist industry, so his contact and sympathy with the manual workers taught him that this ugliness and inhumanity reacted most deeply on them, not only because it caused them to live in actual starvation, filth and discomfort, but also because by turning work into monotonous toil it took away from them the happiness they could have gained from satisfying work.

Morris first became socially active as a liberal, but it was not long before he realised the uselessness of attempting to change society by reformist tactics. His natural lack of sympathy with the bourgeois radicals and his feeling of the revolutionary spirit springing up among the workers at that time attracted him to the belief in a complete revolutionary social change.

"The consciousness of revolution stirring," he said, "prevented me, luckier than many others of artistic perceptions, from crystallising into a mere railer against progress on the one hand, and on the other from wasting time and energy in any of the numerous schemes by which the quasi-artistic of the middle classes hope to make art grow when it has no longer any root."

Morris became a hard and devoted worker in the cause he embraced, and is remembered to-day as the best and most honest of the leading socialists of the nineteenth century.

He was not a great revolutionary theoretician. He stands out rather as a man who developed revolutionary ideas from the actual experience of working with his hands, and it is for this reason that he is so much more interesting and important on the subject of work than on any other aspect of the social problem.

On other matters his ideas were often not very clearly defined or expressed. He called himself a socialist, but that could mean in his day something very different from

the state socialist we generally understand by the term to-day, and Morris was far nearer to the anarchist position than to that which, say, the average L.L.P. theoretician adopts to-day. It is true that he had differences with the anarchists within the Socialist League, but it would seem that these arose from personal incompatibility rather than from any deep difference of principles.

He regarded the Fabians and reformists in general with contempt, and his ideas of the social change were always of a revolutionary nature. He realised clearly the class basis of contemporary society, concealed by the rich under the camouflage of the party struggle, and set out to make the poor conscious of this factor in society and to convince them of the necessity of taking part in this fight. Justice can only be obtained in society by economic equality, and Morris realised clearly enough that the destruction of property institutions would never be suffered willingly by the rich. They would fight to maintain their goods, and Morris was prepared for the revolutionary action which he saw must be taken before a free social order could be won. In this he was no leader directing from behind, but a worker in the cause who was willing to undertake the most irksome tasks, such as speaking at street corners, which he disliked but did frequently, and when the workers of London rioted against the police during the 1880's, Morris was present and in the thick of the fighting.

He realised that the workers could only win by the direct action of the revolution and that nothing was to be gained through class collaboration. He was, on these grounds, opposed in general to parliamentary action and utterly opposed to revolutionaries allowing themselves to be persuaded to take part in government. His ideas on this point were set out in a letter written to Bruce Glasier, in 1888, when he was still a member of the Socialist League.

"We should treat Parliament as a representative of the enemy. We might for some definite purpose be forced to send members to Parliament *as rebels*. But under no circumstances to help to carry on the government of the country. And therefore we ought not to put forward palliative measures to be carried through Parliament, for that would be helping them to govern us."

If Morris had known as much of parliamentary history as we know to-day, it is doubtful if he would have favoured even the sending of 'rebels' to an assembly where their voice is stifled in silence and indifference.

It will be seen that in social matters Morris was very far from being the genial muddle-head his enemies have tried to represent. Indeed, he was so far from being a muddle-head that, among a generation of socialists tending more and more to be led by authoritarian tenets, he refused to give up his ideas of a free socialism and to recognise in the sophistries of Marx anything of value to the working class.

His ideas on work have been subjected to an even more thorough misrepresentation than any other of his theories. The conception of Morris commonly shown by the right-wing propagandists is that of a genial eccentric who believed that machinery should be abolished and that we should go back to making all the necessities of life by handicraft. A similar legend, it will be remembered, was spread concerning Eric Gill. Had Morris and Gill

actually held such ideas they would have been as absurd as the few people who hold them to-day. But, in fact, neither of them was opposed to machinery in itself. What they condemned was the use of machinery in an anti-social way.

Morris realised that one of the main evils of life in capitalist society was the way in which work, which is a natural function of man, necessary to maintain his bodily health and give expression to his mental life, had been changed into a meaningless, monotonous toil in which there could be no form of satisfaction, but only a continual dulling and stultification of the faculties. He also realised that it was important to clarify our ideas concerning work, because when the revolution had taken place and all the useless functions of a corrupt society had been eliminated, men would find that the organisation of work on a free and creative basis would be the main problem demanding solution.

He regarded machinery in itself as a factor of great potential good to the human race, if it were used in a social manner, to lessen irksome toil. In "Art and Socialism" he said:

"The wonderful machines which in the hands of just and foreseeing men would have been used to minimise repulsive labour and to give pleasure—or in other words added life—to the human race, have been so used on the contrary that they have driven all men into mere frantic haste and hurry, thereby destroying pleasure, that is life, on all hands: they have instead of lightening the labour of the workmen, intensified it, and thereby added more weariness yet to the burden which the poor have to carry.

"Nor can it be pleaded for the system of modern civilisation that the mere material or bodily gains of it balance the loss of pleasure which it has brought upon the world, for as I hinted before those gains have been so unfairly divided that the contrast between rich and poor has been fearfully intensified so that in all civilised countries, but most of all in England, the terrible spectacle is exhibited of two peoples, living street by street, and door by door—people of the same blood, the same tongue and at least nominally living under the same laws—but yet one civilised and the other uncivilised."

Against this society in which machinery had helped to depress and enslave men, Morris foresaw one in which it would instead, by performing the more unpleasant, heavy or irksome forms of toil, leave the creatively satisfying types of work to be done by free men for the satisfaction of their own physical and emotional needs. As he put it, "It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing and be of itself pleasant to do, and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious."

If, as Morris pointed out, all the labour that is used in the manufacture of luxury goods and in the maintenance of the financial system were eliminated, and if all irksome or laborious work were done by machinery, it would not only rid society of a great deal that is useless, but it would also release men for forms of work which are creative and satisfying.

Morris saw art not as a function to be practiced by a small and favoured few in a privileged society, but as one which should be connected with the work of all men. "Art is man's expression of his joy in labour." He therefore saw no reason why, in a free society where men could work as they wished, it should not be possible for every man, freed from the pressure of time, of mastery and of economic dependence, to create works of art which

would fulfil his own creative needs and also give satisfaction to his fellows.

Perhaps the most important book which Morris wrote was *News from Nowhere*, in which he described, by means of a prophetic vision, the society he would like to see rise up on the ruins of contemporary society. Like all pictures of Utopia, *News from Nowhere* is by no means a completely satisfactory book. In his enthusiasm to tell us about the pleasant life men would lead in his new society, Morris does not tell us a great deal of how the society would operate. Again, while he shows a great awareness of the struggle that will be necessary to overthrow the old society, and gives a good idea of what forms this struggle might take, he does not tell us how the economic transition would be made from the old order to the new. Yet, taking into consideration all its limitations, *News from Nowhere* does say a great deal in a general way about the nature of the desirable society. It shows a people who have given up government and such instruments of government as parliament, and who regulate their affairs through free communes and by means of co-operative endeavour for specific objects. Money, exchange, the wage system, and the institution of property from which all of them spring have given place to a common ownership of all goods and a distribution to all men according to their needs. The law and punishment have gone with the property that caused the 'crime' they sought to eliminate. The factory of industrial capitalism, the sprawling hideous city of our times and the derelict country caused by a neglected agriculture have all been purged away or changed utterly into the condition in which they can be useful to man and not baneful. Above all, men have work in which they can take pleasure, work which gives them the satisfaction of creation, work which produces its own art from the hands of the people.

In other words, the society which Morris foresaw was none other than the society which the anarchists have foreseen. The difference between Morris and anarchists like, say, Kropotkin who envisaged something very similar to the society of *News from Nowhere* is that, while Morris saw the end clearly enough, he was by no means clear about the means, while the anarchists have paid more attention to working out a way to attain this free and happy society.

Nevertheless, we must give credit to Morris for the great contribution he made to revolutionary thought and acknowledge that, even with his limitations, he remains probably the most significant writer who has arisen in the English labour movement since Godwin. That his vision was not more complete is society's misfortune.

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We also thank those readers here in Britain who have been regularly supporting our funds since the beginning; thanks too go to our readers in the Forces who manage to contribute to our funds out of their meagre pay.

Having thanked those who do not forget Freedom Press and without whose support much of our work would have been perforce left undone, may we hope that those readers who have not done their bit will make amends soon? Of the £500 we asked for by the end of the year, £218 has been contributed in the first six months, that is, £32 short of our target. Help us to catch up and even pass our target figure during the next month or two, and our thanks will be expressed in the form of more Freedom Press publications and an even better "WAR COMMENTARY".

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PLOT IN GLASS HOUSE

When I was detained we were expecting invasion. It was understood that, should an emergency arise, all men were to be armed and released.

An "underground" plot existed, by which the staff-sergeants were to be the first to fall to those men's rifles.

Impossible in England? So was Clayton's case—before it happened. Remember, some men are inside a long time.

They are never allowed to talk; they are sworn at all day long by sergeants; they are taught to regard themselves as the scum of the earth—as animals rather than men. **EVENUALLY THEY BECOME SUB-NORMAL.**

Reveille, 19/7/43.

German Politicians Abroad

by Willi Freimann

What standing have the emigré politicians from Germany with the workers who for ten years have groaned under the Nazi terror? What does the German worker think of the manifestos and calls to revolt and sabotage issued from the safety of this country by former politicians of the German Left? These are the questions which the writer of the present article sets out to answer.

THE ENGLISH WORKER displays little interest in the German emigré political movements in this country. Thanks to the resurrection of social chauvinism and opportunism, disguised as "democracy", international solidarity is almost non-existent. English workers have no time to waste thinking about the problems of their German comrades—they are too busy producing weapons to kill them. Meanwhile, to add to the confusion, the supposed leaders of the German working class, now so voluble in this country, are themselves usurpers and not the representatives of the revolutionary workers in Germany. I cannot speak in the name of the German revolutionaries—I have no mandate from my comrades, many of whom have suffered torture and death with unique heroism. But I know that I am not only expressing their opinion, but also the feelings of many thousands of German workers.

Seeing the so-called representatives of the German workers in this country, one can only ask, "Representing the German workers? Since when? Did they send you abroad, or did you desert them?"

The ordinary worker could not escape. He had neither money nor connexions abroad. The first people to get away were the party officials and trade union leaders. Men who, on the night before Hitler took over, made fiery speeches to big meetings, "Only over our dead bodies can Hitler conquer power". The same working class leaders who tried, up to the very last minute, to negotiate with the Nazis. Receiving only kicks, they fled; and having reached safety wailed and lamented to the world.

Most refugees are politically indifferent. Men who would have liked to remain in Germany and carry on their businesses if only the Nazis had permitted them. This country gave asylum first of all to those who had money or connexions who would guarantee them, or professional capacities needed for British industry, science or culture. Refugees without money, with nothing but their revolutionary convictions, had a hard time getting in. Often those who escaped to Belgium, Switzerland or France were imprisoned. One day we shall know how many committed suicide to avoid being sent back to Germany. In a few cases the authorities could be deceived about their political past, communist or, worse still, anarchist to get them a visa for another country.

Moreover the ordinary worker wishing to escape from Germany would soon discover that the parties and unions demanded more references even than bureaucratic officials. You must prove that you were an old party member, and, of course, obedient to the party line, before you had a chance of help. If you were in no direct danger, you would be asked to stay behind and do underground work—under the direction of the party abroad. And these people with their centralized organization, who thought themselves omniscient, took no account of the changed conditions, the new tactics of the Nazi counter-revolution,

being out of touch with the rank-and-file, they committed blunder after blunder.

The underground movement was completely destroyed, or the parts left were used as traps by the Gestapo. Thousands of militants lost their lives through following the instructions of the leaders abroad, using their obsolete methods of conspiracy and tactics. The public mind was filled with persecution fear and depression, while a general denouncing mania made thousands of people, voluntarily or under compulsion, spy on their fellows. To receive an illegal pamphlet without immediately handing it over to the police with full particulars of where and from whom one got it, was punished with the concentration camp. Possession of an illegal leaflet was as good as a death warrant. Yet the underground movements were still asked to smuggle and distribute such leaflets. Once more thousands of militants, workers, true hearted enough to trust their faithless leaders, paid with their freedom, ruined health, and their lives. And the leaders, sitting in safety outside Germany, reported each new arrest or execution in boasting propaganda: "Look what heroes *we* anti-fascists are!" They wrote more phrase-stuffed resolutions, meaningless manifestos, and urged their few remaining contacts in Germany to regard the victims as examples of heroism and devotion.

The underground groups had to be almost completely annihilated, the few remaining lone wolves had to refuse to risk their own lives any further by distributing such propaganda material, had to act on their own initiative, often against the advice and orders from above, before the leaders abroad became aware of the new situation. The party leaders lost their contacts with the people and became isolated, suspended in mid-air. Meanwhile the newly growing anti-Nazi front inside Germany lost or gave up their connexions with the old parties, and formed their own opinions and tactics. Old style organization and centralism had to be abandoned. The germ of a new movement began to grow in the workshops and factories. A new solidarity among the few survivors came into being. The Nazi terror forced the workers willy-nilly into practically anarcho-syndicalist cells.

The emigré politicians have learned nothing. They have no workers for an audience, only politically apathetic refugees, former petty bourgeois who have been proletarianized by circumstances. They expend their energies on private dialectics, internal squabbles among themselves. Yet their press is, even to-day, full of news from "inside Germany". The party editors read the Nazi press, listen to Nazi broadcasts, study Nazi statistics in order to "read between the lines". Reports from neutral sources are similarly exploited. In pre-war days people coming from Germany would be squeezed for news. All this put together was made to give a garbled or distorted picture of inside Germany. All reports and articles were based on these collected tit-bits.

The C.P. always had the best news. News about strikes (which never took place), acts of sabotage (which never occurred), reports of meetings and demonstrations, so manifestly forged and embroidered, that even communist readers sometimes felt embarrassed. The method was simply to retouch here, twist a bit there, forget to mention certain details, and then sign it boldly "From a reliable source", "Trustworthy circles", etc.

The workers in Germany have already given their answer to their "leaders" abroad. Their reply to all the arrogance and self-importance of these emigré "representatives of the German working class" in recent years has been—silence; a deadly, ignoring silence, that gave no echo to any appeals.

The masses who follow Hitler's road to self-destruction do so just because of those leaders on whom they relied, and who proved traitors and opportunists, weak and incapable. It is easy to lament over here about the apathy and indifference of the German working class; to forget one's own infamous, blunder-burdened past is even easier. But the German worker has not forgotten that the Social Democrats like Ebert and Noske hated the social revolution like sin, and proved it by calling in the white generals of the old army to strangle all revolutionary attempts. The German workers have not forgotten how Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Eisner and Landauer were murdered, how the organizations of the counter revolution assassinated the leaders of the General Strike of miners and metal workers of the Ruhr, Bremen, Halle, Berlin. They remember the re-installation of capitalism under these Social Democratic leaders; the killing of hundreds of workers, the imprisonment of Muehsam, Toller, Hoelz, and the official protection afforded to the counter revolutionary groups who specialized in the murder of revolutionists.

The German worker still remembers the swaggering policy of the C.P., the "postponing" of the world revolution. He has not forgotten the lack of international solidarity shown by the international working class movements in the years of his own bitter struggle, and the struggles of China and Spain. And the German worker will add to all this the new crimes of his "leaders"; will present the bill, and demand satisfaction. The new crimes crown the past ones.

After the leaders deserted they tried, with the aid of the "working class leaders" of the "free states", and with the sympathizing intellectuals, to launch a world crusade against the German fascists, to stir up a war against Germany. But when they were in Germany, in comfortable pre-Hitler days, they never sought a crusade against Italian Fascism, or against the Bolsheviks who were massacring Russian peasants and workers, and torturing Russian Anarchists and Social Revolutionists to death.

And as soon as war broke out, the German socialist emigrants offered their services to the British Government, and placed themselves in the very forefront of the attack on the German people. Let us emphasize it; *all* groups declare their full loyalty to the Government of the country they happen to be exiled in; *all* declare that their aim is the military defeat of Germany through the victory of the United Nations.

The German movements, which call themselves socialist, at no time proclaim loyalty to the international working class in general and the German working class in particular; at no time advocate class struggle—the overthrow and destruction of world fascism by the direct action of united workers. In their support of the British ruling class, they do not even demand for the future, "All power to the workers, the land to the peasants! No interference from British and American vested interests!" No, even their "plans" for post-war Germany are only designed to win favour from the British Government which doesn't even recognize them. Destroy Hitler; abolish

GLASGOW ANARCHIST FEDERATION

A MEETING
EVERY SUNDAY

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3.30 & 7 p.m.

EDINBURGH — Mound
3.30 & 7 p.m.

PAISLEY — Gaol Square
7 p.m.

Meetings at BURNBANK, BLANTYRE, COATBRIDGE,
MOTHERWELL advertised locally.

A group is forming in Paisley. Any comrades desiring to associate should write to the Secretary, Anarchist Federation, 127 George St., Glasgow, before the 15th of August

Nazi laws; disarm Germany; set up a democratic republic; international co-operation. And then—what? New laws "Zum Schutz der Republik Gesetze" (for the protection of the Republic) in favour of new "saviours of society". No disarmament for Britain and the U.S., who will provide the "international police" to enforce that "peace and order" which the workers know so well! International Co-operation with those same capitalists who supported Hitler!

And they go on, these "radical Socialists", with talk about destruction of the military caste, expropriation of the big landowners, of industry. The German worker will retort, "When we demanded, under your Republic, the destruction of the military caste and the big East Prussian landlords, when we revolted because of the re-installation of capitalism, we were accused of treason under the "Law of the Protection of the Republic". When we cried "Class Struggle", you forced us to "order" and class collaboration. We were beaten up, imprisoned, many of our comrades killed. When Hitler came, you negotiated, hoped for compromise. When he threw you out, you urged us to revolt. When we did not revolt, you supported the foreign imperialists who now bomb us to bits. When an arrogant English lord talks of sending priests and psychologists after the war to educate the Germans, you clap and cry "Bravo". You are so anxious to bow and scrape, to lick their boots, that even the English feel embarrassed. Do you really imagine that the German worker is so stupid that he cannot recognize your prostituted behaviour for what it is?"

You have compromised with our deadliest enemy at home—against the workers. We are not surprised to see you now compromising with the ruling classes abroad. The German worker cares neither for the pseudo-democracy and freedom of the west, nor for the pseudo-communism of the east. If you think he will welcome you back with tears in his eyes, will accept the "liberation" you bring him on the points of foreign bayonets, will lift you up again on to your soft ministerial chairs, and will beg you to go on playing your old games all over again—with the help of the international police; if you think that, you have a big shock coming to you.

Worth Fighting For

MEDALS IN RECOGNITION of their services to "their" country are liberally handed out to returned soldiers at the end of the wars. So freely, indeed, that such service medals are almost everywhere the subject of sardonic comment. But governments are not content only to recognize patriotic merit by be-ribboned gew-gaws; they also arrange generous compensation for those who have laid down their limbs or their sight or their health—anything short of their life—by means of pensions. The Ministry of Pensions is probably the most popular of all Government offices . . . For sheer cold-blooded hounding of a man while in the army, and simply discarding his wreck when they have no further use for him, we have yet to meet the equal of the following account. It comes from a soldier whose number we have (but for obvious reasons withheld).

"I was posted to Derby, on the 26/2/42 where after a time I reported sick, 'You're young to be acting the 'Old Soldier', they told me; if you go sick again you'll find yourself in the Glasshouse! Nice Place!!

"My second station was Ashton-U-Line, where I reported sick with Bronchitis, and Bronchial Catarrh, I received no treatment.

"My third station, was Hendon, where I again reported sick with Bronchitis, Bronchial Catarrh, and Laryngitis, once again I got no treatment.

"I was moved to Clapham Common, where, although the stores had plenty of beds, I had to lie on the floor for a week previous to going into hospital for fourteen days. When I came out of hospital I had to lie on the floor for another week.

"This Hospital (Putney) is a chest hospital, and while in it I was X-rayed and had my sputum examined. I was discharged from that hospital as a fit man. Then came my leave, during which time I never felt well. Knowing that it was hopeless to expect any treatment at my unit, I did not go back. But read on before you pass judgment.

"I was admitted to the Royal Infirmary, Glasgow, on the 17/10/42 suffering from a severe hæmorrhage. In the Royal Infirmary, I had 8 X-rays and umpteen sputum tests, also a bronchoscopy. I was told there were definitely no signs of TB. I was then moved to Hainugres Military Hospital when I was on the seriously ill list for six weeks, suffering from Bronchiectasis. Some time later I was told I had TB. I was then discharged from the army.

"The Ministry of Pensions, Blackpool, writes me and says: 'Regret that it cannot be certified that your disability is either directly attributable to your one year and 63 days in the forces, nor was it aggravated by that service.'

"It doesn't sound sensible to me when I compare that with my grade card which is marked Grade I.

"I do not have any source of income, not even dole money, and I am totally unfit for work of any kind.

Ex-Private, R.A.O.C."

★ ★ ★

'Hitler's Agents Exposed'

D. F. SPRINGHALL, a leading member of the C.P. was sentenced on July 28th to seven years penal servitude. He had been found guilty of obtaining from an Air Ministry employee, "information in respect of munitions of war; and obtaining from her, for a purpose prejudicial to the interests and safety of the State, information calculated to be useful to the enemy".

Rumours of Springhall's arrest had been current for several weeks. His last public appearance was—ironically—at a meeting of the Trotskyists to celebrate the dissolution of the Third International, held at the Conway Hall on June 9th. It is also said that the C.P. have repudiated him, although one C.P.er declared in answer to a question as to his whereabouts that "Comrade Springhall was on holiday"!

The trial was conducted in secret. Springhall was described as an "organiser"—of what was not indicated, at least in the press reports. With the "Mission to Moscow" film giving such a highly Stalinist interpretation of the Moscow trials, perhaps the Court did not like to blot Stalin's boys' copybook openly!

The C.P. publishes slanderous attacks on various working class groups which it dubs "Hitler's Agents", yet one of its own prominent members is actually convicted of the same sort of thing!

War Commentary

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